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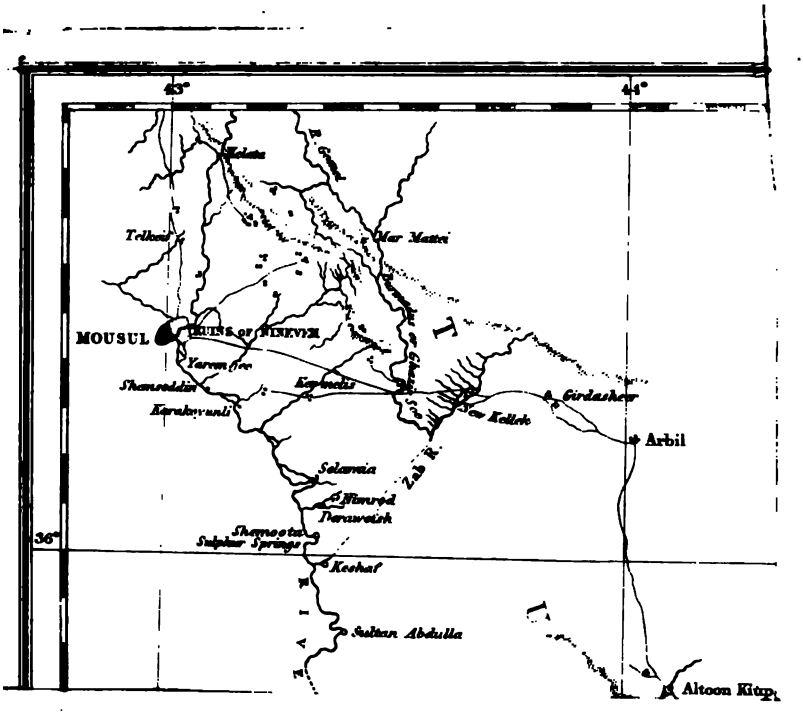
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Arbil
Selamia
Zab R.
Tarawelish
Shemoosta
Sulphur Springs
Keshaf
Sultan Abdulla
Altoon Kiupi

NARRATIVE

OF A

RESIDENCE IN KOORDISTAN,

AND ON THE

SITE OF ANCIENT NINEVEH;

WITH JOURNAL OF

A VOYAGE DOWN THE TIGRIS TO BAGDAD

AND AN ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO

SHIRAUZ AND PERSEPOLIS.

BY THE LATE

CLAUDIUS JAMES RICH, ESQRE.

THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RESIDENT AT BAGDAD,

Author of "An Account of Ancient Babylon."

EDITED BY HIS WIDOW.

TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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NOTICE RESPECTING THE MAPS.

With respect to the Maps which accompany this Work, it has been considered necessary to give a brief description of their construction.

In the Map of Koordistan and the adjacent countries, the line of routes and all the detail were protracted, in the first instance, by Mr. Rich, from his bearings and distances; after which a considerable number of observations for latitude and longitude were put into our hands; having compared the differences of latitude that were determined by observation, with those which were protracted by Mr. Rich, they coincided with remarkable accuracy; and therefore required very little correction to adjust the positions by the observed latitudes. With respect to the longitudes, we have placed Sulimania in 45° 27′ 45″, by mean of a great number of eclipses of Jupiter's satellites. We have selected this position in preference, because Mr. Rich made a great many more observations at Sulimania than at any other place in Koordistan; it was likewise the connecting point from which his routes either began or terminated. The differences of latitude by Mr. Rich's survey, having agreed so nearly with his observed latitudes, we have not hesitated to adopt his differences of longitude by his survey, in preference to those by celestial observation which he made in the course of his journey, because, in short distances, it is almost impossible to determine the difference of longitude with any degree of accuracy, by one or two observations.

In the small general Map, the position of Mousul and Sulimania are taken from that of Koordistan. The longi-

tude of Bagdad has been determined by the mean of several sets of lunar distances, taken by Mr. Rich, and which have been calculated and worked by Mr. Coleman, and also by a great number of eclipses of Jupiter's satellites; the mean of the whole makes Bagdad in 44° 25′ 21″. The latitude has been settled by the mean of a great number of observations. The river Tigris has been laid down from a minute survey by bearing and distance on a large scale by Mr. Rich, and adjusted by several observed latitudes between Mousul and Bagdad. In any map which could be brought within the compass of a book, it would not have been possible to give it on a scale sufficiently large to show the detail with which this survey has been executed; we have therefore contented ourselves with merely giving a general outline of it.* The routes between Bagdad and Sulimania have been laid down by bearing and distance, from Mr. Rich's Journal, and adjusted by several observations for latitude, in the course of his journeys.

J. WALKER.

* Mrs. Rich has allowed a copy of this Survey of the Tigris, on a large scale, to be made for the use of the East India Company.

PREFACE.

THE account of the Author which is contained in the following Introduction supersedes the necessity of any biographical notice in this Preface. For that account the editor is indebted to the kindness of a friend, who does not wish his name to be mentioned, and of whom, therefore, she will say no more, than that his personal knowledge of the subject, and his intimate interest in it, well qualified him for the office which at her request he undertook.

The volumes now submitted to the reader are all which exist of a work begun by Mr. Rich on a very extensive scale. He therefore applied himself diligently to the study of various scientific subjects, by the knowledge of which he hoped to accomplish his design. He felt that a very different book of travels in the East would be expected from one who had enjoyed so many advantages as himself, than could be claimed from the generality of travellers; for he had spent many years in Asia; he spoke

several Asiatic languages fluently; and he was intimately acquainted with the character and manners of the people. It will be found, accordingly, that he is evidently at home in the countries which he describes; that his observations, being in his own mind the result of long experience, are not given as new discoveries, but as well ascertained facts; and many allusions are made which indicate his intimacy with the feelings and habits of the country, but which will perhaps either appear obscure, or pass unheeded by those who may not be equally well acquainted with the subject. If he had been spared, and had himself published his materials, he would have added alike to their interest as to their bulk, by introducing very full details of his personal narrative, and of his daily intercourse with the people.

As it is, his papers now published record chiefly those particulars which he noted down at once, lest they should escape his memory, and the whole value of which depended upon their accuracy. These he would probably have compressed, after finishing his map, for the purpose of constructing which, he was thus minute in his observations on the face of the country, and other points connected with geography.

However, though these volumes are less filled up with the incidents which occurred in the journey, than would have been the case if they had passed from the author to the press, the Editor hopes that they will not be without their use. They in great part describe a country little visited by Europeans, and never, it is believed, described by any Englishman; and, in that view, if in nothing else, they will, it is hoped, repay the reader.

If it be asked why this work was not published sooner, the Editor can only answer that the delay arose from many circumstances, with the recital of which she need not trouble the world.

Under a deep consciousness of her own inability for such an undertaking, she long shrunk from attempting it, but she has been encouraged and cheered in her task by the sympathy and assistance of many kind friends, among whom she cannot forbear naming Sir R. H. Inglis, who, in the midst of his numerous avocations, spared no pains to make her work easy to her, and was always ready to afford her help and counsel.

Clapham, 5th March, 1836.

BRIEF NOTICE

OF THE

LIFE OF MR. RICH.

CLAUDIUS JAMES RICH, the writer of the following Journal, was born on the 28th of March, 1787, near Dijon in Burgundy: and while yet an infant, was carried to Bristol, where he spent the first years of his life under the eye of his parents.

At an early age he discovered a very extraordinary capacity. Even while passing through the usual course of instruction, the elements of the Latin and Greek tongues being taught him by a relation of his own, his active and successful curiosity led him to acquire several modern languages, without a teacher, and assisted only by books. When but eight or nine years old, having seen some Arabic manuscripts in the library of a gentleman at Bristol, he was seized with a strong desire to make himself acquainted with that language; and this accident, which gave a particular impulse and direction to a passion that was already working in his mind, probably decided, more than any thing else, the bent of his studies towards oriental learning, and had a powerful influence on the whole current of his future life. By the help of a grammar and dictionary, and of some manuscripts lent him by Mr. Fox of

Bristol, he not only learned to read and write that very difficult language, but to speak it with considerable ease and fluency. By the time he had attained his fifteenth year, guided by this decided bias which his mind had taken, and aided by unwearied application, he had made no mean progress in several oriental languages, and among others, the Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, and Turkish.

About this time, as he was taking an evening's walk on Kingsdown, near Bristol, he happened to meet a Turk, and being desirous of ascertaining whether his pronunciation of the Turkish were sufficiently correct to be understood by a native, he addressed him in that language. The Turk, after expressing his pleasure and surprise at being so unexpectedly accosted in his own tongue, informed him that he was a merchant, but was then in distress, having been recently shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland. Besides the satisfaction arising from his successful experiment, Mr. Rich had the still higher gratification of contributing to the stranger's relief.

His uncommon proficiency in a line of study so remote from the beaten road, excited the attention of those immediately around him. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Marshman introduced him to Dr. Ryland, at that time a divine of eminence in the place: and he was enabled to cultivate the society of several other men of letters in Bristol, particularly of Mr. Fox, of whom he always spoke with peculiar affection and gratitude, and who, by his advice and the use of

his library, essentially assisted him in the progress which he was now making in his favorite oriental studies. But although he drew attention chiefly from the unwonted direction which his studies had taken, and his success in prosecuting them, he was no less remarkable for his application to his general improvement; and even at this early period, was distinguished for his high and generous, and somewhat proud spirit, and for the ardour which he showed in every manly exercise and accomplishment.

The turn which his studies had taken naturally pointed out, both to himself and to others, India as the fittest scene for his future exertions. When the friend, through whose interest he was, in 1803, appointed to a cadetcy in the East India Company's military service, informed him of the nomination, and expressed his regret that he could not procure something better for him, Mr. Rich, who felt a just confidence in his own powers, exclaimed with delight, "Let me but get to India, leave the rest to me." The wide field which hitherto he had only contemplated in imagination, or at a distance, seemed now to be within his reach; and his mind was filled with all those bright visions which float before the eye of youthful hope. He hastened to London, and repaired to the India-House to complete the forms necessary to be observed before he received his appointment. It was at this period that the letter, of which the following is an extract, was written by the

celebrated Robert Hall to his friend Sir James Mackintosh, which will show, better than anything else can, the impression which he had made, even at this early period, on those around him.

"*Shefford, near Cambridge*, Dec. 30, 1803.

"May I take the liberty, before I close, of recommending to your attention a young gentleman of the name of Rich, who is going out in the same fleet with you, as a cadet, to Bombay. He is of Bristol, where I had the pleasure lately of seeing him. He is a most extraordinary young man. With little or no assistance, he has made himself acquainted with many languages, particularly with the languages of the East. Besides Latin, Greek, and many of the modern languages, he has made himself master of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Persian, Arabic, and is not without some knowledge of the Chinese, which he began to decipher when he was but fourteen. He is now seventeen. He has long had a most vehement desire to go to India, with the hope of being able to indulge his passion for eastern literature; and, after many difficulties, he has at length succeeded in being appointed to the situation of cadet. He is a young man of good family, and of most engaging person and address. His name, I believe I mentioned before, is Rich. If it is consistent with your views to honour him with your countenance, he will not, I am almost certain, give you any reason to repent of your kindness and condescension."

While Mr. Rich was in attendance at the India-House, Mr. (now Sir Charles) Wilkins, so eminent for his knowledge of the languages of the East, had his attention called to the young cadet's acquirements in the oriental tongues, which on trial he found so much beyond any thing that he could have anticipated, and so extraordinary, compared with his means of attaining them, that he at once pointed him out to the Directors as a young person of such singular and rare talents, as would amply justify and do honour to any exertion of their patronage. On this representation of Mr. Rich's merits, a writership on the Bombay establishment was in the most honourable manner presented to him by the late Edward Parry, Esq., which changed his destination from the military to the civil branch of the service; and in order to enable him to perfect himself in the knowledge of the Arabic and Turkish languages, in which he had already made such unexpected progress, he was attached as secretary to Mr. Lock, who was at that time proceeding to Egypt as Consul-General; his rank, contrary to the usage of the service, being allowed to run on while he was in this occupation, in the same way as if he had at once repaired to India.

Mr. Rich, early in 1804, embarked in the Hindostan store-ship, to join Mr. Lock in the Mediterranean; but that vessel being by some accident burnt in the Bay of Rosas, he escaped with the crew

to the coast of Catalonia; whence, by the assistance of a friendly quaker of Bristol, he was enabled to make his way to Malta, after a residence of some length in Italy, where he perfected himself in the beautiful language of that country, and devoted himself to the study of music, an art which he ardently cultivated at every period of his life, and in which he took enthusiastic delight. Of all the countries that he ever visited, perhaps Italy was that most suited to the turn of his mind, and to which he looked back with the greatest pleasure. His amiable and accomplished friend Mr. Lock having died at Malta before entering on his mission, Mr. Rich was now allowed by the Court of Directors to follow such a course of travel as it was supposed might be most conducive to the object he had in view, in which he had the valuable advice of Mr. Wilkins. He therefore proceeded from Malta towards Constantinople, touching at several of the Greek islands by the way. While sailing up the Archipelago, a suspicious-looking vessel was one day observed bearing towards that in which he was a passenger. It was believed to be a pirate, and every thing was made ready for a desperate defence. On her nearer approach, however, she was discovered to be a Turkish merchantman, when Mr. Rich and several others went on board. He had not been long on the deck, when one of the Turks who was richly dressed, eyed him so steadfastly for some time as to excite his par-

ticular attention. At length the Turk addressed him, saying, "Sir, I know you." "And I," replied Mr. Rich, "have seen you before." An explanation followed. It was the man whom he had assisted when in distress at Bristol.

Mr. Rich remained for some time at Constantinople, and afterwards repaired to Smyrna, where, that he might thoroughly master all the niceties and peculiarities of speaking or writing the Turkish language, and gain an insight into the nature and extent of the acquirements of the Mussulmans in the various branches of learning, he put himself to school with the young Turkish students of his own age. At this period he made several interesting journeys in Asia Minor, when having been appointed for a time assistant to Colonel Missett, Consul-General in Egypt, he repaired, by way of Cyprus, to Alexandria. His residence in Egypt he employed in perfecting himself in the Arabic language and its various dialects; and he at the same time devoted his leisure to gaining that skill in horsemanship, and in the management of the scimitar and the lance, for which the Mamelukes were so remarkable. It is not surprising, that one, who, like him, to a manly deportment united the mildest manners, and the most lively and sportive wit, should have gained the esteem and affection of Colonel Missett, and of all the Franks within the circle of his acquaintance; or that when the object of his visit to that country was

attained, and he was about to leave them, they saw his departure with regret. He resolved to make his way by land to the Persian Gulf, and leaving Egypt in the disguise of a Mameluke, he travelled over a great part of Palestine and Syria. Confiding in his knowledge of the Turkish language and manners, he ventured to visit Damascus while the great body of pilgrims were assembled there, on their way to Mecca, and to enter the grand mosque, an act which at that time would have proved fatal to any one known to be a Christian. His host, an honest Turk, who was captivated with his address, eagerly intreated him to settle at that place, offering him his interest, and his daughter in marriage. From Aleppo he proceeded by Mardin and Bagdad to Bussora, whence he sailed for Bombay, which he reached early in September, 1807.

We have seen that the Rev. Robert Hall had particularly recommended Mr. Rich to Sir J. Mackintosh, at the time when it was expected that they were to sail for India in the same fleet. When Mr. Rich's destination was changed, he had an opportunity, just before embarking in the Hindostan, of calling on Sir James, then at Ryde, waiting to embark for Bombay. A correspondence had ensued between them; and, on reaching Bombay, Mr. Rich went to reside with him. The sequel may be related in Sir James's own words, in a letter to a friend written at the time. "You may recollect,

perhaps, to have read in the newspapers in 1803, that Mr. Parry, the present chairman, gave a writership here, to a young man of the name of Rich, merely on Mr. Wilkins's report of his extraordinary proficiency in Eastern languages, without interest, and, I believe, without even personal knowledge. He came out as assistant to young Lock, who was appointed Consul at Alexandria; and, since his death, has travelled over the greater part of Turkish Asia, in various directions, with the eye and pencil of an artist, and with the address and courage of a traveller among barbarians. He acquired such a mastery over the languages and manners of the East, that he personated a Georgian Turk for several weeks at Damascus, amidst several thousand pilgrims, on their way to Mecca, completely unsuspected by the most vigilant and fiercest Mussulman bigotry. He was recommended to me by my friend Robert Hall, and I had several letters from him. I invited him to my house; and at his arrival on this island, on the 1st of September, 1807, he came to us. He far surpassed our expectations; and we soon considered his wonderful oriental attainments as the least part of his merit. I found him a fair classical scholar, and capable of speaking and writing French and Italian like the best educated native. With the strongest recommendations of appearance and manner, he joined every elegant accomplishment and every manly exercise; and combined with them,

spirit, pleasantry, and feeling. His talents and attainments delighted me so much, that I resolved to make him a philosopher; I even thought him worthy of being introduced into the Temple of Wisdom, by our friend Dugald Stewart; and when I went to Malabar, I left him at the house of my philosophical friend Erskine, busily engaged with the "Philosophy of the Human Mind." On my return, I found that this pupil in philosophy was desirous to become my son in law. He has no fortune, nor had he then even an appointment; but you will not doubt that I willingly consented to his marriage with my eldest daughter, in whom he had the sagacity to discover, and the virtue to value, the plain sense, modesty, purity, and good-nature, which will, I hope, make her a source of happiness to him during life.

"Soon after, the most urgent necessities of the public called for a Resident at Bagdad. He alone was universally acknowledged to be qualified for the station. He was appointed: having thus twice before he was twenty-four, commanded promotion by mere merit. They were married, and are gone to Bagdad."

In writing to Mr. Robert Hall about this time, he says, "Rich, whom you recommended to me, is become my son-in-law; and he is indeed a son-in-law to whom the fondest parent may gladly intrust his child."

Soon after his marriage, which took place on the 22nd of January, 1808, he set out for his Residency, which included Bagdad and Bussora, and took up his abode in the former city, as being the seat of the Pasha, and the spot best situated, both for managing the political business of the Pashalik, and for gaining intelligence of what was passing in Europe at that eventful period, when an invasion of British India was anticipated. His high spirit, his sound political views, his perfect knowledge of the native character, and his profuse generosity speedily gained him the highest reputation both with the local government and with the people. As is usual under the Turkish sway, there were many revolutions of the government, and changes of the Pasha, during the time of his residence there; and Mr. Rich's high character enabled him, sometimes under very uncommon circumstances, to give shelter in his tents to many who were in danger of their lives from these political reverses; and even, occasionally, to the family of the unsuccessful party, whom nothing could have preserved but an asylum which was never attempted to be violated. He had the satisfaction of seeing the effects of his uniform justice and good faith on all around him. The promises and engagements of their Pashas and leading men often were of no weight, till strengthened by his guarantee. He spent about six years at Bagdad with no European society but that of his wife and of Mr. Hine,

the surgeon to the Residency, who was also his assistant. The leisure which he enjoyed from his public duties he spent in pursuing his favourite studies. He made collections for a history, and for a geographical and a statistical account, of the Pashalik of Bagdad. He curiously examined all the remains of antiquity within his reach; and commenced his collection of oriental manuscripts, which he spared no labour or cost to render complete. A catalogue of it, as it stood at the close of this period, may be found in several numbers of the "Mines de l'Orient," published at Vienna, and proves how successful he had already been in his researches. He also formed a rich collection of medals and coins, and of the gems and engraved stones found at Babylon, Nineveh, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad. He made an excursion to Babylon for the purpose of examining the remains of that ancient city. The fruit of his observation was his "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon," first printed at Vienna, in the "Mines de l'Orient," and since reprinted in England. The "Edinburgh Review" justly described it as "a modest and perspicuous account of what he saw during a short visit,"—"creditably distinguished by abstinence from fruitless inquiry and rash conjectures, and in which the classical and oriental learning of the author is as much proved by the careful exclusion of false pretensions and impertinent display, as by the natural fruits of solid knowledge."

Major Rennell having, some time after (in 1816), published a paper in the "Archæologia," containing "Remarks on the Topography of Ancient Babylon, suggested by the recent Observations and Discoveries of Claudius James Rich, Esq.," in which he questioned some of his conclusions, Mr. Rich made another journey to Babylon, again to examine the situation of that place; and, in 1818, published, in London, a "Second Memoir on Babylon, containing an Inquiry into the correspondence between the Ancient Descriptions of Babylon and the remains still visible on the site, suggested by the 'Remarks of Major Rennell.'" In this "Second Memoir" he confirms the reasoning of the first, and adds a valuable appendix on Babylonian antiques, illustrated by engravings. These Memoirs have attracted an uncommon degree of notice all over Europe, from their throwing new light on a subject so interesting to every reader of sacred or of ancient history.

In the end of 1813 Mr. Rich was compelled, by bad health, to leave for a time the Residency of Bagdad in charge of his assistant, Mr. Hine; while he himself, accompanied by Mrs. Rich, travelled to Constantinople. Here he remained for some time with his friend Mr. (now Sir Robert) Liston, who was then Ambassador at the Porte. He was induced by various considerations, in the beginning of 1814, to prolong his journey through Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Hungary, to Vienna, and

from thence to Paris, then recently entered by the allied powers. It was a period of intense excitement; and, with the exception of an excursion to Basle, where he met his friend and father-in-law, Sir James Mackintosh, he remained in that capital, where he had every opportunity of meeting with the many memorable persons who had crowded to it at that eventful moment, till the return of Bonaparte dispersed and sent them off, each to his own army or country.

Mr. Rich, setting out on his return to Bagdad, passed through Switzerland to Milan, and thence to Venice, where he took a last and unwilling leave of Italy. He crossed over to Trieste, whence he proceeded, by Corfu and the Archipelago, to Constantinople, touching at several of the islands, and landing to examine and explore the site of ancient Troy. From Constantinople he returned to Bagdad, through Asia Minor, taking, as far as possible, a different road from that which he had pursued on his way to Europe, paying marked attention to the geography of the country, and especially the lying of the chains of mountains; and as he came nearer Mesopotamia, visiting the Syrian and Chaldean convents, and collecting information regarding the singular race of Yezzidis.

After his return to the Residency, he resumed his former pursuits; and, during the five or six years that he continued there, added so largely to his collection of MSS. as to render it perhaps the most

extensive and valuable ever brought together by any private person in the East. For this the situation of Bagdad gave him peculiar advantages. His collection of coins, Greek, Parthian, Sassanian, and Mussulman, was also much enlarged, as was that of his gems and engraved stones, particularly in the article of Babylonian cylinders. It was at this time that he made the second excursion to Babylon, already referred to; and, in 1820, the state of his health requiring change of air, he made a tour into Koordistan, of which the following pages contain the journal. In his return he visited many of the ancient Christian churches in Chaldea, especially such as he had not had an opportunity of seeing in his former journeys, and besides other curious MSS., was enabled to preserve and to add to his library many valuable and very ancient Syrian and Chaldean versions of the sacred Scriptures.

It was now his intention to have proceeded to Bombay, where he had been appointed to an important office by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was then governor, when a violent and unprovoked attack was made upon the Residency by the orders or with the connivance of the Pasha. This Mr. Rich succeeded in repelling by force of arms, and moved down to Bussora until due reparation was offered. While waiting for instructions from his own government, he employed his time in a tour to Shirauz, whence he visited the ruins of Persepolis, the tomb of Cyrus,

and the other remains of antiquity in that neighbourhood. While at Shirauz, the cholera morbus appeared in the city, and with such violence, that it diffused universal dismay, six thousand inhabitants out of a population of forty thousand, being carried off in a few days. The prince, with all his family, all the chief nobles, and the higher classes, and such of the lower as were able, deserted the town. Mr. Rich refused to quit the place, and continued nobly to exert himself to quiet the alarm of the inhabitants, and to assist the sick and dying. His time for many days was chiefly employed in visiting them, and administering the necessary medicines. The tribute of gratitude and respect which he received from the multitudes whom he assisted was most gratifying to his heart. But the disease was already working in his own veins. On leaving the bath on the 4th of October, symptoms of cholera appeared, and, in spite of every assistance and care, he expired on the following morning, the 5th of October. He was interred in the Jehan Numa, one of the royal gardens in which he lived at the time, where a monument has since been erected to his memory.

Such is a very brief notice of the movements rather than of the talents, virtues, and acquirements of this remarkable person. The few but expressive words in which his character has been traced by such men as Robert Hall and Sir James Mackintosh, may well deter any meaner hand from attempting to

retrace it. None could know him without being captivated by his manners, and delighted with his accomplishments, nor without admiring the singular extent of his capacity. The rapidity with which he made his acquisitions in languages and the fine arts, in particular, seemed to belong rather to instinct than to exertion. When at a later period of life, he contemplated a survey of Turkish Arabia, with the same facility he acquired the higher mathematical knowledge which his task required. The Turks and Arabs admired him as a man of erudition in their literature. But in the society of his friends, he was only the most agreeable man of the circle; without pretensions, ready to fall into any plan of amusement, delighted to keep up the ball of wit or good humour, the soul of the party of which he seemed to be the happiest and the youngest. His affections were warm and active. He was the most steady and sincere of friends. He was the fondest of husbands. His sense of religion was deep rooted. His force of character enabled him to sway and guide those among whom he was placed. Never did the British character attain so high a degree of eminence in Turkish Arabia, as when he presided at Bagdad.

The Memoirs on Babylon were the only writings which he published in his lifetime, except a few communications printed in the Mines de l'Orient. He left a considerable number of manuscripts: in particular, an ample journal of his route from Bagdad to Constantinople, in which Mrs. Rich accom-

panied him on horseback—a solitary instance, it is believed, of such an expedition. His journal from Constantinople to Vienna, and from Paris back to Bagdad, is likewise preserved; besides his journal in Koordistan now printed, and various papers on different subjects.

His magnificent collection of Oriental MSS., of coins and antiquities, was purchased by the British parliament, for the use of the British Museum, in which it is now deposited.

Of the following pages it is not necessary to say much: they speak for themselves. They contain the journal of an eminent man in a new country, for so it may be called in spite of the scattered notices to be found in the journals of travellers who passed casually and hastily through different parts of it. They place the geography of Koordistan, and the manners of the inhabitants, in a new and strong light. The geographical fixed points now ascertained, will assist in rectifying the position not only of the different parts of Koordistan itself, but of the adjoining provinces in that portion of Asia. Mr. Rich certainly intended himself to have published the researches and observations which he made in this his last journey*. He proceeded with all the aids

* Extract of a letter written by James Baillie Fraser, Esq., to William Erskine, Esq., Bombay, dated Shirauz, October 6th, 1821, the day after his death.

"There are among the books he had with him several note and memorandum books, which are, I doubt not, very valuable, containing geographical and astronomical observations, extremely

of a scientific survey, and marked carefully in his journal the points which were to direct him. Had he been spared to prepare these papers for the public, he would probably have diffused over them more of the colouring of his imagination, and much of the collateral knowledge that was floating in his mind and ready at his call, and which, on that very account, he did not commit to his journal. At the same time, by the united powers of the pencil and the pen, with the addition of a scientific survey, he has probably done for part of Koordistan, which formerly was only a mass of uncertainty in our best maps, what has hitherto been very imperfectly executed for any other part of Asia. The novelty is honourable to him and to his country.

wanted in our Persian maps. All his notes and observations on Koordistan are either among them, or in those he has at Bushire, and it would be a serious public loss if they were lost. In his writing desk we were careful that not a scrap should escape or be lost, as there seem to be valuable memoranda on all the smaller pieces. I have heard Mr. Rich say that all the maps extant were terribly wrong in that part of Asia, and express his anxiety to get his own map executed, which he meant to do himself. You will also find a most valuable copy of the whole Persepolitan cuneiform inscriptions, written and compared carefully by himself. It was his intention to send a copy of it to Professor Grotefend in Germany."

RESIDENCE IN KOORDISTAN,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from the Residency—Manner of travelling—Description of our Party—Thunder-storms—Kifri—Sassanian Ruins—Beiat Chief's Hospitality—Naphtha Springs at Toozkhoormatee.

Baydad, April 16, 1820.

To escape the intense heat of a Bagdad summer, I have this year determined upon a visit to the mountains of Koordistan, where we are informed we shall meet with a very different climate to that of Bagdad *. As Koordistan is a country little known in Europe, and I have many acquaintances there among the natives, from whom I have often received pressing invitations to visit them, I am glad

* The heat for about five months at Bagdad I hardly think is paralleled in any part of the world. Some conception of it may be formed, when I mention that from April to October the natives are obliged, during the heat of the day, to take refuge in cellars underground, and at night to sleep on the roofs of their houses, the rooms of the house during that period being uninhabitable. The thermometer generally rises to 115° in a shady verandah; and I have seen it as high as 120° in the middle of the day, and 110° at ten at night, when we suffered much inconvenience from a burning hot wind, smelling strong of sulphur. —*Ed.*

to have another opportunity of gratifying my insatiable thirst for seeing new countries.

I feel it to be my duty on this occasion to travel in my official character; and, therefore, Mrs. Rich is obliged to submit to the disagreeable restraint of performing the journey in a covered litter or takht-revan*, attended by women-servants, and all the state of a haram†. In order, however, to diminish the inconvenience as much as possible, I propose that a horse shall be in readiness for her to mount, when out of the way of observation. On account of public business, I am likewise compelled to take with me many of the officers and servants of the Residency; and others have requested permission to accompany us: so that we shall form a very numerous party; and, instead of incurring the expense of native troops for our protection on the road, I take the guard of twenty-five sepoys and their soubadar allowed the Resident as a body-guard by the government of Bombay. They are a very

* Is this the צב of the Hebrews, rendered litter in our version, Is. lxvi. 20? The Septuagint makes it "a mule litter."—*Communicated to the Editor by a friend.*

† The haram means the female part of the family of a Turk; and this one word is used to avoid the indecorum, in the eyes of a Mahometan, of mentioning his wives or daughters. It is likewise the name of that part of the house where the females dwell. The Turks are so scrupulous to avoid speaking personally of their female relations, that they will sometimes, when obliged to refer to them, say "My house is sick," or "My house sends compliments to your house."—*Ed.*

respectable, brave set of men, and seem delighted at the prospect of marching.

The pasha has been very kind in doing everything in his power to facilitate our journey, and in furnishing us with abundant firmauns, orders, and letters through his territory, and with warm recommendations to the pasha and chiefs of Koordistan.

I appointed the ruined village of Dokhala, about twenty-one miles to the north of Bagdad, as the place of general rendezvous for the haram, the baggage, the sepoys, and all the rest of the people who did not accompany me.

It was late in the day before I left Bagdad, owing to the many visitors who came to wish me a good journey. This detention was of little consequence, as my first stage was not to be more than five miles distant—to the garden-house of my old and hospitable friend Hagi Abdulla Bey, who has requested me to make his house my first resting-place.

I mounted my horse soon after five in the afternoon, and reached the garden between six and seven, where I was received most cordially by the bey, and found a very splendid Turkish entertainment prepared for me. Mrs. Rich* was equally well received by her friend Salkha Khatoon, one of the widows of old Suleiman Pasha, who was the

* See, in the Appendix, "Fragment of a Journal by Mrs. Rich."

governor of Bagdad upwards of twenty years, and died in the year 1804. He was a Georgian slave of his predecessor, but was a man of considerable ability; and, by his energy, promptitude and wisdom, subjected the various tribes within, and kept in awe those without, his dominions. Agriculture and commerce were thus promoted; and Bagdad became very flourishing under his paternal and judicious government. He left three sons, who were much beloved by the people of the town for his sake; and much respected, therefore, by his successors in the Pashalik. The two remaining ones live with their respective mothers, affluent, and as much at ease as affluent people of consequence can be in a place where they are watched with a very jealous eye by the government; especially since another son, the eldest, had made himself very formidable, and finally succeeded, through much treachery and falsehood, in becoming pasha. He enjoyed his dignity but a very few years, and was overpowered by his own brother-in-law Daoud, who put him to death, and afterwards received from the Porte the firmaun confirming him in the government.

April 17.—I took leave of Hagi Abdulla Bey, and left his garden-house at a quarter past seven in the morning. The road was through a very uninteresting country; and at a quarter to one I arrived at our camp, which I found already pitched at

Dokhala. Mrs. Rich arrived about an hour afterwards; and in the afternoon I went round the camp, to see that all our party were assembled, and were comfortable. To have accommodated such a number of people in the villages on the road would have been out of the question. I had, therefore, been obliged to take tents; and we were accompanied by a body of Arab tent-pitchers, to pitch and raise the camp every night and morning. It consisted of fourteen or fifteen tents: as small a number as we could possibly do with, for a party of between fifty and sixty people*. There was a good deal of noise and confusion through the day, until every one had fallen into his place, and things were put in order. At night there was a storm of rain, to which the poor muleteers, tent-pitchers, and animals were exposed, no tents ever being thought necessary for them.

* The commander of this party, composed of Christians, Jews, Turks, Armenians, Persians, and Indians, was Aga Minas, the principal native officer of the Residency. He was of a respectable Armenian family, long in the service of the British government. The situation which he held, and his own abilities, constituted him director of Mr. Rich's household at Bagdad; and on this journey he continued to act in the same character. He was purse-bearer and aide-de-camp; entertained all our numerous guests on the road, directed the camp, and was, in short, the person to whom everybody looked for orders and for help, and with whom often no one was satisfied, only because he could not accomplish impossibilities. He had all the patience and good humour which such a post required—was unwearied in his endeavours to make every one comfortable, and most zealous in the discharge of his duty.—*Ed.*

April 18.—Mr. Bellino* and I, accompanied by some of the light horsemen of our suite, mounted at a quarter past six, before the rest of the camp was ready to start; but I was glad to escape the confusion and noise of the many voices in many tongues, which, together with the snorting and neighing of horses, jingling of the bells of the mules, and barking of the dogs, are the usual accompaniments of an eastern camp.

Mrs. Rich, in her takht-revan, followed us at some distance, accompanied by her female attendants in kajavahs, or a kind of cradle, swung one on each side of a mule—and by some horsemen as an escort.

Turkish etiquette required our parties to be quite separate; and we allowed our people to have their own way, and to marshal us according to their own notions of dignity and decorum. I have always made a rule of conforming to the native customs, so far as my conscience and the honour of

* Mr. Bellino was a German gentleman, a native of Tubingen in Suabia, with whom Mr. Rich had become acquainted in Vienna, where he was at college. His love of oriental literature, and desire to visit the East, induced him to propose to Mr. Rich, through M. Von Hammer, the historian of Turkey, a common friend, to accompany him back to Bagdad; and Mr. Rich was glad to have it in his power to offer him a situation as private secretary. He was a most amiable, well-educated young man, with much of the enthusiasm, perseverance, and *naïveté* of his countrymen, and no small share of learning. His favourite study, grammar and language, he pursued with an ardour and devotedness truly Germanic.

my country would admit. The Turks are a very ceremonious people, and a people who think state and show indispensable; and any one by whom these are despised is looked upon by them as vulgar and ignorant, and unaccustomed to good society. But, above all, they have a horror of women being seen or heard; and I am inclined to believe, that a Turk who overcomes his dislike to this has lost some of his best feelings: at least, with all such whom I have seen this has been the case; and I am very sure, that the respect and kindness with which we have generally been received among the Mahometans has been greatly owing to our not offending them in these things, and not shocking their feelings, by despising harmless prejudices, from which, at any rate, we could not expect to turn them.

We had great trouble from the mud through this day's march. Between eight and nine we alighted to take a cup of coffee, at a place called Mukhsen Pauk, a little imaum on a canal from the Khalis*. We reached our halting-place, the bed of an old canal, at a quarter to twelve.

April 19.—The weather yesterday afternoon became very stormy from the E. and N.E.; and at half-past seven there was a squall of rain, with thunder and lightning. The night then partially cleared up; but at midnight it came on again to

* The Khalis is a canal which is cut from the Diala to the Tigris.

blow hard, with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning, which lasted till morning. The tents, by this time, became so heavy, that the striking and loading them was almost impossible; and the country, besides, was quite covered with water, so that there was no thinking of marching to-day. The ground, where we encamped on the old canal, is full of scorpions; our farrier, in levelling what he thought a snug nook for his bed, in the bank of the canal, turned up four: many others were found about the tents. This is commonly the case in all heaps, or mounts, in this country. There is a mount near Shehraban which is quite alive with them. At 4 P.M. a heavy squall from the west came against the prevailing wind, which was S.E.

Thermometer—at 7 A.M. 66°; at 3 P.M. 76°; at 10 P.M. 66°.

April 20.—Heavy rain continued pouring down upon us last night, to the great annoyance of our poor people; and to march to-day is out of the question. At noon we had a storm of thunder and rain, which passed quickly over; but from one to three there was a continued roll of thunder from the north-west. Most of the storms, however, passed to the north of our camp; and afterwards the sky became quite clear, with a gentle air from N.N.E. I never remember so curious a season; and its effects are most unpleasant to us travellers.

Thermometer during the storm, 66°.

April 21.—During the night there was lightning all round the horizon, with distant thunder, which kept us in a state of great anxiety. In the morning, wind east and south-east.

We marched at half-past six in a smart shower of rain from the S.E. The cloud from which it fell accompanied us for some time, occasionally favouring us with a discharge. We had ten or fifteen peasants with us to act as pioneers, in repairing bridges and smoothing bad passages for the takht-revan. We had a difficult march, wading through water and mire most of the way; and at 10 A.M. arrived at Tchubook, where we encamped on our old ground*, which happened to be quite dry. The takht-revan marched half an hour before, and arrived ten minutes after us. One of the disadvantages of travelling with a large party is, that the peasants conceal every supply of a tolerable quality which they may happen to have, from fear of having it taken from them by force, especially if they perceive any government officers among the party.

In the evening, the sky again became overcast. The lightning first appeared after sunset in the N. and N.W.; and a gentle breeze soon set in from that quarter, but was forced to yield to the more powerful S.E. The horizon grew black as a raven's

* This refers to a journey which Mr. Rich had lately made into S. Koordistan, to examine the ruins of Kasri Shireen and Haoush Kerek. This journal will be found in the Appendix.

wing all round, and the lightning was repeated from every quarter in the most rapid succession of flashes I think I ever remember; but the thunder was very distant. In the west the colour of the horizon was that perfect black, that total absence of light, which Lord Byron has fancied in his horrible dream of the extinction of the sun. We were only conscious of this fearful darkness in the short intervals of the lightning, which was peculiarly vivid in that quarter; streams of fire seemed every now and then to be darted into the earth. The glare of the lightning showed at each flash an Indian sentinel resting on his musket, a tent with a group of muleteers, or a small party of travellers winding their weary way through the solitude of the desert. To a poet the scene would have been invaluable; but it only kept us in painful suspense as to what storm or torrent we were about to be exposed, which our light and half-worn tents could but ill stand. At last, after having been driven about by the contending upper currents in every direction, the tempest seemed to burst to the S.W. of us; and we only received a part of the discharge in a very heavy shower of rain, which lasted about three hours (from nine to twelve), and was succeeded by some strong blasts of wind from the S.E. The fleas, the mosquitoes, and a return of my Bagdad complaint, kept me awake till near morning, when I fell asleep.

April 22.—When I awoke the next morning, at

half-past five, I found the whole sky wearing the dull, leaden appearance of a determined rainy day: I therefore gave up all thoughts of marching that day. About half-past six it began, and continued in a steady, wintry manner through the day, to our utter despair. About sunset it cleared up with a squall of wind from the south-east.

Thermometer—at 7 A.M. 63°; at 3 P.M. 67°; at 10 P.M. 62°.

April 23.—A fine clear night, with a gentle breeze from the S.E. In the morning the N.W. wind again strove to make its way, but was again obliged to yield to the stronger south-east.

We mounted at a quarter past six. Near Tchubook we observed mounds of ruins; but we were not disposed to stop and examine them. We were obliged to turn out of our road and keep towards the Diala, on account of the waters left by yesterday's rain. The line of Mount Zagros, extending to the Tauk, formed the extreme boundary of our view as soon as we left the village of Tchubook, which is situated rather in a hollow.

At nine, we arrived at Delli Abbas. The post-house is now entirely ruined and abandoned; but we encamped between it and the Khalis canal, over which is a bridge of two arches, with a supplemental one on each side for extraordinary risings. The general direction of our march was N. The takht-revan and baggage marched at half-past six, and ar-

rived at ten. The villagers tell us that they have had eight days' constant rain here, which has laid the country quite under water. On the night of Tuesday three fire-balls, or meteors, were seen here to come from the west, and take a course towards the Hamreen hills with great rapidity. Indeed the quantity of electric matter has been prodigious. I never saw such constant and vivid lightning as has been every day since the bad weather began. Soon after we came to our ground it blew very hard from the south; near sunset it came west of south. Much lightning all night from N.W. to S.W., but no thunder; the night calm and slightly veiled.

Thermometer—at 6 A.M. 60°; at 3 P.M. 74°; at 10 P.M. 64°.

April 24.—We could not go the direct passage over the Hamreen hills; all the road between them and Delli Abbas being almost entirely under water; and on the left a morass, called Albu Ferash, quite full of water, extending down to Doltova. We therefore went to our old pass by which we had come on our former trip. We mounted at half-past five, and waded through much water and mire to the pass, which we reached at half-past six. The cut mentioned before was made by the grandfather of Fyzullah Aga (a friend of mine at Bagdad) in the time of Omar Pasha. It is called Sakal Toutan, or Beard-catcher. At half-past seven we passed the road to Baradan, branching off on the right, to

which village we had intended going, but the Nareen was reported to be too difficult to ford, in consequence of the late rains. At a quarter past eight we had passed over the mountains, and keeping them close on our left hand, reached the bridge of the Nareen at twenty minutes past ten. The rise of water in this stream had been about ten feet; but it had almost entirely gone down again. Here we drank coffee, and mounted again at eleven. We now kept nearer the Nareen than the direct road, in order to avoid the deep mud of the nitrous ground, which we left on our right.

At twenty minutes before one we arrived at Kara-tepéh. The takht-revan marched at six, and arrived at half-past two. They were detained thus long on the road by going the straight but miry road from the Nareen, instead of taking a circuit to avoid it, as we had done.

At the south end of the village and adjoining to it, near our camp, is a high mound, on which is a small burial-ground. The people call it Namazkelan Tepéh, or the Mount of Prayer, because it is the Musella, or place where they perform their prayers on the two feasts of Bairam. I went up to the mount to take some sights with the compass; and I immediately observed that it was artificial. This set Aga Seyd* looking about, and he soon dis-

* Mr. Rich's Persian secretary.

covered an urn with bones, like those found at Seleucia and Babylon. On looking further, we discovered more; but they were so brittle that they could only be extracted by pieces. They were on the surface of the soil; and the whole mount seemed to be full of them. This then, I think, must have been a Dakhma, or place where the fire-worshipping Persians exposed their dead bodies; which has since served for a sepulchre, and place of prayer, of the Mahometans. The people told me that they sometimes find small silver ornaments here; but they happened to have no specimens by them. This mount at the southern extremity, and where it is highest, is from fifteen to twenty feet high from the bottom.

Thermometer—at 6 A.M. 60°; at 3 P.M. 74°; at 10 P.M. 64°.

April 25.—We marched at half-past five over the gravelly hills, on the western declivity of which Kara-tepéh is situated. The slope was extremely gentle into a small valley and over an arm of the hills; from which the descent is by a long slope to the Tchemen bridge, which we reached at a quarter past seven. After crossing a broad torrent at ten minutes past nine A.M. we alighted to take coffee, just after ascending another elevation also by a very gradual slope. At twenty minutes to ten A.M. we mounted again, and at eleven arrived at Kifri.

The Zabit* had gone out to meet me, with fifteen horsemen to the torrent; but we missed each other in the hills. The takht-revan marched at six, and arrived at twelve. It had a difficult passage at the Kior-dereh, or ravine. I was surprised to find at Kifri a small community of Jews who have a synagogue. The people here eat the bulbous roots of a plant gathered in abundance all about. The bulbs are of the size of a shallot: they are called *chezedum*, and are eaten slightly roasted, tasting something like a chestnut.

Thermometer—at 3 P.M. 82°; at 10 P.M. 64°.

April 26.—Yesterday evening, in my walk to the cliff at the back of Kifri, I heard accidentally of some ruins called Kara Oghlan, which I immediately went to see. This morning we returned to them with a party of peasants armed with pickaxes and shovels, and remained about four hours excavating and looking about us. The following is a short description of them.

About half a mile S.E. of Kifri, in the bed of the torrent, are some appearances of low walls or foundations, which were laid open by the late rains. One of the walls exhibited a piece of plaster of stucco, with ornaments on it. I was anxious to lay open more of the ruins, in order to come at some notion of the design and age of it. By dint of digging we laid open a small room, or rather all that

* Head of the village.

remains standing of it, viz., about four feet high of wall with a door-way; the room is very small, say about twelve feet square; the walls are built of unshapen stones (as at Kasri Shireen), of gypsum covered with plaster, on which are wrought ornaments in compartments. We dug out pieces of plaster with ornaments of flowers or arabesques painted on them in fresco, the outline being black and filled up with bright red, and the ground being the colour of the plaster; the colours were beautifully fresh. As the sides bore no appearance of painting, I imagine these pieces to be fragments of the ceiling. Some pieces of charcoal were also found. We laid open this room and part of another. This appeared to form part of a range of cells, extending a short way W.S.W. and E.N.E., of which there seem to be traces of five or six: they are in single file. The north side is strengthened with small round buttresses.

East of this, under the hills on the margin of the torrent, (by which its west face has indeed been cut down,) is a very large high mound, of a square figure, from which a quantity of earthen jars have been dug out, some pieces of which were brought to me. They were of coarse earthenware, varnished black in the inside, and perfectly resembled those found at Seleucia and Babylon. I have also a small earthen lamp which was found there. It is like the lamp now used by the villagers.

Gold and silver coins are also frequently found here, which the villagers immediately melt down. I much regret not having been able to see any one of these, which might have enabled me to form some better general idea of the age of these ruins. The jars, or sepulchral urns, however, induce me to refer them to the Sassanians. On the top of this mound are traces of building; and all along to the foot of the hills, and up as far as opposite Kifri, are also vestiges of buildings, many of which consist of square basements, something like those at Kasr Shireen and Haoush Kerek, though not standing so high above the soil. The extent of the ruins in length may be a mile ; in breadth about a quarter of a mile. We dug in several places, but found nothing. There are also some vestiges of a wall on the western bank of the torrent; and, crossing it diagonally about Kifri, are fragments of immense solid buildings, overthrown by the floods, which the peasants suppose to have been a dam across the torrent, but which I rather imagine to be the city wall. The style is just like the other parts of the ruins, of rough stones, strongly cemented together with lime. It is evident, from the remains in the very centre of the torrent, that it could not have flowed in this way when the city existed. Indeed, in all likelihood it was confined, and directed to cultivation.

The inhabitants attribute these works to the

Ghiaours, or infidels. What place this really was it would be difficult, from our imperfect knowledge of the Sassanian empire, to say. I doubt its being in any line of the Roman operations against that empire, by which alone we know anything about it.

Farther up the torrent, on the N.N.W., are some excavations in the rock, called Ghiaour houses. Mr. Bellino went to see some of the same kind in the hills, ten minutes' ride from the S. extremity of the ruins. He found excavated sepulchral chambers, with very low doors, and, in the inside, three places to lay out bodies, but they were of small dimensions, about five feet long. The plan of these excavations resembled the Achæmenian sepulchres at Nakshi Rustam; but there was no writing or carving of any description about them. Farther on, about three miles from the ruins, on the top of a hill, are some vestiges of building, which the people call Kiz Kalasi, or the Girl's Castle. Here urns and bones are found; Mr. Bellino saw one of the former; but the place has nothing else remarkable: it is nearly opposite Oniki Imaum.

We found waiting for us, when we returned, a man from Mahmoud Pasha *; and, indeed, yesterday evening another courier came in from him, to know if we were arrived, and what road we proposed taking. They both set off this morning for Sulimania, from whence a mehmandar is to be

* The Pasha of Sulimania.

despatched to meet us at Kara Hassan, that being the road we have finally resolved on taking, on account of its ease for the takht-revan.

There are only a few date-trees at Kifri: the date is said not to succeed here, but does very well at Toozkhoormattee. Since we were here last the water has brought down several large masses of the cliff.

Thermometer—at 3 P.M. 82°. Wind N.W.

April 27.—This morning we rode out to inspect the ruins of Eski Kifri, situated S.W. of Kifri, two hours in the plain. I had always imagined that this was, in reality, where the town of Kifri had formerly stood; but I find now that it always occupied its present position, and that these ruins are of the time of the Ghiaours. In our way to it we passed several mills, looking like little towers, in the gardens of Kifri, turned by a small artificial canal. Approaching Eski Kifri is an immense artificial mount, like the Mujelibe *, with almost perpendicular sides, except where the rains have made deep cuts or furrows. In one of these furrows a small vault has been lately discovered; it is of coarse-baked brick, and contained many sepulchral urns, in some of which gold coins were found, but of these I could not procure any; and the vault has been almost filled up again by the falling in

* One of the ruins at Babylon. See "Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon," by C. J. Rich, Esq., p. 28.

of the soil, or rubbish, of which the mount is composed. The length of the mount from N. to S. is nine hundred and sixty feet; its breadth from E. to W. a little less; its height fifty-seven feet. These measurements, which, though rough ones, may be considered as sufficient approximations, were taken by the carpenter, assisted by Aga Seyd, while I went to rest myself in the shade in a cut made by the rain; for the wind was S.E., the day hot, and I had a strong return of my complaint. This cut, or ravine, was, in fact, the best place to look about for antiques, as it was quite fresh, having been made by the late rains. We dug about it, and found immense quantities of small pieces of human bones, and fragments of urns, all of which had a black varnish on the inside; but the pottery was of different quality, some coarse and unornamented; others of a finer kind; and the finest, with figures of deer or cows in small circular compartments. Of these we brought away all we could find; and we did our utmost to procure a perfect urn, but in vain; though such are frequently found, especially after heavy rains have uncovered the soil. I set the people digging about in every direction; but they found nothing to reward their toil except some scoriæ of iron, a few bits of copper, some glass, and a small crystal bead. I have taken measures, however, to procure a perfect urn. The soil, as deep as we could discover

by means of this ravine, was impregnated with black unctuous mould, fragments of urns, and small bits of bones. On the centre of the mound is a small burial-place of Arabs; and the Mussulman now confounds his dust with that of the fire-worshipping Persian; for that this was a Sassanian place of exposing the dead I have no doubt, from its appearance and character, and the style of the fragments found.

To the north and west is a great extent of small mounds of ruins, which shows this to have been a considerable place. One mound, larger than the rest, on the west, is called Ashtoukan. Returning homewards, we came, in about a quarter of an hour's ride, to some remains of a small wall, which may have been the city wall, though the peasants conjecture it to have been a dam, to keep out inundations from the Kifri torrent. It is reduced to a few feet in height, and extends about three hundred yards, and is built of round stones, with small hollows in the outside. On the inside, towards the ruins, the ground is higher than on the north or outside, and is like a platform supported by this wall. The wall itself is unquestionably of the age of the remains of Kasri Shireen and Haoush Kerek. Farther north, towards Kifri, beyond the wall, are no ruins. We left Eski Kifri at a quarter past ten, and arrived at Kifri at ten minutes to twelve A.M.

I had given orders to bring me any coins or

other antiques that might be procurable among the peasants here. To-day Reuben brought me, from his Israelitish friends, three coins and a small intaglio: but so far from throwing light upon the age of the neighbouring ruins, they are as if purposely designed to obscure and to confuse one: one being Arsacian; another, Sassanian; the third, Coufic; and the intaglio, a Roman victory. I afterwards got a very fine Sassanian antique, with an inscription. At a place called Oniki Imam, about fourteen miles from Kifri, is another of the mounts so common hereabouts: it seems to be of the same age as the Sassanian ruins, so thickly scattered there; and just opposite Oniki Imam in the gypsous chain of hills there are naphtha springs. One small spring was discovered a year ago in the same hills, a few minutes west of Kifri. The peasant who discovered it was seized by the Turkish government, and severely bastinadoed, to make him confess if he had sold any of the naphtha before the discovery became public. In consequence of the persecution which he suffered on account of this unlucky discovery, he was obliged to emigrate with his family into Persia, where he says he is very comfortable. He happened to be here on business, and told me the story himself. "God," said he, "did not allow the Turks to profit by their tyranny; for the spring, which was a very copious one when I discovered it, became dry when I was

bastinadoed, and now only yields a few drops of no consequence."

Thermometer—at 3 P.M. 81°; at 10 P.M. 66°, Light, variable airs; a little rain from the west at night; lightning in the east.

April 28.—We mounted at twenty minutes before six in the morning, attended by the zabit, who insisted on bearing me company some part of the way. Our road lay across a range of gravelly hills, proceeding from the Kifri hills, and joining those over which we passed some days ago; the only interruption being the course of the Kifri torrent, which has opened for itself a passage into the valley of the Tchemen, through which passage we rode to Eski Kifri*. At seven we left the hills, and entered the Beiat plain, which slopes down very gradually from the Kifri hills to the Tchemen, and is well cultivated for these parts.

At half past seven we passed a ravine, with a small stream of rain-water in it. At twenty minutes after eight we came to Kuru Tchai, a broad torrent with now only a little rain-water in it, but which a few days ago occupied its whole bed, and even overflowed into the plain, as we saw by the traces which it had left. Here was an encampment of the Beiat Turcomans.

* In like manner, subordinate gravelly hills branch out from the Hamreen, above Kara-tepéh and from the Zengabad range of hills.

Hassan, or as he is sometimes called, Kerkoosh Bey, the chief of the tribe, came out to invite me to eat with him. He was a very well-looking, fresh man, with a fine white beard, and extremely intelligent and well spoken, with as good manners as if he had passed all his life in an oriental court. He told me that the Beiats possessed the district as a gift from the sultan; and that they paid nothing to the Ottoman government, but only owed the Pasha of Bagdad, for the time being, military service when he took the field in person. He said that when Nadir Shah invaded this country he swept the Beiats back to the great tribe in Khorasan, and that the Beiats now remaining are almost all, as it were, of the family of the chief; but he added that, in case of necessity, they could still turn out 1000 horsemen. They have also some Arabs and broken tribes under their protection. Their horses are much esteemed.

The bey was fully aware of the existence of the great Beiat tribe in Khorasan; but he was not able to inform me when their portion of it came into these countries first. The Arabs are better historians and genealogists; the best, indeed, in the East.

I took leave of the bey much pleased with his address and conversation, and at nine mounted again. We passed through much cultivation, principally of barley; some portion of which was already ripe, and they were cutting it. The reapers brought us some

sheaves, which they threw into the road before my horse, exclaiming, "May your enemies be thus!" and they expected a few paras in return. In the East, everything is seized upon as an occasion for extracting a *bakshish* or present.

At half past nine we came to Kizzel Kharaba, a ruin on the road. Mounds were visible, scattered about and extending down towards the Hamreen on our left, where we saw a very large mount, like the one at Eski Kifri. They said that it was the work of the Ghiaours. It is most likely Sassanian, though I would not take upon me to affirm this as confidently as in the case of Eski Kifri.

We soon after passed another ruin, seemingly connected with the town of which Kizzel Kharaba formed a part: and at a quarter to eleven, a large Beiat village, now quite empty; as the people encamp at this season, both to avoid fleas and to superintend the harvest. We saw many of these encampments all about.

At ten minutes past eleven A.M. we passed another large village. We now lost sight of the Hamreen mountains, which were on our left all day, by their running off more west, and Toozkhoormattee came in sight, bearing N. 20 W. About a quarter of an hour before coming to it, we passed a torrent, the bed of which is extremely broad; but now contains a stream that only reached to the stirrups, and was a few yards over, and it is even less

than this in the autumn, having been lately much swollen by the extraordinary rains. It is called the Ak-soo, and comes down from Ibrahim Khanjee.

On our left, at a distance of a couple of hours, we saw the village of Yenijeh, which is on the present post-road from Bagdad to Taook.

At half past twelve, having crossed the torrent, I pitched my shemsia *; and sent a tchaoush into the town to get the serai † ready, and give notice of my approach. I was soon joined by the governor and steward of Omar Bey, who holds the town as a timar, having inherited it from his father. We rode through gardens of date, orange, lemon, fig, apricot, pomegranate, and olive trees, which completely conceal the town; and were soon comfortably lodged in the house of Omar Bey, which, for a Bagdad country residence, is really splendid. The rest of the place is merely built of mud. The people are Turkish, and are mostly Ismaelians, or Tcheragh Sonderans ‡.

* Or protector from the sun; a small light tent, which is quickly put up and taken down. Turkish gentlemen are generally accompanied by one, on their hunting-parties and journeys, as they are frequently far away from all houses; and, therefore, when they desire to halt—as they generally do in the middle of the day, to refresh themselves with coffee—they pitch the shemsia.—*Ed.*

† Or palace. Toozkhoormattee was the property of Omar Bey, a gentleman of Bagdad, who had desired his own house to be prepared for the reception of Mr. Rich and his family.

‡ Or "extinguishers of the light." These people are dispersed

On Friday night they had a tremendous storm of hail here, which did great damage to the gardens. The hailstones are described as having been of enormous size. This was the night which appeared so threatening to us at Tchubook.

Toozkhoormattee is situated close to the gypsous hills of Kifri, and just west of the pass in them by which the Ak-soo penetrates into the plain. On this pass is a well of naphtha and salt; and farther south in the hills, is another spring of naphtha, but no salt.

The takht-revan arrived in about half an hour after us, having marched at six o'clock. Our march to-day was much longer than it need have been, had we kept the straight road under the hills; but it was the intention of the Oda Bashi* to bring us to the halt among the Beiats, and so make two easy stages of it: however, when I came to the Beiats, it occurred to me that we had better hasten on, and take advantage of the very fine day.

April 29.—I sallied forth this morning to view the curiosities of the neighbourhood. The naphtha-pit is in the pass of the hills about a mile S.E. of

throughout the Turkish and, I believe, Persian dominions. Little or nothing is known of their religious profession, except that they are not Mahometans, from whom they get a variety of names in different places. They are very shy and uncommunicative, for fear, probably, of awakening a spirit of active persecution in their masters.—*Ed.*

* The director of the camp.

the town; and, being in the bed of the torrent, is sometimes overflowed by it, and, for a time, spoilt, which was the case during the heats last summer. The pit is about fifteen feet deep, and, to the height of ten feet, filled with water; on the surface of which the black oil of naphtha floats, small air-bubbles continually rising to the surface. They skim off the naphtha, and ladle out the water into a channel, which distributes it into a set of oblong, shallow compartments made in the gravel, where they allow it to crystallize, when it becomes very good salt, of a fine, white, brilliant grain, without any intermixture of bitterness. Great quantities of this are exported into Koordistan; and it is worth annually about 20,000 piastres, which is distributed among the different members of the family of the late Defterdar*. The oil of naphtha is the property of the village. Part of it is consumed by the Menzil Khaneh †, or sold for its support, and part for religious establishments, &c. About two jars, each containing six okas‡, or one Bagdad batman, of naphtha may be skimmed from this well in twenty-four hours. The spring is at the bottom of the pit or well; and once a year they cleanse the well, on which occasion the whole village turns out; victuals are distributed to all the poor, and sacrifices of sheep are made, to the sound of drums and

* The treasurer of the Porte, father of Omar Bey. † Post-house.
‡ An oka contains about two and a half English pints.

oboes, in order to insure the good flowing of the spring again—a ceremony, in all probability, derived from remote antiquity. The principal naphtha-springs are in the hills, a considerable distance south of this, towards Kifri. They are five or six in number, and are much more productive than this pit, but no salt is found there. Indeed, it is probable that naphtha may be found in almost any part of this chain. Near the naphtha-pit in the hills are alum (zak or sheb) and chalk (tebeshin), of a very fine, close, white grain; but the natives make no use of these productions. An earth is found, which they employ to give an acid flavour to some of their dishes; no doubt it is vitriolic. Sulphur is also found, and is used by the peasants to cure the itch in their cattle and themselves.

I now come to a description of the pass itself. It runs nearly E. and W., and resembles that of Kifri in its composition and appearance, though on a larger scale. On the west side of the hill, which faces the plain, the strata are horizontal and parallel. On the north side of the pass they are inclined downwards at an angle of about 45°, and somewhat curved or convex. On the south side of the pass the hills are more earthy, and have been furrowed and crumbled down by the rains; and in one part some pillars, as it were, of the hill are left detached. The naphtha pit may, indeed, be said to be situated in these *débris* on the edge of the

torrent's bed; gypsum is apparent in every part. On the north side is sandstone; and at the bottom of all, as I saw in an arch or cavern in the very foot of the cliff, is clay-slate, or hardened clay of a blue colour. The determination of the water is all to the north side of the pass, where it has cut down the hills into a precipice or cliff. On the summit of this cliff are the ruined walls of an old castle, the age of which it is difficult to determine: it may be Sassanian. At the foot of this is a little hollow in the rock, containing a naphtha-pit. The top has been arched over with large square blocks of gypsum, and is apparently a very ancient work.

I had forgotten to say, that in the great naphtha-pit is a beam of wood, just above the surface of the water, fixed at both ends into the side of the pit. This wood, they say, is as old as the time of the Ghiaours, and has been preserved by the virtue of the naphtha oil. They also attribute the castle to the Ghiaours*. In the earth about the foot of the castle-hill, near the small naphtha-pit, I saw many stains of a bright yellow, and perceived a strong smell of sulphur. The people consider this cliff as a great preserver of Toozkhoormattee; they say it turns off the torrent and gives it an inclination

* Ghiaour, originally Geber or fire-worshipper, is now synonymous with Kafer, and is applied to the people who preceded the Mahometans, as well as to Europeans.

from the town. On the summit of the hills, on the north side of the pass, overlooking the plain, is a small kumbet or dome, marking the site of some foolish story about Ali. They say, on the eve of Friday, a little lamp is seen to burn of itself there: it is most probably a similar phenomenon to Baba Goorgoor*.

After having finished our observations on the naphtha-pits, we rode round the town by the torrent to the west, to see some ruins, but we found little worthy of observation. A party of peasants were employed in cleansing a canal, to the sound of the *soorna*, or trumpet, and double drum. The reapers were at work in some places. On the west of the town are some mounds of rubbish, with nothing to characterize them. They may possibly be ancient, as antiques are said to be found here; but I have not yet been able to procure any. On a little square platform of a building is one pier of it standing, of coarse masonry, apparently not very ancient. Farther north, are six piers standing, forming part of an oblong building, whose direction is east and west, and it appears to have been composed of a body and two aisles, or verandahs. The

* Baba Goorgoor is the name given to a spot three miles from Kerkook, where, in a little circular plain, white with naphtha, flames of fire issue from many places. There appears to be little doubt, as D'Anville conjectures, that this is the Korkura of Ptolemy.—See "D'Anville on the Euphrates and Tigris." Quarto edition, p. 108.

door is west, and another corresponding recess or opening on the east has been supported on each side by a semicircular pilaster or buttress. The whole has been vaulted; the masonry is extremely rude. I should conjecture this to have been a church; it greatly resembles the ruins of Chaldean and Syrian churches I have seen. The mounds are scattered about to a great extent, and prove this to have been, at some former period, a considerable place. From the principal mound the Hamreen mountains were in sight, in the western horizon; the distance is said to be about nine hours. We could also see plainly where the Karatepéh or Zengabad range strikes off from the Hamreen, and pursues a more easterly direction.

The ruined castle or wall on the hill in the pass is said to have extended across it, the river being confined within a proper channel and crossed by a bridge. This appears probable; for the wall and cliff are both broken down together abruptly, as if they had been continued farther on the torrent side. A man, who died lately at the age of 120, is reported to have said that he remembered the cliff and wall extending much farther over the torrent than it does now; and that the torrent was confined within a narrower channel. He had also heard the above story from other old men. This was most likely a derbent, or barrier, to secure the country from the incursions of the Koords, who, in

all ages must have been troublesome neighbours. This is one of the passes into Koordistan, through which there is a road leading to Ibrahim Khanjee; but it is a difficult one, as it passes the whole way over small ridges of hills.

From Toozkhoormattee to Ibrahim Khanjee is nine hours: from Kifri to Ibrahim Khanjee, also nine hours; but the road is level and good.

Shortly after our arrival came in Mohammed Aga, Mahmood Pasha's Ishik Agassi, or master of the ceremonies. He was appointed our Mehmandar; and brought me very handsome letters from Mahmood Pasha.

At Toozkhoormattee is a post-house containing eighty horses.

Thermometer—at 6 A.M. 64°; at noon, 70°; at 3 P.M. 66°; wind S.E., blowing hard, with rain, in the afternoon.

April 30.—I felt much indisposed to-day, so that I did not stir out; but I collected the following particulars:—The Ak-soo or Khoormattee river rises in Koordistan, at Ali Delloo, in the Karadagh; and, passing by Ibrahim Khanjee, comes to Toozkhoormattee. The mills in this country have each a little mud tower attached to it, in which to post a guard against thieves; all the places on the Koordish border being very subject to inroads from robbers of that nation. The population of Toozkhoormattee is estimated at about 5000 souls.

Thermometer—at 7 A.M. 62°; at 3 P.M. 71°; at 10 66°. Wind N. in the morning; at 2 P.M. a slight squall with a little rain from the W. Very vivid lightning at night, which began in the W., and passed over to the S. We have not had a day without lightning since we left Bagdad.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Toozkhoormattee—The Valley of Leilan—Yusuff Aga's camp—His hospitality—Entrance into Koordistan—Cultivation and appearance of the country—Present of provisions from the Pasha of Sulimania—Arrival at our camp before Sulimania—Visit of the Pashas—Of Koordish gentlemen.

May 1.—We left Toozkhoormattee at half-past five; the road N. 75 W. We had the gypsous hills close on our right; on our left a plain inclining down, by a very gentle slope, to the Hamreen mountains, which were distinctly visible. They appear to make a bend here, or to advance from the W.; the nearest point to us being indented like an embattled wall, and bearing N. 85 W.

The Adhaym * passes the mountains half an hour below this point, and below that again is Demir Kapi; a pass which has been fortified, and where there is an iron gate.

Above the notched or indented point in the hills, the chain appears again to bend westerly. At 7 A.M., road N. 45 W., and here the gypsum range looked as if it terminated; but I believe it does not really: it rather becomes a low range of gravelly hills, the sandstone here and there showing itself, and inclining towards the west. Our road skirted along and

* The Adhaym is the trunk stream which receives the Kerkook, Taook, and Toozkhoormattee waters.

kept these gravelly hills on our right hand. At twenty minutes before eight the minarets of Taook became visible. I went to a little hill (part of the gravelly branch) just on the right of the road, and from it had the good fortune to see both Taook and Toozkhoormattee at once, at the extreme north and south points of the horizon. Taook N. 15 W., Toozkhoormattee S. 15 E. Hence, also, I saw that the gypsous range appeared suddenly broken down at its north extremity, the western edge of which sends out the gravelly line, along which we have been travelling for an hour. It sweeps off to the east; and the intermediate space is a basin filled with debris, or gravelly hills, channelled and divided into hillocks by torrents or rain-streams finding their way into torrents. A few yards on is a kahreez, the first we had met on this road. It is a subterraneous channel, for conducting a spring from the hills to the cultivation in the plain; with shafts or wells sunk at intervals, which mark its line. Ten minutes farther on is another broad torrent, only filled in sudden heavy rains. This is reckoned half way between Taook and Toozkhoormattee; and still farther is another smaller torrent, with a small stream of very limpid water in it. Our road now became indented, or undulating, in a very slight degree, and at ten we reached the formidable Taook Tchai, which rises in Koordistan, a little on the right of our proposed road, and passing by Kara Hassan,

is there turned off into many streams, as occasion requires, which irrigate the cultivation of several villages. In summer it is mostly consumed by the cultivation; then, and in autumn, its water is here only about a foot or a foot and a half deep. It also waters many villages westward and northward of this; but at periods of heavy rain, in the winter and spring, it is a most formidable stream, filling its whole bed, which is nearly half a mile broad, rushing down with great fury, bringing with it large stones, and forming hollows, which render the passage always dangerous, and often wholly impracticable. The rise is sometimes so sudden, that it has been known to surprise people when half way over, and they have often been lost, or with difficulty extricated. There was a very great rise lately, after the heavy rains, and many bodies of men and animals were seen floating by. This was also the case during the extraordinary rains last summer. At present we found it *very passable;* and the zabit met us with about fifty men (accompanied by the double drums and zoornas, or trumpets) to help us and our baggage over.

We found two streams of water in the bed; the first was about two feet and a half deep, and ten or twelve yards over: the second about three feet and a half deep, and twenty or thirty yards across, rapid, and with a bad footing, on account of the large round stones. Yesterday the passage was much

more difficult; but the water had gone down during the night: as it was, it caused no small terror to some of the Bagdad cockneys in my suite.

The passage, including the whole bed, occupied twenty minutes. We then left the zabit and his party to assist the takht-revan; and after having regaled ourselves with a cup of coffee under the shemsia, we rode on to the village, half an hour, or two miles* off, passing on our left an old minaret of beautiful brick-work, apparently of the age of the caliphs, and some ziyarets, or places of pilgrimage, which show this to have been once a very large place; but the present village is very miserable. It contains a post-house of sixty horses.

Before coming to the Tchai or torrent, we saw, on our left, at the distance of two miles, the village of Ali Serai. A mile on our right, on the right bank of the Tchai, is the ziyaret of Zeen al Abedeen, much

* Mr. Rich's average rate of travelling was from three and a quarter to four miles an hour; and frequently, on a short march, or at the end of one, the horses went four miles and a half. The hours of the caravans, which are what the natives reckon by, are three miles to the hour. A horseman's hour is three miles and a half.

The following note is taken from a memorandum-book of Mr. Rich's:—"The rate of going of a good tchapkoon or ambling roadster, timed exactly, is fifty measured paces in twenty seconds, which gives 150 to a minute, or 9000 to an hour. Allowing for the difference of the pace and the yard, it may be taken at four miles an hour. The tchapkoon I have ascertained to be the most equal and regular of all paces."

resorted to by those afflicted with complaints in their eyes.

I was much indisposed at setting out, and scarcely hoped to get on so well to the end of the stage, which is called seven hours. We did it in rather less than five hours and a half. On arriving, I was received by a deputation, consisting of the elders of the place, headed by the mullahs; among them were some tall fine-looking old men.

My mehmandar, Mohammed Aga, always insists on holding my stirrup when I mount, notwithstanding my entreaties to the contrary. He says it is the service which he performs for Mahmood Pasha, and that he has been desired to consider me another Mahmood Pasha. He was the officer who last year commanded the detachment which took and plundered this village, when Mahmood Pasha was leagued with the King of Persia's son, the Shahzadeh of Kermanshah, against the Turks; and the poor villagers seemed anxious to propitiate him, in case of another such visit. Many came and kissed his hand; but the moment his back was turned, exclaimed, "May he never see good luck; he was the fellow who stripped us last year!"

Thermometer—morning 61°; at 3 P.M. 72°; at 10 P.M. 66°; wind in the morning E. Clear day. At 3, again overcast and calm.

May 2.—Having heard of some ruins to be seen in the neighbourhood, we resolved on inspecting

them in our way this morning. We found them to consist of the Minaret, which we had noticed yesterday, and the remains of a wall of earth, the facing of brick-work having been taken away. We saw a gateway of small dimensions, but very beautiful masonry, in the taste of the Tekieh, the Mostanzeria*, and the finest remains of the time of the caliphs at Bagdad. These ruins are noticed by Olivier; but he most unaccountably transfers them to Toozkhoormattee. This would lead one to suspect that his Journal, or at least this part of it, was written from recollection. He, indeed, professes not to describe remains of antiquity; but he should at least remember where they are, if he mentions them at all. I must, however, in justice add, that this is one of very few errors, which I have yet discovered in his Journal, which, in its description of the face of the country, is laudably correct.

At the end of the village, on our road, we passed a little imaum† with a pine-apple spire, like that over the tomb of Zobeide at Bagdad‡, but by no means so elegant in its design and execution. The villagers told us of the ruins of a church, which is likely

* The Mostanzeria is a mosque at Bagdad of the age of the caliphs. The Tekieh is a convent of dervishes of the order of the Bektashi, which stands on the banks of the Tigris, on the west side of the town, and is a good specimen of early and pure Mahometan architecture.—*Ed.*

† A building dedicated to an imaum or Mahometan saint.—*Ed.*

‡ The celebrated wife of Haroon al Raschid.

enough, as this was an episcopal see of the Chaldeans*, and bishops are mentioned at a very early period.

We saw the ruin which they pointed out as the church, about one and a half or two miles on the right, out of our road; and as I satisfied myself by my glass that it was nothing remarkable, I did not lose time by going to see it.

We finally marched at a quarter past six. The country was covered with wormwood (*yaoshan* in Turkish) as yesterday, with some origanum, and many other plants, that I, ignorant as I am of these subjects, did not recognize. The wormwood sent forth a refreshing, agreeable odour. We saw much barley yet green; and some few patches which they were preparing to reap.

Our road was north (leaving the Kerkook road on our left) to the foot of the hills. The Hamreen just in sight on our left. At twenty minutes past seven we arrived at the little mud village of Jumeila, which in Arabic means "the pretty little one," though the name ill suits it, as it is a wretched hole. We now began to ascend the range of hills, which run N.W. to the village of Matara, from which they take their name. They then pass by Tazeekhoormattee, and soon afterwards are said gradually to disappear.

* Vide Asemanni, art. Dakoka.

I now am happy that I came by this road, though it is three or four days longer than that by Ibrahim Khanjee, as I have learned many things which completely put me in possession of the *skeleton* of the country. I was surprised to find my mehmandar so intelligent with respect to positions of places, bearings, and connexions of ranges of hills. I tried him with some points which I already knew, and his answers satisfied me as to the reliance to be placed on his general information.

The other, or easternmost branch of the Kifri hills (which is, in fact, the main trunk or artery), passes by Kerkook, and Altoon Kiupri, thence runs off below Arbil to the Tigris, and is there called the Karatchukdagh. This eastern branch contains gypsum and naphtha. The Western, or Matara hills, are pure sandstone and gravel, and resemble in every respect the Hamreen chain most completely. They offer many circumstances worthy of note. On entering them in the pass of Jumeila, we rode through a ridge or two of perfectly vertical strata, looking as if they had been forced up into their present position. These are succeeded by some perfectly horizontal strata, also of pure bare sandstone, large blocks of which have tumbled out, and are strewed about; the rest look of a crumbling texture; and indeed the whole range bears strongly the appearance of a mountain in ruins. We next came to inclined strata, and, what is curious, the inclination of it is exactly as at

the Hamreen. These hills slope to the east, at an angle of 60° from the vertical, or 30 below the horizontal. All the strata, throughout the chain, are exactly parallel, and have precisely the same direction, as if they had been drawn with a line N. 45 W. The ascent is very gentle, in an easterly direction; but winding in the narrow clefts worn by the rain in the sandstone.

We reached at twenty minutes before eight a dismal plateau, or wide extent of gravelly ruins, in heaps, and wild-looking furrows. Our road through it was N. 50 E. At eight we came to other ridges of inclined strata, answering the former description; but more and more covered with gravelly soil as we advanced. Here and there were patches of barley. We met a small Koordish caravan, laden with myrtle (mord), packed in bags; it gave out a delicious fragrance. It is used, I believe, in the dyeries.

The soil and gravel now predominated, as in the east face of the Hamreen; and at a quarter before nine we reached a spot, overlooking the plain of Leilan, where the hills slope gradually and gently down.

We now entered the plain of Leilan, the area of which is entirely occupied by barley, apparently in a very flourishing state. A very little of it was beginning to turn yellow. At half past nine we alighted, to take coffee, and to give our quarter-master time to make his arrangements.

At a quarter past ten we mounted again; and at a quarter before eleven arrived at Leilan; which is a small village, now belonging to Abdullah Effendi, formerly mutawelli or guardian of Imam Aazem*, an old acquaintance of mine. It was last year entirely plundered by the Persians and Koords, who burned what they could not carry away, in order to distress the foragers of the Turkish army. The villagers, I believe, all over Turkey always keep their grain in pits or wells near the village, which, when covered over and levelled with the soil, cannot be always discovered, even by the native armies, without some one to show them the spot.

From the terrace of the house where we were quartered I had the good fortune to perceive Kerkook, which I carefully set several times with the surveying compass of telescope sight, in order to be quite sure. The point I set was the castle hill; part of the town below it was visible through the telescope. Kerkook castle hill N. 24 W.

I was also anxious to ascertain the distance, as near as it could be given me by the people of the place. By my eye I should judge it to be about twelve miles in a right line. Abdullah Effendi, who has several times gone from Leilan to Kerkook, noting the time by his watch, says it is for a caravan

* Abu Hanifa, a celebrated doctor of Mahometan law, surnamed Aazem, or the Honoured, is buried at this place, which is about two miles to the north of Bagdad.

of mules three and a half hours; for an ordinary horseman, three hours; and, at a smart walk of a horse, two and a half hours. This would be then ten geographical miles. By means of a good observation I had at night, I have now been able to satisfy myself as to the true position of Kerkook, which, from my former journals, and those of Sir R. Ker Porter, I had long been persuaded was placed too far westward by our maps. I find I was right in the position I had assigned it.

The country between Leilan and Kerkook is a perfect plain, with several artificial mounts scattered all over it. In some of the villages date-trees were to be seen, but few or no gardens. The plain is bordered on the W. by the Matara hills; and on the E. by the range which we are to cross to-morrow.

Tazee Khoormattee is three hours off.

The village of Leilan is worth annually about 25,000 piastres, Bagdad currency. Like all the other villages on the Koordish line, it is much harassed, and has been several times utterly ruined by the incursions of the Koords. The Kiahya of the village intreated me to use my interest with Mahmood Pasha to get back 300 of his sheep, which had been carried off by the Koords, and which he had heard were still undispersed. All the peasants pray that my visit to Koordistan may be

the means of preventing any Koordish inroads, at least till they have got in their harvest. The people of this and all the neighbouring villages are of the Turkish race, and are Tcheragh Sonderans, or Ali Ullahees*.

Thermometer—at six A.M. 68°; at three P. M. 81°; at ten P.M. 67°. Wind S.E.

May 3.—We left Leilan at half-past five, and travelled in a N. E. direction along the Leilan stream, which we kept on our left. Its course from the hills is marked by a succession of mills, each of which has a small round tower of stone attached to it, which makes it look like a little fort. In one, a miller was crying out 'Ver, Allah!' Give, God!—the constant practice, I understand, when the mill is empty; upon which those who have grain to grind bring it to the mill.

In half an hour we reached the hills, which here rise at once from the plain, and form a plateau, proceeding from and skirting the east branch of the Kifri hills. This plateau is worn into narrow valleys and mounts, by numerous rills and rain-courses. The most considerable of the former is the Leilan water, showing by its rapidity the great inclination of the ground which it traverses: it has its source in the above-mentioned hills, and receives many smaller tributary streams in its course.

* See note, page 26.

All these valleys, especially that of the Leilan water, contain numerous little villages, embosomed in gardens of fruit-trees and roses, which at this season render them perfect little paradises. The base of the hills, or plateau, is sandstone; which here and there shows itself in strata inclined in the same degree and direction as those of the Matara branch of hills. Over this is a concretion, or conglomeration of pebbles, which, wearing away, forms a gravelly soil.

This tract is called the Banner or District of Kara Hassan, and is dependant solely on the Pasha of Bagdad, the Governor of Kerkook having no authority in it. It is worth about 85,000 piastres annually, and extends in length about six hours. The late war, and the constant inroads of the Koords, have greatly depopulated this district, and proved very destructive to agriculture. We saw some barley; but the greatest part of the country over which we travelled was covered with grass, mixed with wild rye, oats, and an infinity of wild flowers; besides thyme, mint, and peppermint. The higher parts and tops of the hills would make excellent sheep-walks; and the valleys afford fine pasturage for cattle. On ascending the plateau, the height of which above the plain was very inconsiderable, perhaps no where exceeding 300 feet, we were immediately struck by the marked difference in the appearance of the country, and in our own sensations. It was only

now we could be said to have quitted the dreary Ghermaseer*, and I seemed to inhale a new existence. My feverish anxiety and listless despondency gradually passed away, like the clouds of a stormy night, and I revived to new hopes and renovated vigour: nor was I singular in my sensations. Mrs. Rich, who had been greatly indisposed, was quite restored by the time she arrived at the end of her day's journey; and several invalids of the party declared that they felt no more symptoms of illness after an hour or two's ride among the hills. At half past seven we descended into a valley formed by a little stream, which rushes down between the hills to join the Leilan water, when a scene presented itself which called forth a unanimous exclamation of rapture from the whole party. By the brook which turned a little mill was a small assemblage of cottages, completely embosomed in a wood of poplars, willows, fig, plum, and rose-trees, the latter all in full bloom. This grove was completely tenanted by nightingales, who joined their mellow voices to the murmuring of the rill. There is no mind, however brutish, but is affected by the beauties of nature. The principal cause of the Koords deserting their chiefs in their disgrace is the fear and irresistible repugnance they feel to quitting their country for the hideous desert of Bagdad.

* Or 'the hot country;' it is the name given to that tract of country which lies between the Tigris and Mount Zagros.

My Turks were loth to pass this valley without the enjoyment of a cup of coffee in so delicious a spot; and I felt no objection to indulging them. We passed a pleasant half hour at this place, which is called Hussein Islam; and then rode to Yusuf Aga's camp, half an hour farther on in the valley of Leilan. We arrived at half past eight. Our whole stage, deducting the half hour's rest, was two hours and a half.

Yusuf Aga, the present Governor of the district of Kara Hassan, is a Georgian, an old friend of mine, being the very person who came to my camp with Daoud Pasha's firmans and dispatches, during the revolution that ended in the destruction of Saed Pasha, and nomination of his brother-in law, Daoud, to be his successor. Yusuf Aga is now moving about his district seeking pasture for his cattle. He had made very handsome preparations for receiving me at his little encampment, where he entertained us in a most hospitable manner. We pitched our tents on an eminence over the valley of the Leilan water; the banks of which were ornamented by a little grove or garden, as at Hussein Islam. The situation was really exquisite; and in the valley we discovered a briar rose of England, the wild perfume of which was infinitely more pleasing to us than all the odours of the East.

Soon after my arrival a tchaoush was announced from Moosa Aga, the Governor of Kerkook; which

is about four hours or twelve miles from this place; he was the bearer of a very polite letter of invitation from his master, requesting me to pass a few days with him. I understand he has made great preparations to receive me; but I must, for the present, decline his invitation. We shall, in all likelihood, return by that road.

May 4.—I awoke this morning at half past four with a smart pain through the temples similar to that produced sometimes by suddenly swallowing a mouthful of iced lemonade: the pain went off as the day grew warmer.

At half past five A.M. we mounted. Our road was northerly, along the valley of the Leilan water; into which we sometimes descended, crossing the little stream occasionally. The valley, which is narrow and winding, grew even more beautiful as we advanced; and we often rode through lanes and coppices of mulberry, pomegranate, and other fruit trees, with rose-bushes interspersed. To judge by the breadth of its pebbly bed, which occupied nearly the whole of the valley, the Leilan water, now a mere brook, must be a considerable torrent when swollen by the rains. As we advanced, it received numerous tributary rills. The plantations continued for about three miles, and on the sides of the hills we saw some vineyards. The country was covered with wild thyme, wormwood, sage in flower, and a variety of other plants among the grass. The level very sensibly rose as we advanced.

At eight A.M. our course was N. 75 E. We now quitted the Leilan, which has its source hard by, and we crossed the range of hills in a N.W. direction. From the summits of these hills, the streams run down to Koordistan. Here the government of Kara Hassan terminates, and that of Sulimania in Koordistan commences. About nine we began to descend by a very direct, but not difficult road; and in twenty minutes we reached the first *landing-place*, if I may be allowed the expression. On an eminence on our right was a small building, a Ziyaret or place of pilgrimage, called the Mekam of Kidder Elias *,

* Or resting-place of the prophet Elias. The Mahometans believe that Elijah never died, and that he is still on the earth, where he is to remain until the coming of Jesus Christ. They call him Kidder, or ever-green, on account of the everlasting life which he enjoys, and by which he is kept ever in a flourishing condition, in a paradise which, say they, might be taken for Heaven itself. In reference to this a Turkish poet observes, "Keep yourselves from believing that this world is your home; your home is in Heaven alone; strive therefore by the means of virtue to reach that home where Elias dwells, and where a place is prepared for you."

The following striking anecdote, which is taken from the Bibliothèque Orientale of D'Herbelot, will surely be read with much interest by every Christian:—

When the Arabs had taken the city of Holwan, in the 16th year of the Hegira, 300 horsemen returning from this enterprise under the command of Fadhilah, towards the end of the day encamped between two mountains in Syria. Fadhilah, having intimated that it was time for evening prayer, began to repeat with a loud voice, the usual form "God is great," &c., when he heard his words repeated by another voice, which continued to follow him to the end of his prayer. Fadhilah, after he had finished,

much celebrated among the Koords, who believe it to be impious to hunt in its vicinity. Hence we again descended by an extremely gentle slope to-

cried out, "Oh thou who hast been speaking, if thou be of the order of angels, may the strength of God be with thee; and if thou be of that other class of spirits, it is well; but if thou be a man like me, make thyself known to me, let me see thee, that I may have the benefit of thy instruction." He had no sooner concluded these words, than an old man who was bald, and with a cane in his hand, and looking like a dervish, appeared before him. After they had saluted each other, Fadhilah asked the old man who he was: he answered, "I am here by command of the Lord Jesus, who has left me in this world, to remain here till he comes the second time. I wait therefore the coming of this Lord, who is the source of all happiness, and in obedience to his commands, I live on the other side of this mountain." Fadhilah, upon hearing these words, inquired of him when the Lord Jesus would come? The old man having answered, "at the end of the world, and at the time of the last judgment," the curiosity of Fadhilah increased, and he further requested him to tell him some of the signs of the near approach of that time. Kidder Elias, then addressing him in a prophetic tone, said, "When men and women shall forget their respective places; when abundance of provisions shall not lower their price; when the blood of the innocent shall be shed; when the poor shall ask alms and receive nothing; when love shall be extinguished; when the Holy Scriptures shall be turned into songs; and when temples dedicated to the true God shall be full of idols, know that then the day of judgment is very near." He had no sooner concluded these words than he disappeared.—*D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale*, folio, p. 732.—*Ed.*

These notions of the Mahometans are derived from the Jews. Jesus himself was taken for Elias, re-appearing after nine centuries of concealment. The prophecy that Elijah should come "before the great and terrible day of the Lord" has probably given rise to the notion, that he had not yet completed his part on earth. The wisest Rabbis have taught that Elias sits under

wards the N E. to Tchemtchemal; a high artificial mount, which either gives name to, or receives it from the banner or district in which it is situated. We passed, on our way to this mount, much barley, seemingly in very good condition, but not yet fit for the sickle; a large plantation of lentils; and much pasture-land.

We reached our camp at ten A.M. It was pitched

the tree of life in Paradise, and keeps account of the good works of the Jews, especially of their Sabbath observances. They conceive that his presence may be attracted by the due performance of spiritual exercises; they leave the door open that he may enter; and their chants on the close of the Sabbath are full of references to him, and petitions for his favour; the occasion of circumcising a child they regard as peculiarly interesting in the eyes of Elias. At such seasons his presence is besought, and a seat is kept vacant for him, which if all be rightly gone about, it is not doubted that he will occupy. It is told among them, R. Judah was once at a circumcision at Ratisbon, when perceiving, in virtue of his spiritual discernment, that Elias's chair was empty, he foretold that the child should come to no good; the child afterwards became a Christian. Attendance at this ceremony they hold to have been assigned to Elias, because of his zeal for circumcision; which led him to complain that "the children of Israel had forsaken God's covenant," (1 Kings xix. 14,) meaning the covenant of circumcision. On this account too they believe that he is called the angel of the covenant. It is remarkable, when viewed in connexion with the above Mahometan story, that the Jews, understanding Elias's coming "before the day of the Lord," to mean an appearance preparatory to the advent of the Messiah, consider revelations concerning that period to be his especial work, and at the close of each Sabbath, pray that on the next he would come and declare the circumstances of the coming of the Christ.—*See Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica*, Basle, 1641, pp. 80, 255.—*Communicated by a friend to the Ed.*

on the nearly circular Mount of Tchemtchemal, which was capable of receiving a much larger camp than ours. As the plain continued to slope down towards the east the mount appeared highest on its eastern side. It rises nearly perpendicularly to the height of above 100 feet; but of what age it may be it is impossible to say. We picked up some pieces of pottery of a fine quality, and deep red colour; and a very large block of stone; but nothing to characterize the mount, which must be at least Sassanian, possibly even yet more ancient. We have, from its summit, where I am now writing, a fine view of the mountains of Koordistan, from Keuy Sanjak on the N. to Seghirmeh on the south-east.

The plain continues to slope for a little way beyond the mount, at the foot of which runs the Tchemtchemal tchai or water: beyond this, it rises again very gradually, but much broken into ravines and hills, to the Bazian range of hills; in which are the passes of Seghirmeh and Derbent. The latter lies just before us; behind it rises the mountain of Peer Omar Goodroon, forming part of a higher range, to all appearance bare and rocky. Goodroon is the highest mountain in these parts, and is said to contain a glacier, which supplies all Koordistan with snow, or rather ice, the store of which is inexhaustible, and never melts. We perceived snow in some of the clefts.

I will now endeavour to give some general idea of

this part of the Koordish ranges of mountains, as they appeared from the mount of Tchemtchemal.

The line which we see immediately before us, extending from N. to S. E., is a narrow precipitous bare ridge, which is called the Bazian mountains. To the north of the pass of Derbent i Bazian, which, as I have already remarked, is just before us, the mountains soon make a turn towards the west, where they form the mountains called Khalkhalan, which bound the Pashalik of Keuy Sanjak on the south. To the south of the pass of Derbent, the ridge is continued in a straight line south and a little east. Here is another pass called Derbent i Basterra; beyond which the ridge, continuing in the same line, assumes the name of Karadagh, and becomes well wooded. Here is the third road into Koordistan from the plains of Assyria. It is called the Seghirmeh, or ladder, and passing directly over the crest of the mountain, has been esteemed difficult, if not impossible, for an army.

Abdurrahman Pasha, the late governor of Sulimania, fortified all these passes, at the time he was endeavouring to render Koordistan independent; but having been defeated at Derbent i Bazian by Kutchuk Suliman Pasha of Bagdad, his fortifications were demolished. Karadagh is bounded by the Diala. Just south of the pass of Basterra, the Zengheneh hills come out west from the Karadagh, and are at first much lower: but turning

south, as if to form a parallel line with Karadagh, they become of an almost equal elevation. Just behind this part, that is E. of it, appears a higher summit, belonging to I know not what range, which is part of the district of Dilleo. Just before, or W. of the high part, which to appearance forms the termination of the Zenghaneh range*, are little hills, scarcely discernible; where is Ibrahim Khanjee, and Ghilli on the Turkish frontier. Still farther W., the Kifri and Toozkhoormattee line of hills is seen coming up to unite with, but a little in the rear of, the Kara Hassan hills we have just left; which are prolonged a little to the N. † They then disappear by turning west; and leave an open horizon, as far as the Khalkhalan hills.

There were no villages discernible from Tchemtchemal mount, they being all situated in hollows, by the sides of the little streams. The villagers are all now dispersed about, in little encampments of black tents, for the convenience of pasturing their cattle, and attending to their harvest. All cultivation in Koordistan is watered solely by the rains ‡, there being no artificial irrigation.

* Having a lateral view of the Zenghaneh hills, I could see that the strata of all parts of that range incline to the E in the same manner and degree as the Hamreen mountains.

† The road from Kerkook to Derbent, called the Ghisheh Khan road, passes over these hills.

‡ The kind of cultivation which is carried on by means of

Thermometer—5 A.M. 49°; 2 P.M. 79°; 10 P.M. 59°. During the day, light N.W. breeze; night calm.—The cold was so great last night as to be pretty severely felt by our relaxed frames, though the thermometer at 2 P.M. was 79: it however continued only half an hour at this height.

May 5.—There was a very heavy dew this morning, the first I had seen for many years. The sun soon after rising exhibited the curious phenomenon of an iris, formed by its rays acting on the morning mists. With the dawn appeared the high range of the Kandeel Dagh in N. 10 E., which forms the Rewandiz, Akko, Sikeneh, and Saook Boolak mountains; and is, in fact, the prolongation of Zagros, forming the grand frontier between Persia and Turkey. They were covered with snow down to their *apparent* bases, and their points were broken and sharp.

We marched at half past five as usual, and proceeded in a N.E. direction to join the Kerkook road. There is a more direct road from Tchemtchemal to Derbent, the distance of which is three hours; but we preferred this one as being the easiest. The ground became more cut up and furrowed, as we advanced; and the soil was an earth of deep red

rain is called by the natives Dem, which is an Arabic word. Rice and cotton must be artificially watered in countries where there are no tropical rains.

approaching to crimson, when seen from a distance. The ravines, which are very deep, are made by innumerable little rills, which flow from every direction. The surface is covered with grass interspersed with the usual herbs: we saw but little barley.

At 9 A.M. we arrived at the pass of Derbent, the approach to which is very marshy, and must be troublesome in winter. A small khan stands on the right hand, and just at the mouth of the pass is a square ruin or platform, with the remains of little vaulted cells in it, and some wells of water. This resembles the platform at Kasr i Shireen, and Haoush Kerek; and is undoubtedly, like them, Sassanian *. For curiosity's sake I asked the guard † at Derbent by whom he thought it was constructed, and he answered without hesitation, "By Khosrou."

The pass of Derbent is formed by a mere ridge, or wall, which advances as it were to close the valley, and slopes down very gradually, leaving but a small opening. This is a complete screen, facing the two sides of the opening through which the road to Koordistan leads.

The layers of the screen are in thin laminæ, and incline *outwards*, or to the west, with but a small inclination from the vertical.

* See Appendix.

† There is a guard at the pass of Derbent, who take twelve paras on every load that passes. No such demand, however, was made from us.

This pass, as I have already mentioned, was fortified by Abdurrahman Pasha. He placed here a wall and gate, and three or four pieces of cannon, two of which were planted on the height, in order to fire upon the Turkish camp below; and vain would have been Suliman Pasha's attack on this pass, had not a Koordish chief called Mahommed Bey, a son of Khaled Pasha who was united with the Turks, led a division of the Turkish troops and auxiliary Koords up the mountain, by a pass only known to some Koords, and which had been neglected as impracticable; so that Abdurrahman Pasha found his position turned, and his guns on the height pointed against himself. He was then obliged to retreat, and the wall was razed by the Pasha of Bagdad, who afterwards advanced to Sulimania.

Having enjoyed the refreshment of a cup of coffee at the Derbent*, we marched again at half past nine. The valley soon became open and winding, having the Bazian hills on each side. The strata all inclined towards the west, and the hills were, I believe, calcareous. On the left at some distance in the hills is a ruin, called Sheitan Bazar, which is composed of a range of little cells. This, and another called

* The government or banner of Bazian commences at a ravine and little stream called the Red Valley, half an hour west of the pass of Derbent.

Gheura Kalaa, also on the left of the valley among the hills, are, from the descriptions, unquestionably Sassanian remains.

The mountain of Goodroon was before us, a little on our left. About 10 A.M. we turned into a branch of the valley, which is here very wide, to the village of Derghezeen, where we arrived in about a quarter of an hour. From the door of our tent was visible, towards the north-east, about three-quarters of a mile distant, another artificial mount, exactly like that at Tchemtchemal, called Gopara.

The government of Bazian reaches to the summits of the hills north-east of us under Goodroon, and there joins that of Soodash. In these mountains are many deer, wild goats, bears, and leopards or panthers.

The cultivation about Derghezeen * consists principally of rice, cotton, sesamine, and tobacco. There are innumerable little rills fresh from the hills near the village, which water the valley. Some vineyards were observable in the hills.

Thermometer—at 5 A.M. 56°; 2 P.M. 78°; 10 P.M. 54°; calm or light easterly airs.

May 6.—At half-past five A.M. we marched, the morning being calm and overcast. As the road wound much on account of the mud, I did not set our course till we arrived at the straight road to

* So called from its being originally a settlement of the Derghezeenli Turkomans.

Sulimania; from which point I knew the village we had left was visible*.

We directed our course across the valley, from the western side where Derghezeen is situated, to the eastern hills, along the foot of which we afterwards kept. Our progress was very slow, on account of the muddy and marshy places formed by the multitudes of rills, which flow from every direction. Soon after leaving Derghezeen, we crossed a very pretty stream, which, coming through a hollow way in the rocks, tumbles down a few feet, and forms a small cascade. This is called the Devil's Valley. At half-past six we passed, close on our right, the village of Lazian, or Lajan, and soon after we fell into the direct road to Sulimania. The village of Bazian, which is reckoned the capital of the district, though a wretched mud place, like all the Koordish villages I have yet seen, lay to the north-west of us, under the hills, at about two hours and a half distance. Our road was S. 30 E. This valley, which is about three miles broad, affords fine pasturage, but little or no cultivation was to be seen. The grass was quite young and fresh, and none of the grain we have seen since entering Koordistan is nearly fit for the sickle.

We kept the hills, which bound the valley on the east, close on our left hand. We had intended to

* There is a road to Sulimania down the valley of Derghezeen, keeping on the western side of it; but the mud was said to be still deeper there than by the road we took.

have gone to the village of Teinal, a place on the west side of the valley, about three hours and a half from Derghezeen; but when we came nearly opposite, at the place where we should have crossed over to it, our mehmandar, from some information he had just received, judged it most expedient to proceed on to Taslujee, in the vale of Sulimania. Accordingly, at nine we turned off to the north-east, and immediately ascended the hill we had hitherto kept on our left all the morning. The ascent and descent were stony, but not precipitous, and at half-past nine we entered the vale of Sulimania, a fine green plain, about eight miles across, which wants only wood to make it really beautiful. The town of Sulimania was visible under the hills which bound the valley on the east, the range of which Mount Goodroon is a part.

Our progress to-day was slow and difficult, on account of the muddy and stony ground; and it was 10 A.M. when we arrived at our place of encampment, which was near a mount called Kerespeh Tepeh—that is, the black mount, exactly like those at Tchemtchemal and Derghezeen. These mounts are probably royal stations, marking the progress of an army; perhaps of that of Xerxes or Darius Hystaspes*.

From my walks yesterday, and my journey to-day, I begin to understand a little the *frame-work* of this

* Vestiges of ancient buildings are visible at a place called Kerwanan, on a hill in the plain.

country; which has been the scene of so much that is interesting in history, and is so unknown in the present day, that I think it advisable to state the result of my observations. That part of Koordistan which is enclosed between the Bazian and Karadagh range of hills on the west, and the Goodroon range on the east, is subdivided into valleys running nearly S.E. and N.W., all of which terminate and have a common issue at the Pass of Derbent. These valleys are formed by small subordinate ranges of hills, dependant upon, though not extending, the whole course of the greater ranges above mentioned. The first valley is that of Derghezeen, having the Bazian range on the west; then comes the valley of Sulimania, separated from the other by a line of hills not so high as those of Bazian. The valley of Derghezeen* is subdivided by a still lower range of hills, which does not extend far south; and near Sulimania another line of hills comes out, leaving a valley between them and the Goodroon range. The Bazian mountains increase in height as they go south, the Karadagh appearing higher still; and it is bounded by the river Diala, where the territory of the Pasha of Zchai begins. The plain of Sulimania *appeared* open to the south, where it has for its boun-

* In the plain of Derghezeen the mehmendar pointed out, under the western hills, a stream, which, uniting with several others, and passing through Derbend i Baserra, joins the Taook Tchai.

daries the snow-clad mountains of Avroman *, which are a part of Taurus and Zagros.

That part of Mount Goodroon which is just over Sulimania is called Azmir; on the east side of which is Karatcholan, the old capital of the province, in the district of Shehrizour. On the east side of Goodroon is Mergapa, a pleasant village in the hills, about six hours from Sulimania, which has been recommended for our summer-quarters. Goodroon † appeared to be of a dark colour, rocky, and precipitous. The summit consists of a hollow, or basin ‡, in which the snow lodges and consolidates into ice §.

If this sketch be not correct in all its details, it will, at least, give a good general idea of the country, and may serve as a groundwork for future inquiry.

Thermometer—5 A.M. 55°; 2 P.M. 66°; 10 P.M. 60°: calm and cloudy; afternoon, showers of rain; steady soft rain till after midnight.

* These mountains are the frontier between the territory of Sulimania and that of Sinna, a province of Koordistan under the government of Persia.

† The mehmandar insists that the Azmir or Goodroon mountains go as far as Keuy Sanjak, Amadia, and Mardin. He may not be wrong.

‡ I think it is a crater, but I propose to myself a nearer examination.

§ A perpetual store of ice is thus kept ready for the use of the inhabitants of Sulimania, who make great use of it during the summer to cool the fruit, sherbets, water, &c.

May 7.—At ten minutes before six we mounted, and directed our course towards the Goodroon chain, but in an oblique direction, in order to avoid the mud, which was said to be very deep in the lower parts of the plain. The morning was clear, with a gentle northerly breeze. Shortly after leaving our camp we were met by Abdurrahman Aga, one of Mahmood Pasha's gentlemen of rank, sent by his master to relieve our travelling mehmandar, and to conduct us to Sulimania. He had ten or twelve servants with him; and, after the usual interchange of compliments, we marched on together.

Our road lay over hills sent forth by the Goodroon mountains, interspersed with valleys, and well watered by numerous little brooks, some of which, being dammed up, are made to rise above the level, and are then drawn off to form rice-beds. We saw a good deal of barley growing, but it was yet young. At eight we crossed a broad, but shallow torrent, which descends from Goodroon, and in autumn is quite dry, called Tchaktchak, as my conductor informed me, because the pebbles found in it strike fire.

At five minutes past eight, we came to the Sertchinar, a fountain by the roadside, which bursts from the earth in more than fifty little springs, and becomes almost immediately a considerable stream; murmuring over the pebbles, and making, to my ears, a most delightful sound. This stream runs

through the district of Tchemen Tangeroo*, where a great deal of rice is cultivated, into the Diala; and, indeed, may be said to be one of the streams which contribute to form that river. In its progress through the vale of Sulimania it becomes the property of one man, Yunus Bey, on whom it was conferred by the present Pasha. The lands it waters are worth annually more than 50,000 piastres; and much rice, cotton, sesamine, and tobacco are cultivated by means of its waters.

Above the sources of the stream is a knoll or hill, on which stand two trees, which are said to mark the site of a battle fought in very ancient times. The Koords say that Ali planted his spear on this spot after an engagement with the Infidels; but Abdurrahman Aga acknowledged that there was only Koordish tradition for this, though he thought there was no doubt of there having been a battle here, but between what powers he pretended not to know.

In compliance with the wishes of the Pasha, we encamped on the left bank of the Sertchinar, till he could make preparations for our entry into his capital, which he has settled is to take place to-morrow morning. Mahommed Aga, our old mehmandar, here took leave of us. He has greatly endeared

* A Koordish corruption of the Persian Taj rood. The town or village of Tanjeroo is one hour distant from Sulimania.

AN OFFICER OF THE PASHA OF SULIMANIA.

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himself to us all by his kind and gentlemanlike conduct during his *officiation*.

Shortly after we had encamped, great stores of all sorts of provisions, for ourselves and our people, came in from the Pasha; and at noon Omar Aga, another Koordish officer, arrived. This gentleman is to be our attendant during the whole of our stay in Koordistan*. After having had an interview with me, and settled concerning our abode, during our residence in Sulimania, he returned to town to make preparations for receiving us. From what I have seen of Koordish gentlemen, both at Bagdad and since entering their country, I am inclined to think very favourably of their manners and hospitality.

In the afternoon I took a walk to look about me a little. Around the head of the Sertchinar the water bursts from the ground in every spot; and wherever I removed the earth water gushed forth †. The bed of the stream is full of water-cresses, and the stream itself contains abundance of fish, among which were trout, from the description given us by our anglers, who saw many, but found them too shy for their clumsy tackle.

The Sertchinar ‡ is only separated from the

* See Plate, No. I.

† The temperature of all these fountains, for I tried several of them distant from each other, was 62° Fahrenheit, the thermometer standing at the same time at 76° in the open air.

‡ On the E. of the Sertchinar, separated from it by a little hill, in like manner as it is from the Tchaktchak on the W., is another

Tchaktchak by a little eminence, on which is a burying-ground that to all appearance has not been used for a long time. I thought of the fine description of the old burying-ground, in the prologue to "Old Mortality," as I wandered among the rude grey stones of this cemetery, between which the ground was covered with wild flowers. Three or four spreading trees adorn this eminence, and great was my delight in discovering them to be oaks!—not, indeed, of the well-known British species, but fine trees, fully sufficient to call forth many precious recollections. The leaves are less indented, smoother, and of a darker green than those of the oak I have been accustomed to see in England; yet it is not the dwarf oak. It is said there were many of these trees about the Sertchinar formerly, which were cut down for the building of Sulimania.

Thermometer—5 A.M. 53°; 3 P.M. 76°; 10 P.M. 64°. Fine northerly breeze and clear weather.

May 8.—We marched at forty minutes past five, and pursuing our way gently along the foot of the hills, with much ascending and descending, we arrived at our camp before Sulimania at forty minutes past six, where I was received by several Koordish gentlemen belonging to Mahmood Pasha, who, having made their compliments, immediately went away,

stream, but less than either of the others. This and the Tchaktchak are only torrents, which are, I believe, dry in autumn. They all unite in the plain.

except two who were left to attend on us. We had anticipated some trouble from the crowd, the Koords being celebrated *starers*, and we the first European party most of them had ever seen here: not a soul, however, appeared, except those who were on duty. This, I understood, proceeded from an order of Mahmood Pasha's, strictly enjoining the Koords to give us no trouble. I had but little rest to-day, and the draft on my spirits was rather more than they could answer. I had scarcely sat down in my tent, when in came an express Tartar from Constantinople. I had rather he had shown himself at any other time; especially as, bringing the news of the king's death, it was requisite to forward on the dispatches immediately *.

I had scarcely recovered from the arrival of the Tartar, when my old friend, Abdullah Pasha's chief officer, arrived; and he again was succeeded by Mahmood Masraff, the prime minister of the Pasha of Sulimania—a very celebrated character in Koordistan, of whom I had often heard at Bagdad. He

* As illustrative of the suspicion and fear of treachery ever prevailing in the mind of an Eastern governor, it may here be mentioned that Daoud, Pasha of Bagdad, had been much alarmed at the idea of Mr. Rich's going to Koordistan. The reasons given did not satisfy him; for no Turk ever thinks of travelling for health or amusement. He evidently suspected evil against himself; and the arrival of this Tartar from Constantinople, just on Mr. Rich's arrival in Koordistan, is said strongly to have confirmed his fears. —*Ed.*

came with the information that his master himself was coming at *aasser**, to pay me the first visit, and welcome me himself to his country. This was quite an unlooked-for honour, and was a great proof of his friendly and hospitable disposition. I had not expected even that he would return my visit; but coming himself to me in the first instance I had considered as totally out of the question.

I accordingly made the best preparations my situation would admit of to receive Mahmood Pasha; and shortly after aasser his approach was announced. The sight was a gay and barbaric one. He alone was on horseback; and, being a very small man, was almost hid by the crowd of tall Koords, habited in every colour of the rainbow, but chiefly in pink, yellow, and scarlet, which hues especially made up the tassels and fringes which covered their heads. The march was silent, and yet their tread was heard from afar. When my guard saluted, the Pasha immediately returned them the compliment, by laying his hand on his breast with considerable dignity. I sent my tchaoushes to meet him, and advanced myself beyond the door of the tent to receive him. As soon as he saw me, he alighted from his horse, his tchaoushes shouting out; and shaking hands with me with both his hands, we came into the tent, and sat down together on a shawl, which I had prepared for the occasion. It was with difficulty, and only after some

* Or afternoon prayer.

time, that I could persuade him to adopt the easier mode of sitting and crossing his legs: he wished to persist in the more respectful and difficult attitude of kneeling, resting on his heels. He welcomed me again and again to Koordistan, assured me that the country was mine, and many other such Eastern compliments. Many civil things, of course, passed,—on his part in apologies for his country, and on mine in praise of it. I at least was sincere; for I really was charmed with the verdant hills, and delighted to be out of Bagdad. I then gave him the Pasha of Bagdad's message, which, being a very civil one, I took care to deliver audibly before all his attendants, and he seemed sensible of the attention. He spoke of the state of the country; exposed the difficulties with which he had to contend, in being placed on the frontiers of two rival powers, one of which never ceased persecuting him for contributions,—the other, his natural sovereigns, that is the Turks, insisted that he should neither serve nor pay Persia; and yet Turkey was neither able nor willing to defend him, when the Shahzadeh of Kermanshah carried on his exactions by force. He pointed out the pernicious way in which this combination operated on the prosperity of the country, in a modest and sensible manner; and expressed his wish of adhering with fidelity to the cause of the Pasha of Bagdad. I believe, in fact, that personally he is well inclined to the Turks from religious prejudices;

but it is easy to see that their cause is not very popular, and that the generality here have neither respect nor confidence in the Ottomans; nor do they deserve it. Their political conduct is blind, arrogant, and treacherous. With a little prudence and conciliation, and by a skilful application to the *Sunite* feelings of the bigoted Koords, who detest the Persian sect, they might have attached firmly to them a brave and numerous people—who possess the most important lines of their frontier—and who, at particular moments, might turn the scale in favour of the power whose cause they espoused. There is at present a game going on, the intricacies of which it would be difficult thoroughly to unravel; but it is evident that it is a kind of *ruse contre ruse* affair. The Pasha of Bagdad is endeavouring to cheat the Pasha of Koordistan and the Shahzadeh of Kermanshah—while the Shahzadeh is cheating both the Pasha of Bagdad and the Pasha of Koordistan; and all of them, both collectively and severally, are endeavouring to cheat the Porte, who will unquestionably come off worst of the whole set, and who in every thing contrives to make herself the common enemy. With this, however, I had nothing to do. The situation I held obliged me to uphold Turkey, at least negatively, which in my answer I endeavoured to do. The Pasha, after a short silence, and I thought as if he were really affected, then said, "My father, of blessed memory, loved you much; he would have

rejoiced to have seen this day, which he often anticipated; and I could have wished it had been he who received you, instead of me." I answered, that Abdurrahman Pasha was a much-esteemed friend of mine, and that I greatly respected his memory; but that his place was worthily filled. A due allowance of callioons having been smoked*, sherbet, incense, and rose-water were brought; and he retired in the same manner as he had come. Before he took his leave, he told me that, if it were agreeable to me, he would wish me to enter Sulimania the day after to-morrow, at 9 A.M. I perceived at once that he had an astrological superstition about this, which, of course, I indulged him in.

Mahmood Pasha has nothing distinguished in his person or address; but he is a plain, reasonable, and, at the same time, a mild and gentlemanlike man; and they say his private character is unexceptionable, which is not ordinarily the case with the Koords.

The whole day was a considerable trial to my weak nerves; however, but for the arrival of the Tartar, it would not have been unpleasant. The scene was novel and interesting; the Koords were far from being troublesome, and I gleaned some information from several of them.

The Pasha followed up his visit by a large present

* The Pasha is one of the few Koords who use the Persian tube, all the rest smoking the common Turkish pipe.

of sheep, and other provisions for all my establishment. He has resolved not to let me purchase anything as long as I remain in his dominions; but this I mean to put a stop to, as soon as I have had my public audience.

Thermometer—5 A.M. 60°; 3 P.M. 79°; 10 P.M. 67°; fine N.W. breeze.

May 9.—I was occupied all the morning in writing public and private letters, and in dispatching the Tartar.

In the afternoon my old friend Abdulla Pasha* came to see me. He has suffered a long and painful illness, and was scarcely recognizable. He held me locked in a fast and earnest embrace for some time, and was so much affected as not to be able to speak for several seconds. I too was shocked at the ravages which disease had made in his appearance; so that the meeting was but a dismal one at first, though we both soon warmed as we talked about old times. It was easy to see that the members of the Bagdad government, and particularly Daoud Pasha, were not very high in his favour; nor do I wonder at it. He has been very ill-treated by the Turks, and no doubt will find some opportunity of repaying them with interest. He spoke of his nephew, the present Pasha of Sulimania, with respect and seeming kind-

* An uncle of Mahmood Pasha of Sulimania.

ness; but I thought I could perceive a little embarrassment in his manner. He passed more than an hour with me; and, at parting, grasped my hand with great energy.

Thermometer—5 A.M. 56°; half past 2 P.M. 78°; 10 P.M. 61°; wind easterly, but moderate.

CHAPTER III.

Osman Bey—Entrance into Sulimania—Visit to the Pasha—Description of our House—Attachment of the Koords to their Chiefs—Anecdotes—Partridge Fighting—Afghans in Shehrizoor—Xenophon and the Ten Thousand.

May 10.—THIS was the morning which the astrologers seemed to have decided upon as the proper one for my entering into his capital, and public reception by the Pasha. About half an hour before the appointed time, the celebrated Osman Bey, about whom I had heard much, the Pasha's younger and more dashing brother, came to conduct me into town, accompanied by all the members of council on horseback, and an immense party of Koords on foot. The Bey was magnificently mounted on a very fine Arab horse, which he got from the Anazee Arabs, and which is said to have cost him 13,000 piastres.

All the people were gaily clad. I was much struck with the appearance of the Bey. He was not large, but lightly and well made; the outlines of his face were perfectly regular; he had a crispy or wavy black beard, dark blue eyes, with black eyebrows and lashes, and a manly tint of brown over a fine, clear, and ruddy complexion. He was altogether a very handsome young man. In horsemanship, and all their favourite military exercises, he is said to be unrivalled among his countrymen. He is likewise

famous for his courage and generosity; but, on the other hand, he is reported to be rather dissolute in his morals, and tyrannical in his disposition.

He met me with an easy and polite address, in which was something of frankness, but not the most distant tincture of coarseness. He was perfectly well bred in his manners. I could see he was well aware of the advantages of his person. He was magnificently attired in the Koordish taste: his gown was of a rich, flowered, gold Indian stuff; he had a superb Cashmere shawl ornamented with gold fringe on his head, put on in a wild loose manner; his upper dress was a capot, or cloak, of crimson Venetian cloth, with rich gold frogs, or bosses, on it. The age of Osman Bey is thirty-two; that of his brother, the pasha, thirty-five. Their mother is a sister of Khaled Pasha, and consequently also of the principal branch of the Bebbeh * family.

Osman Bey was disposed to talk rather more freely of the state of Koordish affairs than I chose to encourage; and it was easy to perceive he was not of the Turkish party. He looked at his watch several times in the course of the interview, and seemed anxious that we should not miss the precise moment of mounting. At last, when they told him it was the appointed instant, we rose together and set forward in the following order:—

First a guide; then my trumpeter and standard-

* The name of the pasha of Sulimania's clan; so called from their ancestor, Bebbeh Suliman.

bearer *; then three led horses, followed by my imrahor, or master of the horse; next came my tchaoushes, or running footmen, fully armed; after whom marched the sepoys with their drum and fife. I followed mounted on *Finvar*, with two stirrup-holders, armed with battle-axes and shields; then came Mr. Bellino and Dr. Morando; then Osman Bey on his beautiful Arab, with a line of about three hundred Koords after him on foot: after the bey and his people came the members of the pasha's council: my khaznadar, or treasurer, and mounted attendants, closed the procession. We moved forward, in very good order, towards the city, if such it might be called, which was not above a quarter of a mile off. The crowd assembled to witness the procession was immense. I did not think the town could have contained such a multitude; yet the most perfect order prevailed. The police-officers of the darogha's † train dealt around, I thought very unnecessarily, sundry blows with their heavy clubs, each one of which seemed sufficient to have felled an ox. Yet I alone appeared to be annoyed at this mode of opening the march; the Koords, on whom the blows fell like hail, received them on their heads and shoulders with as little feeling as an anvil. In this manner we arrived at the palace; the entrance

* The standard of the cross was borne by a Turk, and English marches were played by a Persian trumpeter, who was no bad performer.

† The chief of the police.

to which is low, mean, narrow, and dirty, to a degree which I thought ill accorded with the residence of a governor, or even of a common individual: but I understood that it is not without its use in a country like this, and that it renders the seat of government defensible, in cases of emergency. The entrance does not lead to the front of the palace, but turns round the side of it*; and here I was obliged to alight, as we could get no farther on horseback. We advanced up a handsome flight of steps into the hall of audience, which, had it been in good repair, would really have been a superb room. It was open in front on pillars †. The pasha met me at the door, and conducted me to a chair at the upper end of the room. Mr. Bellino and the doctor were seated just below me, on chairs likewise. The members of council, headed by Osman Bey, sat on a broad nimmud, or thick felt carpet, on the opposite side, and my people arranged themselves interspersed among the pasha's officers, who were in double rows all round the room, in the centre of which stood the Ishik Agassi, or master of the ceremonies, with his staff of office in his hand. A crowd of well-dressed Koords filled the passages and the court below outside the room. After the introductory compliments, the pasha saw I admired the room, and remarked

* There is a better (but still crooked) entrance in front of the palace, which is now under repair.

† This kind of apartment is called a Talar.

that it was built by his late father; that it wanted repair; but, said he, "Who will repair what he is not certain to enjoy; and what may in a few days afterwards be ruined by the Turks or Persians?" He told me the palace owed its elevated situation to its being built on an artificial mount, of great antiquity *. The view from it was very agreeable. I endeavoured to keep off politics, and to lead the pasha to speak upon the economy and antiquities of Koordistan; and I happened to make a fortunate hit at the outset. I told him I had heard that the Vali of Sinna † was of a Gooran family; and that the Gooran race ‡ were not so much esteemed as clansmen. A murmur of applause burst instantly from all the attendants and went round the room. My fortune was now made with the clannish Koords; and the pasha, with more than his usual vivacity, went at once into the history of his family. He said, in the first place, that the Vali of Sinna's family was very ancient, but that the Goorans were not a tribe: that he boasted himself of being both of an ancient family, and of an honourable clan. The name of his clan, he added, was Kermanj;

* Probably the fellow to those I had remarked at Tchemtchemal, Derghezeen, and Taslugee.

† The governor of the province of that name in Persian Koordistan.

‡ The people of Koordistan are divided into two different races: the one consisting of the tribes, the other of the peasants or Goorans.

Bebbeh being the appellation of his own particular family, the members of which are the hereditary chiefs of the clan; and hence their whole territory and people are now called the government of the Bebbehs or Babans. The clan was originally established at Pizhder, in the northern mountains near Sikeneh on the frontier of Persia. An ancestor * of his, he said, had rendered important services to an Ottoman sultan in a war with Persia; and obtained in recompense an investiture of all he could conquer. He and some succeeding chiefs gradually possessed themselves of the districts they now hold, with several others which have since been retaken by the Persians; and the whole was then erected into the banner of Baban, or Bebbeh, and made dependent on the pashalik of Shehrizoor, the capital of which was Kerkook. The pasha could not give me any dates, he only knew that his ancestors were lords of the Banner for a long time; and were finally made pashas of two tails not quite a century ago. He told me the Gooran race were easily distinguishable by their physiognomy, and by their dialect of Koordish. We had much more conversation of this kind, and parted exceeding good friends; and all the

* It was Suliman Baba, or Bebbeh. He went to Constantinople about one hundred and twenty-five years ago, A. D. 1678, and becoming celebrated for the services he rendered the Turks against the Persians, his family were afterwards called by his name, Bebbeh or Baban, instead of the name of their tribe, which, as has been already observed, is Kermanj.

pasha's cousins, that is, his clansmen, seemed to look upon me with great satisfaction.

At the door I found a handsome horse, well caparisoned, prepared for me, which I could not dispense with accepting: it was accordingly led before me. And we now went to inspect the house which had been prepared for us: this was close by the palace, and turned out to be a very dismal place; spacious enough indeed, but ruinous and filthy. Such as it was, it was the dwelling of one of the chief officers of the palace, who had been dislodged to receive us. My repugnance to take possession of it was, I believe, very visible. After some whispering between the Koords and my people, the pasha sent his prime minister to request I would let my khaznadar or treasurer go about with one of his officers, and choose any house in the town, the owner of which should be instantly dislodged to make room for me: but I could not bear the idea of this; and, besides, I was unwilling to give any further trouble. I considered that the difference in the dwellings here must, after all, be inconsiderable; and that the pasha had, in all likelihood, in the first instance, done the best for us he conveniently could: I therefore resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and put up with the proposed house; and immediately saw that my determination gave general satisfaction.

I now, therefore, sent Minas to escort Mrs. Rich

into town, for the Koords had a great objection to my returning back again to camp to-day. It was easy to see that they had some superstitious idea of ill luck to their affairs if I left the town: so I passed, till Mrs. Rich's arrival, two or three hours very unpleasantly in walking and lounging about, which confirmed the nervous headache with which I had been threatened in the morning.

The description of our house will serve for that of all the better sort in Sulimania: it is a square building of one story, standing on a basement of about three feet high, and built of bricks dried in the sun, having a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw over the whole. One or two rooms inside have been white-limed over the mud coating. The roof is flat, and is formed by rafters, reeds, and a coating of earth. This house stands in a large open enclosure, or as we would say in India in a compound: this is subdivided into two courts by a cross wall, which joins the house at each side near its centre, leaving the front in one enclosure and the back in another: this makes the Haram* and Divan Khaneh †; but there is no communication between them by a door in the house itself, as in all Turkish houses; you must go round by a door in the wall which divides the compound into two: this is peculiarly incon-

* The women's apartments.

† That part of the house where the master receives his visiters, and in which the men servants reside.

venient in bad weather. The area of both courts is covered with grass, and planted with willows, poplars, mulberries and rose bushes, interspersed in little bouquets. A stream of water runs through the court of every house in Sulimania, which is supplied from the mountains by a kahreez or aqueduct. With respect to the distribution of the rooms, it seems regulated by no plan, at least I am not able to discover any order or contrivance in it; only that in both the haram and divan khaneh is a *talar*, or room quite open in the front, which is the general receiving and sleeping room in summer. No one but the poorest persons, who have not such an accommodation in their houses, sleeps on the roof. Some, indeed, in the greatest heats, which only last a month, use a sekoo, or low platform, for that purpose; and, during summer, many construct tchardaks, or huts made of boughs, over a little tank in their own court-yard, or else pitch a tent, to escape from the fleas, which are a terrible nuisance all over the East, and are said to be peculiarly formidable here.

In the divan khaneh part of the house is a large vacant space or hall, supported by posts, and almost dark: this is said to be a cool retreat in summer, but the pest of the fleas must still exist, and another still worse, that is scorpions, which are said to be numerous, large, and venomous. Centipedes are also found here, but I believe are not much dreaded; nor

are the snakes, which are large and numerous, said to be venomous.

The winter rooms of the house are entered by a long dark passage: their appearance does not render one desirous of a nearer inspection; indeed, I keep as much as possible on the outside of the house.

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which makes the place look like a large Arab village: they are perfectly exposed, but the people do not seem to regard this, the women going about with the men, and performing their domestic labours without any veil. This miserable-looking town, however, contains five khans, two good mosques, and a very fine bath. The population of Sulimania is estimated by the best judges among the Koords at ten thousand souls, including the officers of government and retainers of princes residing here. The ordinary citizens are of the peasant race.

As soon as the baggage arrived, I pitched a large two-poled tent for a divan or receiving room; and when ornamented with my arms, and covered with a handsome carpet and nimmuds *, which the pasha was kind enough to send me, it made altogether a kind of barbaric receiving hall of no contemptible appearance—certainly much pleasanter and better looking than any room in the town. The sepoys

* Narrow strips of thick soft felt, handsomely ornamented with various colours, which are placed round the rooms in Persia and Koordistan, and serve instead of sofas and chairs.

pitched tents also in the court; and some of the people, who did not relish the appearance of their quarters, followed their example.

In the haram our preparations for the first night were not so fortunate. We tried the most airy-looking room; but alas! the heat, close smell, and swarms of sand-flies soon showed us the folly of our attempts, and we drew our beds out into the talar: here again we were unsuccessful in our efforts at repose. We were kept awake till daybreak by these Koordish tormentors; though a few hours' sleep would have been a real blessing to me in my state of nervous pain.

Thermometer—5 A.M. 62°; half past two P.M. 75°; 10 P.M. 68°; south wind in puffs; disagreeable feeling day; a little rain.

May 11.—Many Koordish gentlemen came to see me, from whom I gleaned various particulars concerning their country. Amanullah Khan, the Vali of Sinna, once asked Abdurrahman, Pasha of Sulimania, to tell him why it was that his own servants, though generously treated by him, would never follow him into exile, nor ever, under trials and privations, showed any attachment for his person, such as the Baban Koords had always manifested for their princes. The answer of old Abdurrahman Pasha was very characteristic. "You are not," said the old chieftain, "the lord of a tribe, nor are your men your tribesmen. You may clothe them, feed them, and

make them rich, but they are not your cousins; they are but servants!"

The attachment of the Koords to their chiefs is indeed very strong. In Bagdad they live with their masters in the most miserable exile, struggling, without a murmur, with every sort of privation and suffering. Gentlemen who, in their own country, have a horse handsomely caparisoned, and a servant, are seen in Bagdad in rags; and are frequently known to work as porters or water-carriers, that they may take their day's wages to their master, to contribute to his support. When the brother of Abdurrahman Pasha died in Bagdad, one of his Koords was standing on the terrace or flat roof of the house, at the moment his master expired. "What," said he, "is *the Bey* dead? then I will not live another moment!" and immediately he threw himself off the top of the house, and was dashed to pieces. I have often heard this anecdote related in Bagdad. Yet an exile in Bagdad is what the Koords most dread, and even their attachment is not always proof against its terrors. Poverty and privation they can endure without a murmur; but the burning wastes of Arabia are to them, they say, truly dreadful. The other day, when Koord Suliman Pasha very foolishly allowed himself to be inveigled into Bagdad once more, after having repeatedly had proofs of the falsehood and treachery of the Pasha, some of his Beyzadehs, or gentlemen of the first rank, came to him and told

him that they were ready to undergo anything for his sake but the horrors of a long-protracted Bagdad exile, and that they desired leave to depart and seek their fortunes, with the other princes of the same family in Koordistan. When their masters are in power, they distribute the best part of the lands among these their faithful followers, and, besides, make them continual presents of horses and arms. Khaled Pasha told me that when he was deposed from the government of Keuy Sanjiak, his gentlemen came to him with their silver-mounted trappings and silver horse furniture, which they laid down before him, telling him that he was now going into exile at Bagdad, where they would follow him, but where they would have no need of such finery; and that they therefore requested he would use the silver to provide himself with funds.

I had to-day confirmed by several of the best authorities, what I had long suspected, that the peasantry in Koordistan are a totally distinct race from the tribes, who seldom, if ever, cultivate the soil; while, on the other hand, the peasants are never soldiers. The clannish Koords call themselves Sipah, or the military Koords, in contradistinction to the peasant Koords; but the peasants have no other distinguishing name than Rayahs* or Keuylees†, in this part of Koordistan. A tribesman once

* Literally a subject, but generally used for a peasant.
† A villager.

confessed to me that the clans conceived the peasants to be merely created for their use; and wretched indeed is the condition of these Koordish cultivators. It much resembles that of a negro slave in the West Indies; and the worst of all is, I have never found it possible to make these Koordish masters ashamed of their cruelty to their poor dependants.

Every one agrees that the peasant is in a moment to be distinguished, both in countenance and speech, from the true tribesman; nor would it be possible for him to pass himself for his countryman of nobler race.

Mahommed Aga said to me, "The Turks call us all Koords, and have no conception of the distinction between us; but we are quite a distinct people from the peasants, and they have the stupidity which the Turks are pleased to attribute to us*." The treatment which the peasantry receive is well calculated to brutify them: and yet tyranny equally degrades and brutifies the master and the slave; and it were not wonderful had the tribe and the peasant Koord been equally stupid and unfeeling.

During a conversation concerning the great Koordish families, one person present said, "Is it not a shame that our princes should ever consent to go to Bagdad, where they are obliged to submit to a Turk, who was bought the other day, like a beast,

* Referring to a common saying among the Turks, that a person is as stupid as a Koord.

for a few hundred piastres, and who yet, when in a passion, will call any of us 'Koordish ass!'" Another person remarked, "The jealousy of our princes is their ruin. Neither the Turks nor the Persians would ever be able to do anything against us, but by availing themselves of our divisions, and the family jealousies of our chiefs. We are aware of this, and yet, somehow or other, the Turks always succeed and get the better of us. We are certainly Koords with thick understandings." The same person said, when I mentioned the dirt and ruinous condition of the house I was living in,—"It is very true; but why should we build good houses, or keep them in good repair, when we are not certain of enjoying them even for our lives? This Pasha is changed, another of the same family is appointed, and he brings in his friends, who turn us out of our houses and estates. The ruin of this country is the want of stability and permanence of its governors. Of whatever disposition a prince might be, it would be well for the country if he were sure of preserving it for life*."

In the afternoon Mahmood Masraf came to entertain me with a partridge fight. This is a very favourite diversion of the Koords; and the Masraf, who is a famous sportsman, when he heard that I had never seen a partridge fight, was quite

* It may not be superfluous to mention here, that the Pashas of Sulimania must be all of the house of Bebbeh.

delighted to have an opportunity of showing his collection of game partridges, which is a very fine one. He came first, attended by four of his sons, all very fine tall young men. The old gentleman looked quite respectable amongst his fine family; and he was not a little pleased at my making the remark. "Oh, sir," said he, "I have three or four more of the lads in the house, who will have the honour of kissing your hand one day." I was surprised to see the *un-eastern* freedom of the sons before their father. They all put themselves at their ease, and smoked their pipes without the least ceremony. From what I had seen among the Turks and Arabs, I should not have thought they would even have sat down in the presence of their father.

After a round of coffee and pipes had passed, the approach of the *army*, as the old gentleman called it, was announced by a prodigious cackling and crowing of the partridges, which was audible for a great distance off; and soon a party of stout Koords appeared, bearing on their shoulders thirty-two cages, each containing a cock partridge. The collective and incessant cackling or crowing of this party caused a strange noise, something like the ticking of a thousand immense watches: they were not silent an instant, except when fighting. A number of *lads of the fancy* followed, all eagerness for the sight; and more would have rushed in, if, to spare the clubbing

and cudgelling, by which alone they could be kept back, I had not ordered the doors to be closed.

The cages were placed round so as to form a ring, behind which the spectators stood; the old Masraf, his sons, and myself closing the circle on the side of the tent. The scene would have suited the pencil admirably; but as it would be out of the question to attempt to sketch on the spot, I must see the sight a few times before I can attempt to give a graphic idea of it.

One of the assistants now opened the door of a cage, and let out a bird, who whirled himself up in the air as if in defiance, and then strutted about waiting for his adversary. Another partridge being let loose, they fell to. The sight was amusing and by no means cruel. It was highly entertaining to see the little birds strut about on tiptoe in defiance, jump up, bite at each other, play about to seize a favourable opening, and avoid letting their adversary take hold on a bad place. I observed the great feat was to get hold of the nape of the neck. When a partridge succeeded in seizing his adversary in this manner, he would hold him like a bull-dog, and sometimes lead him two or three times round the ring. Sometimes a bird would be frightened and run away out of the ring. The battle was then fairly lost; and the bird so beaten will not feel disposed for fighting for two or three months after-

wards. Every bird had its own name; and their wings were not clipped. They were so tame as to allow themselves to be handled without resistance; and when a match was over, the birds would return to their cages almost of their own accord. They never spurred; all their attack was an attempt to seize their adversary. The Koords looked on with great interest; but after the novelty was over, it seemed to me but a puerile diversion. The Koords are keen sportsmen in horse-racing, partridge, ram, and dog fighting. Mahomet, like a true Arab, made it lawful to lay money on horse-racing; but the Koords carry the license still farther, and allow of betting on their partridge and dog fights.

After the exhibition was over, two officers came to report themselves, as appointed by the Darogha to command a patrole of fifteen men, who were to keep constantly going round the outside of our house all night. To enable them to pass our Sepoy posts, they had made themselves acquainted with "Who goes there?" and—"A friend." It was really curious to hear Koords in Sulimania endeavouring to pronounce these English words, which they had learnt from Mahometan natives of Hindoostan, and subjects of Great Britain. They told me they also knew what the countersign was, having learnt the meaning of it in Persia. Their corps de garde they established without any ceremony on the roof of a neighbouring house; and walked over all the

adjoining roofs, and through the families of the occupants, whenever it suited them. To have remonstrated against this abominable tyranny would have been fruitless, nor would the motive have been understood, either by the offenders or sufferers—to so low a degree is the human species debased by a long course of savage oppression. Aga Minas to-day happened to ask one of the police-officers in attendance if some sort of a bedstead could not be procured? "Certainly," said the man; and, without more ado, he went to the first khan, and seized three bedsteads belonging to Bagdad merchants, who happened to lodge there. He brought them in triumph to the house. It is needless to say that the bedsteads were immediately returned to their owners.

Thermometer—5 A.M. 66°; half-past 2 P.M. 70°; 10 P.M. 68°; wind S.E.; some showers of rain, with thunder and lightning.

May 12.—This morning I went to the bath, which I found remarkably handsome, well lighted, and well served; superior to anything I have yet seen in any part of Turkey, excepting Damascus, Cairo, and Constantinople, and in some particulars even excelling them. It was stuccoed, and painted in arabesque, and ornamented with large cisterns or basons of water, with jets d'eau. It was built at the expense of the present Pasha, by Persian architects brought here on purpose; and it is said to be the exact copy of

the new bath at Kermanshah. Another, on the same plan, was constructed in the Pasha's own harem. A Mahometan willingly spends money about a bath. It is a kind of pious work; and therefore even adverse armies would never think of injuring it. The property also may be well secured by making it vakuf*.

We find the temperature of Sulimania very agreeable. Thermometer—6 A.M. 66°; half past 2 P.M. 78°; 10 P.M. 69°. Squally from the west, with showers of rain and thunder; much rain and very vivid lightning in the night.

May 13.—After breakfast I went to see my old friend Abdullah Pasha. He seemed a little better, but still extremely languid. He spoke with no feelings of pleasure of Bagdad recollections; and upon his relation, Khaled Pasha, being mentioned, he said, "He has been so long in Bagdad that he has lost all traces of clanship; he has become no better than a merchant." Abdullah Pasha is not remarkable for anxiety after information; yet to-day, for the first time, he asked me a whole round of questions, beginning with Tcheen Matcheen, as the Mahometans call China, and going on to the relative strength and situation of the European powers. It was evident that some conversation on these subjects had taken

* An assignment, in this case fictitious, to religious or charitable purposes.

place among the family; and my friend wanted to prepare himself for the next discussion.

When I came home, I received some Koordish friends, before I went into the harem. Mahommed Aga said, "The want of security in our possessions is the sole ruin of the country. While we tribesmen are not sure of holding our estates, we never will addict ourselves to agriculture; and until we do, the country can never prosper. Why should I, for instance, throw a tagar of seed into the ground, when I am not sure that my master will hold his government, and I my estate, until the season of harvest? Instead of doing this, I allow the peasants to cultivate my estate as they may find it convenient; and I take from them my due, which is the *zakat*, or tenth of the whole, and as much more as I can squeeze out of them by any means, and on any pretext."

Abdurrahman Pasha's favourite project, at one time, was to render his country tributary to the Porte, but independent of any neighbouring Pasha. He was willing to pay any annual tribute that the Porte might require, regularly and in ready money, at the capital, provided he should be secured from obeying any other orders than those of the Sultan; and not be subject to deposition, and interference in the interior of his province, except in case of rebellion; but this he could never manage. On occasion of the rebellion of Kutchuk Suliman, Pasha of Bagdad, against the Porte, the Reis Effendi, who

was sent from Constantinople to depose him, offered Abdurrahman Pasha the government of Bagdad; but the old chief very prudently refused the honour. "It is true," said he, "that I should become a vizir of the first rank; but one draught of the snow-water of my own mountains is worth all the honours of the empire. Besides, were I to transfer myself to Bagdad, my own prosperity would be increased, but it would ultimately be the ruin of the family of the Bebbehs."

In the afternoon I went to pay a visit to Osman Bey. His establishment of servants was really magnificent; but the house was just like ours, though in better order, and raised on rather a higher basement. He does not lose on a second interview. I thought him very agreeable. He asked very sensible questions, and answered those I put to him in a very intelligent manner. He apologized for his inquisitiveness. "I am perhaps impertinent," said he, "but remember what a strange thing it is for a Koord to have a conversation with an Englishman; and what a desire he must have to profit by it, and inform himself of things which he could learn in no other way, but which it must do him good to know." I desired him to ask on; and assured him that I would take a similar liberty in return. He was extremely inquisitive about England, France, and Russia; our government, the ceremonial of our court, and the formation and constitution of our

armies; about which he asked many very pertinent questions, which showed that he took an interest in the subject, and comprehended it. Unlike the Turks, he by no means attached an undue degree of importance to the Sultan, Constantinople, or Turkish affairs. He asked for the particulars of the battle of Waterloo, about which he had heard, probably from the Persians, but not by name. Bonaparte he had heard of as the *Imperatol*. He then came to China, and asked nearly the same questions as Abdulla Pasha had done in the morning, which confirmed me in my suspicions of a conversation on the subject having taken place among them. He particularly asked if foreigners were allowed to visit the capital of China, and seemed rather surprised when I told him an embassy from our court had lately been there. On something being suggested to him by a person present, he entered on the subject of British India, but with some apparent caution. He began by remarking that when a sovereign had so powerful an army as ours, it was natural he should wish to employ it; and that he was not surprised we were always looking out for opportunities of conquest. I saw immediately what he was coming to, and told him that our great army did not proceed from the inclination of the sovereign, but was no more than was necessary for our own defence; that when other powers kept up large armies, it was indispensable for us to do so likewise; and that we

did not wish to interfere with any one else, but would not allow any one else to interfere with us; that we had already more dominions than were essential to our welfare; and retained some portions of them merely because we could not resign them, without their falling into the hands of those who would use them to our disadvantage. "If that be the case then," said he, "how comes it that you are every year extending your conquests over Hindostan? But I hope," he added, "you will not take amiss the questions I ask." I told him that our conquests in India proceeded from the very principle I had just laid down. We were not the first Europeans who had conquered places in India. Some of the places we now held we had taken from those Europeans, in consequence of our wars with them in Europe; others they had ceded to us; some we had purchased; others we obtained from the natives by treaty, in return for services or other advantages. Thus, from small beginnings, a mighty empire was formed, which bordered on the territories of many powerful princes. Some of these profited by us, and were friendly to us, others again were jealous of our power, and envied a prosperity, which they were not enlightened enough to attain. When people are neighbours, interests must frequently jar, and subjects of quarrel arise; and though the English are peaceably inclined towards those who are similarly disposed towards them, yet they are not a people to

be imposed upon. The necessity of defending our rights, or vindicating our honour, had often produced wars, in which it had generally pleased God to grant us the victory; but that in all such contests, it would be found, we were never the aggressors. He seemed much struck with this view of the subject, and confessed he had, previously, always imagined that the English had at once sent a large army to conquer India, and carried on their conquests without cause, or even pretext, whenever they chose. He then asked me about air-balloons; and said he had been told they were machines capable of conveying detachments of soldiers to any given point. We then came back to England. Nothing delighted him so much as the knowledge that we had clans among us. He was very minute in his inquiries into the manners, language, and character of our *ashaier* or tribes, and requested me to tell him some of the names of the clans. He was charmed with the idea of clan regiments, with their own costume and officers, but wondered that the reigning *caste* should be English, who were sheherlis or townspeople, and of no tribe; and still more that they should make good soldiers. His asking me where we got our rice, introduced the mention of the New World; and he immediately requested me to tell him how it was discovered. "By astronomy and geometry," said I, "it was ascertained that the world was globular like an orange." This part of my explanation I illus-

trated by holding up my clenched fist: "Here is Frenghistan—there is India—this is the way we come from Frenghistan to India; but some people began to inquire, why can we not go round the other way to India? Some said it might be done, others that it could not. An individual more enterprising than the rest said he would try it, and he found a prince who gave him ships and means to make the experiment. In endeavouring to go round this untried way to India, the new continent was found." This he entirely comprehended. In explaining to him the nature of the American republic, he said, "This is like the tribes in Khoshnav*, where each village has its own head, and they all meet together to consult for the good of the whole community."

* The tribes of the Khoshnav are three in number, viz., Meer Mahhmalli, Meer Yusufi, and Pezhderri. The two former have an old feud between them, which keeps them constantly at war with each other, to the great advantage of the Bebbeh Pasha, who can only maintain his influence among them by dexterously availing himself of their internal dissensions, just as the Turks and Persians maintain their influence over him. A small stream separates these tribes; and they have one common mosque, in which they assemble on a Friday, and afterwards frequently retire to their respective sides of the rivulet and commence firing on each other. On one occasion, however, they commenced hostilities in the mosque, and twenty or thirty of them were killed.

In their dress they resemble the Koords of Amadia; but their language partakes both of the Bebbeh and Bahdinan dialects. The same remark holds good of the Rewandiz Koords, the name of whose principal tribe I cannot learn. There are, I believe none of the peasant race either in Khoshnav or Rewandiz.

When I told him no one sat in the presence of our king, "What!" said he, "not even your ulema"*? No, said I. "You see," said he, turning round to some of his people present, with an air of satisfaction, "Mullas have not much power in his country." He talked much of the state of Koordistan. "My country is in a wretched state," said he. "If you serve the Turks, they insult and depose you when they choose; if you serve the Persians, they are continually teasing you for money." He is a good Koord; but of the two rival powers, it is evident he prefers the Persians. At parting he was extremely friendly, said he considered me as of the same tribe with himself, and hoped for a continued intimacy between us.

When I came back I attended the elegant recreation of a dog-fight, and it was amusing to see the eagerness of delight of the Koords, who hallooed, shouted, and capered, and made much more stir than the animals themselves. One of the dogs† belonged to my sporting friend Mahmood Masraf, who having heard of a famous dog at Keuy Sanjiak, had lately sent off a man there purposely to procure him, to match with a dog here, who is rather too strong for any now in the place.

* The doctors of the law.

† They were of the rough shepherd-breed.

Many Koordish gentlemen attended; one of them said to me, "You are the first Englishman we have seen here, and the event will be talked over by our sons' sons. We are delighted to have you among us." The sentiment was echoed by the whole company.

Thermometer—5 A.M. 62°; half past 2 P.M. 76. Gentle westerly air; fine day.

May 14.—The Pasha called on me this morning, and sat with me for about an hour. He improves much on acquaintance. There is something serious, mild and unobtrusive in his manners, which is very pleasing. He inquired much about the European states in the same way his brother had done yesterday, and began his discourse with questions about China. There had been some talk among them about China, which has evidently interested them greatly. He talked with great modesty and propriety on all the subjects he treated of. I led the conversation to the subject of vaccination, which I am very desirous of introducing into Koordistan, where the small-pox commits great ravages; and he expressed considerable anxiety for its introduction among his people. I promised him to write to Bagdad immediately for some of the matter.

In the afternoon my old sporting friend the Masraf came as usual. He also made his *début* in the evening's chat with questions about China.

The Koords are the only orientals I ever knew

who sit up late at night, and rise late in the morning. Few gentlemen in Sulimania go to bed till two or three o'clock, or show themselves abroad till nine or ten in the forenoon. Their chief visiting time is at night. When it grows dark they begin going about to each other's houses, where they amuse themselves with conversation, smoking, and music. They will pay two or three visits of this kind in the course of a night. About an hour before sunset also, a kind of club or assembly is held before the house of the Masraf, in an open place in the town called the Meidan. Friends meet and chat on various subjects; arms or horses are displayed; and sometimes matches are made of wrestling, partridge or dog-fights. The Koords appear to me to be a remarkably cheerful social people, with no kind of pride or ceremony among them; and they are neither envious of one another, nor have I ever heard a Koord speak an ill-natured word of another, however different they may be in party or interest.

While the Pasha was with me to-day, I took the opportunity of finishing an affair which had been recommended to my good offices by a friend whom it was impossible to refuse. A Bagdad speculator, who is in the habit of cutting timber on the Koordish mountains, had lately a considerable quantity of timber seized by the Koords. The Pasha at my request ordered the property to be restored; or if not forthcoming, a similar quantity to be cut down and

placed at his disposal. This transaction made me acquainted with the wood-cutting business, which includes some particulars I think worth knowing.

The timber, which is tchinar, or oriental plane, of a fine damasked grain, is cut on the mountains which separate Sinna from Turkish Koordistan, principally in the districts of Juanroo and Delli Havar, which is a valley in the mountains of Hallabjee. Forests are public property in the East; but the neighbouring chiefs generally contrive to exact something, in the way of presents, from the speculator, by throwing all kinds of dangers and obstacles in his way. The wood is cut, cleaned, and left to dry. A year or two after, at the time of the rising of the waters, it is carried to the nearest station, where it is floated down to the river Diala—men attending on the banks to see that it takes the proper course. When it reaches the Diala it is left to its fate, and floats down to the bridge between Bagdad and Tauk Kesra, where it is taken out by persons on the watch, but of course a great deal of it is lost in this way; however, so dear is timber in Bagdad, that it is generally sure to make a handsome profit. Mulberry and nut is also cut in Koordistan, but these are purchased out of gardens. Poplar or kawak is brought from Jezira * and Amadia; and willow, or sughuit, from the Euphrates above Ana.

* For an account of some places in Jezira, and the adjacent

Wood is now becoming daily more scarce on the mountains of Sinna, from the indiscriminate cutting down practised by every one. My informant says, that in many places where he used to cut wood, there is now not a stick left. Lately a man in Kermanshah, who practises founding, casting and coining, has greatly contributed to the destruction of the plane forests, fancying that nothing but charcoal made of tchinar would answer his purpose. This has been much worse for the woods than even the timber-cutting.

The agents for cutting wood never venture to carry money with them into the forests. The workmen are all paid at Hallabjee *, which is the nearest town in the district. The people of these mountains, especially at Juanroo, are described to be in the last state of barbarism. They are nominally subject to the

interesting but little known country, see Appendix. Among the rest, the castle of Finik, at about four hours above Jezira, is celebrated in the history of the Koords as early as 1461. In 1450 Khalapi, Prince of Seurt, laid siege to Jezira, and in 1459 Ameer Ahmed, the Bohtan, who occupied the Carduchian mountains, says Assemanni, took Jezira from Ameer Ibrahim, who took refuge in the castle of Phineck. In 1461 a battle was fought between the chiefs of Hesn Kief and Bohtan in the woods of Jezira. In the same year Ahmed the Bohtan, the tyrant of Jezira, took Fenek, and ordered Ibrahim with his sons to be burnt. It is remarkable that Ammianus Marcellinus, in lib. xx. 15, 18, 26, mentions Bezabde or Jezira and *Phœnica*.

* Hallabjee is at the end of the vale of Shehrizoor towards the mountains, S.E. of Sulimania.

Vali of Sinna, but in reality are wholly independent, living in forests and fastnesses, and having nothing to tempt visitors. They cultivate nothing, and are reported to live wholly on acorns and wild fruit. What is perhaps singular in this kind of savage tribe, the women have great power among them, and will often appease furious disputes between the men, which would otherwise be terminated in bloodshed; for, like all savages, these people are extremely irritable and vindictive, and count the life of a man for nothing. Men and women live together without the slightest affectation of concealment; and the Bagdad timber-merchant was extremely scandalized at the questions constantly put to him of "What is your wife's name? how does she dress?" &c. The account of this man was confirmed to me by many Koords present, who had visited that wild district.

I was surprised to hear that, in the province of Shehrizoor, there are some villages entirely composed of Afghans. They came into this part of the country on the murder of Azad Khan; and they are said still to retain their own language among themselves. They are very poor, and rank among the peasantry. There are also some families of Afshars * in Koordistan. I saw an agavat, or gentleman of the tribe; his name was Isa Aga, and he was an uncommonly fine-looking old man, of a commanding height and figure. Though bred up in Koordistan, I

* Nadir Shah's tribe.

was told it could at once be perceived he was no Koord by his language. No one but a native-born Koord can speak their language perfectly; it is something like the English in that respect. The difficulty in both proceeds from minutiæ in the pronunciation, and running one syllable into another.

May 15.—Last night a courier to the Pasha arrived in three days from Bagdad. He brings the news, that Mahmood Pasha's mother has been well received by the Pasha of Bagdad, and that his proposals are likely to be acceded to. He has, in the first instance, obtained the cession of the district of Kara Hassan, and the delivery up of Hassan Bey *, with a promise of Erbil and Altoon Kiupri. Bauker Khan, who has been here for some time on the part of the Shahzadeh of Kermanshah, to demand 30,000 tomans, will consequently be dismissed.

Mahommed Aga told me some curious anecdotes, especially of the escape of Hassan Bey last year, which placed in a strong light the treachery and impolicy of the Turkish government.

In the afternoon I had a visit from Bauker Khan. He is a plain, stupid man, with a most preposterous beard. He is of the Koordish race, of the tribe of Mafi, and speaks Koordish better than any other language. I asked him about the ruins of *Hersin*. He assured me that there was only a reser-

* Mahmood Pasha's younger brother, who the year before had run away to Bagdad.

voir cut out of the rock; but that there were no figures or writing whatever.

The afternoon's party exhibited all the fashion of Sulimania, to the number of twenty-five or thirty of the principal people. By way of recreation they had a partridge-fight. The birds were more numerous, and fought better than on the former occasion. The best fighters must be taken in the nest, and trained up. On the day they are to fight, they are kept hungry. In the summer they must be taken to the mountains, otherwise they lose their spirit.

May 16.—I called on the Pasha this morning. I like him better every time I see him. He has promised to do his utmost to procure me a copy of the famous History of Koordistan, called the 'Tarikh al Akrad.' I told him the story of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, and the ancient glory of his race. He and all his Koords listened with the greatest attention, and appeared deeply interested in the narrative. The scene was very picturesque, and would have made a fine subject for a painting. The Pasha afterwards very naïvely exclaimed, "I wonder if my family was of consequence at that period!" There was present Kai Khosroo Bey, chieftain of the Jaf tribe, a very powerful and warlike clan. The Bey was a very fine-looking man. I was certainly the first European he had ever seen, and he was evidently much astonished; but there was no rude nor stupid staring.

May 17.—I returned Bauker Khan's visit. He lives at the house of the Darogha; as wretched a house as the one we inhabit. Bauker Khan told me that his tribe, the Mafi Koords, is established in Khorassan; but that there are some families of it in Kermanshah. His language differs from that of Sulimania, but is perfectly intelligible. Bauker Kkan is well acquainted with Khorassan, Afghanistan, and some parts of Turkestan, about which he told me some curious particulars; also about the turquoise, or Firouzeh mines of Nishabour. The turquoise matter is a small vein between two slabs of rock. Mohammed Rahim Khan, the present chief of Kharezm, is a descendant of Abdul Gazi Khan Bahader*, the celebrated Tartar historian. The proper title of the Sultan of Bokhara is not Sultan, but tura.

* A prince of the house of Tchenghiz Khan, who reigned about the middle of the seventeenth century. He wrote a genealogical history of the Tartars, which has been translated into various European languages.

CHAPTER IV.

Conversation with the Pasha—Kai Khosroo Bey—Koordish Tribe of the Jafs—Climate of Sulimania—Breakfast with the Pasha—Population of Sulimania—Firing at a Mark—Takhti Suliman—Ancient Excavations—Musical Party—The Zor Khaneh or Gymnasium—Dinner at Osman Bey's—Oriental prayers—Suliman Bey—Feats of Swordmanship—Agriculture—The Ramazan.

May 18.—I PASSED a very pleasant hour and a half with the Pasha. There is something so very natural, unassuming, and modest in his character, that makes it quite delightful to talk with him, after being used to the artificial, false, and pretending manners of the generality of men of rank in the East. I asked him why he did not wear armour, which is the favourite war-dress of the Koords. "Because I am not strong enough to bear it," answered he. Most natives of the East would have said that they did not like it, or that they scorned shielding themselves in battle. A person must have lived long among the Turks, and have become well acquainted with their habits of thinking and speaking, to be aware how this little trait struck me. I have nothing to record of the conversation this morning, as it principally devolved on myself; the Pasha making many inquiries about European armies, with very judicious remarks.

In the evening I had as my guest Kai Khosroo Bey, in addition to my usual party.

The Jaf tribe*, whose chief he is, inhabit the highest mountains† on the frontier of the territory of the Vali of Sinna. They are a fine-looking, brave people, but esteemed exceedingly uncivilized and barbarous, even by the Koords. Their dialect of Koordish differs considerably from that of the Bebbeh Koords; and their appearance is so singular that they are easily recognized. They form a body of yeomanry cavalry, in number about 2000, which follows the Bey when he is summoned to attend his feudal lord, the Pasha of Sulimania, in the field. They can also turn out 4000 musketeers with ease; and they are reckoned the best soldiers in the Koordish army. As they are a strong and powerful tribe, they have a number of refugees from various tribes, with remnants of broken tribes, under their protection; such as the Feileys and Kelhores, who often do injury to the Jaf name. When the chief dies, if his son is young, he does not succeed, as the clan could never be governed by a stripling. In that case the vacant chieftainship is filled by the brother or uncle of the deceased Bey.

The Jafs all live in tents‡. In the summer they

* See Plate 2, a Man of the Jaf Tribe.

† The district of Juanroo, above alluded to, is a part of these mountains.

‡ The Koords call a wandering tribe, or one that lives in tents, Kheil; and a man of such a tribe Kheilekee.

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A MAN OF THE JUF TREE.

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encamp in the high mountains of Hagee Ahmed, on the frontier of Sinna: in the autumn they are scattered over the district of Shehrizoor; and in the winter they live at Shirwaney, on the river Diala.

May 19.—Nothing particular occurred in the morning. In the afternoon I had a visit from Abdulla Pasha. As he is not remarkable for his information respecting his own country, there is not much to be gleaned from his conversation. He spoke of the climate of Sulimania. In the winter the cold is sometimes intense, especially when the strong easterly gales prevail. Snow sometimes lies on the ground from six weeks to two months; one fall succeeding another before any be dissolved. The winter before last it snowed twenty-three times. In the summer the climate is pleasant, except when the easterly wind blows; which it does with prodigious violence, sometimes for eight or ten days successively. This wind is as hot and relaxing in summer as it is cold and piercing in winter; and, what is very curious, it is not felt at the distance of two or three hours off in any direction. The district of Shehrizoor *, where

* The province of Shehrizoor extends to near the mountains of Avroman. Its capital is Koolambar, called by the Turks Ghulambar; but the people who reside in it are obliged to retire in the summer to Khoajall, a cool situation at the foot of the Avroman mountains.

From Sulimania to Arbet is thirty hours; here begins the province of Shehrizoor. From Arbet to Ghulambar, where it terminates, is eight hours. At Arbet, Abdurrahman Pasha dug up quan-

a great deal of rice is grown, is said to be extremely hot and unwholesome, and overrun with swarms of flies and musquitoes; besides which, so numerous are the snakes, that they may be commonly seen passing backwards and forwards along the road even in the daytime.

May 20.—I had a visit to-day, among my usual friends, of a Georgian, Teimir Aga, one of the slaves of Ahmed Kiahya, who escaped from Bagdad on the death of Ali Pasha; and he has had the prudence to remain here ever since. He is now considered as a Koordish Agavat or gentleman, and holds several rich villages by gift from the present and late Pashas of Sulimania. He would not return to Bagdad even were he offered the best employment under the government, and seems to be perfectly satisfied with his condition.

A very respectable old Koord, who had just returned from Mecca, also came to see me. All the

tities of bricks, but without inscriptions, and found some coins, a specimen of which I am promised. At Ghulambar he found two pieces of *cannon* buried in the rubbish. The district of Shehrizoor abounds in vestiges of antiquity, such as mounts or tepéhs, like Ghevra Kalaa on the Zehav road, and *khareezes* or subterranean water-courses, many of which are still serviceable. Sepulchral urns are dug up in many places. Arbet is the place where the most considerable remains are found. There is a mount there, and the traces of a considerable town round it. My present opinion is, that this is the ancient city of Shehrizoor; but all the Koords with one accord deny there ever having been any city of the name of Shehrizoor, and insist that it was always the name of a district, as at present. The district is not now one government, but is divided among several.

Koords who have been the pilgrimage ever after wear a white turban. Within the last three years about two thousand Koords from the province of Sulimania alone have visited Mecca.

I had afterwards a visit from Osman Bey, who sat with me till noon, listening with the greatest delight to stories about European armies and battles.

Many of the offices about the Pasha are hereditary; at least during the government of the particular Pasha. The present Masraf was prime minister successively to Osman, Abdurrahman, and Mahmood Pashas; and he tells me he expects his son to succeed him. The present selikdar, or sword-bearer, is a boy, and a person acts for him till he is of age, adminstering also for him the laws attached to the office, which he has inherited from his father. If peace and the succession in the direct line were secured, this country would rapidly improve.

In the afternoon I joined the Masraf's coterie, established under a tent in an open place before his house. Most of the people of rank belonging to Sulimania were there. We were soon joined by Kai Khosroo Bey, who came lounging, or rather rolling in, with a vacant stare. He spoke by fits, in a language which I could not understand, though I now begin to make out the Sulimania dialect pretty well. Kai Khosroo Bey had a small English powder-flask, the mechanism of which he could not comprehend, and requested me to explain. I observed, on this

occasion, that the Koords called gunpowder *derman*, or medicine; a very efficacious one truly. We had afterwards, as usual, a partridge-fight. The skill, courage, and intelligence of the little bird is certainly surprising. As I have already mentioned, their great feat is to seize the adversary by the nape of the neck, hold him fast, like a bull-dog, and then fly up with him and overturn him on the ground; and the skill exhibited in the attempting and evading this manœuvre constitutes the interest of the sport. One bird being foiled several times in his attack, in a paroxysm of rage seized *himself* fast by the wing, and was with difficulty brought to let go his hold; thus realising what has been thought preposterous in *Harpagon*.

When I returned home the Masraf sent me a horse as a present. The Koord who brought it had been desired by his master not to accept of anything, and it was by main force that I caused him to be seized, and a dress put on him. There was something very ridiculous to see a shaggy savage, six feet high, actually blubbering at having a gift forced on him against his will. I sent some of my people home with him to appease the old gentleman, and to request him to allow his servant to accept my present.

May 21.—This morning I breakfasted with the Pasha, by invitation, at ten o'clock. The repast might have passed for a good substantial dinner, there being all sorts of meat, of the most solid as

well as ornamental description. Among the rest was the usual Eastern delicacy, of a lamb stuffed and roasted whole. The dishes were prepared and served in the Persian fashion, and really did honour to Koordish skill, being much less *greasy* and more *tasty* than anything I ever ate at Bagdad. The Pasha and myself sat together at the upper end of the hall, and before us was placed an oblong tray of painted wood, with feet raising it a few inches from the ground, on which the different dishes were placed. Some that it would not contain were put on the ground beside us. Several bowls, filled with different kinds of sherbets, all cooled with snow, and some of them extremely palatable, were distributed among the dishes. By the Pasha a stout grim-looking Koord knelt on one knee, and kept stirring about a white mixture in one huge bowl, into which he put an immense quantity of snow. Ever and anon the Pasha turned about his head to him, and was served with a prodigious spoonfull of this mixture. The attentive stare of the fellow, as he delivered the contents of his Patagonian spoon into his master's mouth, was so ludicrous, that I durst not look at him a second time. I had also my attendant savage on my side; and on turning my face towards him, in imitation of the Pasha, I was served with a spoonfull of the liquid, which proved to be diluted yoghourt*, cooled with snow, and a quantity of little

* A preparation of sour clotted cream or milk.

unripe plums cut up into it, so excruciatingly sour as to draw tears from the eyes. I did not repeat the application to my familiar Carduchian. The council, which was numerously attended, were served, like us, on oblong tables at the bottom of the hall; and they vigorously applied themselves to do honour to the feast, all their beards moving in cadence—"Oh 'tis merry in the hall when beards wag all!" This verse occurred to me when I cast my eyes down on the right and on the left, and it almost discomposed my gravity. I observe the Koords do not dispatch their dinner as quickly as the Turks, but eat leisurely, and chat over their food, the whole dinner being set down at once before them. The Pasha, before breakfast, said something gratifying to Veled Bey, one of the Jaf chiefs, who was present. Veled Bey, who was talking at the time, got up and rolled or shouldered, for he was a ponderous though handsome-looking man, very leisurely along the hall, continuing what he was saying all the time. When he came to the Pasha, the latter held out the palm of his hand to him, which he kissed slightly, and then retired to his place as deliberately and clumsily as he had quitted it. The members of the council smoked, and seemed to make themselves quite easy, speaking whenever anything occurred to them. In Bagdad the Musahhibjees, or councillors, never venture to look to the right or the left in the presence of the Pasha; and they keep cringing and bowing at every word of

their master, and never speak except when he desires them.

In the evening I talked with Mahmood Masraf on the different breeds of horses. Arab horses do not breed well in Koordistan; though the sire and dam be true desert nedjdis, the colts never turn out anything but very common horses. The Jaf tribe possesses a breed of small stout horses, much celebrated for their strength and activity.

May 22.—I went again to the *club* in the Meidan, and found the usual party assembled. Mahmood Masraf recollects well the foundation of the town of Sulimania, about thirty-two years ago. The then governor of southern Koordistan, Ibrahim Pasha, the father of Koord Suliman Pasha, and a relation of the present governor of Sulimania, resolved on removing the capital from Karatcholan, on the other side of the Azmir hills, to this place; both from a wish of signalizing himself and for the convenience of hunting, of which he was passionately fond, and for which amusement the situation of Karatcholan was singularly ill calculated, being in a very narrow, rocky valley. He called his new town Sulimania, in compliment to the then Pasha of Bagdad, Suliman Pasha, the father of the late unfortunate Saed Pasha. There was an ancient mount* here, which they pared

* There was a village round this old mount. The village was called Mellikindi, *quasi* Mellik Hindi, or the village of the Indian king. The Pasha told me, that in cutting away the mount

away to suit the foundations of the palace, which was built in the time of Abdurrahman Pasha. Some coins were then found.

Sulimania is in the district of Sertchinar. By the best information I can obtain, it at present contains 2000 houses of Mahometans, 130 houses of Jews, nine houses of Chaldean Christians, who have a wretched small church, five houses of Armenians, who have no priest or church; six caravanserais; five baths, but only one good one; five mosques, of which one is good.

May 23.—The Pasha had made up a party this evening for firing at a mark; but a very high wind coming on, we were obliged to give it up: so I went to pass the afternoon with Abdulla Pasha, where *the club* came to meet me. Kai Khosroo Bey, who seems by the way to have taken a great fancy to me, though we do not understand a word of each other's language, came rolling in as usual. After a dead silence, he on a sudden gobbled out something which I did not perceive to be addressed to me; but the gobbling noise being repeated, I turned round and observed him to be staring point blank at me; and then the Masraf, who could hardly help smiling,

large urns, with fragment of bones in them, were discovered; also an inscription, which was thrown away, as nobody could read it. He also said that, not long ago, he himself, in digging down in the palace for some repairs, found fragments of urns and bones at a great depth.

said to me in Turkish, "The Bey means that he wishes heartily to see you at *the Tribe* (six days off in the high border-mountains), and that he would give you a most sincere welcome." In effect I believe he would, and I have half a notion of accepting his invitation.

May 24. — At three o'clock I went with the Pasha to fire at a mark. The exercising ground is about a mile and a half from the town, on the Azmir road, near the foot of the hills. The Pasha, Abdulla Pasha, and myself sat together under a shemsia, and looked on. The best marksman was Osman Bey, and he certainly was an admirable shot with a heavy rifle. Most of the other marksmen also fired very well.

May 25. — I had the Pashas with me in the morning for more than an hour, but I was not well enough to note the conversation, which, indeed, was not interesting. In the afternoon I went to see Osman Bey, who was delighted that I had spoken so highly of his performance yesterday. He is very desirous I should teach him the broad sword, and to shoot at a mark with a pistol, of which the Orientals have no notion.

May 26.—I was much indisposed and could not see any one.

May 27.—I went to see Omar Khaznadar, a gentleman who lives close to us. He is a pleasant, good-natured man. In speaking of the curiosities of

Koordistan, he mentioned the Takht i Suliman, which is a *plateau*, and said to be the highest part of the Sinna mountains. In this mountain he described some curious excavations, or a subterranean city, as they call it; but he and several other persons present mentioned still more considerable excavations at a place called Dillo, in the hill between Karadagh and Ibrahim Khangee. The entrance is very small, but the passages are very spacious, and branch off in many directions, so as to render it extremely dangerous to proceed without great precautions, as many persons have been lost in their intricacies. The passages, at least some of them, are described as being bordered by cells, which they call shops and houses. About fifty persons were lately in this cavern, and wandered about for several hours, expending a jar of naphtha oil in light; but in no part of their ramble did they reach any termination of the excavations. The Koords say this was a city of Jian ben Jian, the Prince of the Genii*. Omar Aga and I have formed

* Jian ben Jian, or the Prince of the Genii, is supposed by the Mahometans to have been sovereign of the world before the creation of man, and to have built the pyramids of Egypt. He reigned over a race which, according to the Koran, was created out of fire, and therefore refused to submit to man who was only created out of earth.

The Mahometans believe that this race filled and governed the world for 2000 years before the creation of Adam, and that, upon refusing obedience to him, they were driven into a distant and

a plan to go and explore it; and we are to take necessaries for continuing four or five days there if needful. This mountain of Dillo contains sulphur, naphtha, alum, salt, and a fountain of acid water of a yellow colour.

I spent the evening with Osman Bey, who had prepared a small musical party to entertain me. The performers were but indifferent artists, being second-rate Bagdad singers; but I had much agreeable conversation with the Bey.

One of the Jaf chiefs being there, gave me occasion to make some inquiries respecting the government and constitution of the tribe. I am told that Kai Khosroo Bey, who is the chief of all the Jaf nation, may kill or punish at pleasure; that he has no council, nor the least necessity for consulting with any of the elders of the tribe*. If the Pasha requires a sum of money or a levy of troops from him, he summons the chiefs of the Tirehs, or branches, and divides the burden equally among them, while they do the same with the principal people of their own Tirehs. It was not until the

remote corner of the earth, called the mountains of Kaf, and confined there as a punishment for their rebellion.—See Preliminary Discourse to Sale's Koran, page 95; D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, pp. 396, 820, &c.

* I have since been informed on, I believe, better authority, that the chief of the Jafs can neither kill nor mutilate, without consulting with the elders of the tribe.

reign of Abdurraham Pasha that the Jafs were brought to bear a part in the affairs of Koordistan.

May 28.—Early in the morning I went to the Zor Khana, or gymnasium, belonging to Omar Aga. With respect to the different kinds of exercises performed there, I have nothing to add to Niebuhr's description of the Zor Khana, at Shirauz, which is excellent*. In the afternoon I had Osman Bey with me, together with Kai Khosroo Bey and the Masraf. The latter told me of a forced march he made from Bagdad to Sulimania, in two days and nights, arriving the third day, during the season of the saum wind. The party consisted of 1300 horse, out of which about 200 men and horses died from heat and fatigue. This happened after Sheikh Twiney, the Montefik Arab's affair, when Suliman Pasha of Bagdad deposed Osman Pasha of Sulimania, and invested Ibrahim Pasha in his room. Osman Pasha's army refused to serve Ibrahim Pasha, and made this forced march to escape into Koordistan to Abdurrahman Pasha. It was certainly a prodigious exertion.

May 29.—I met my friends as usual in the Meidan. The night was most disagreeable. The wind, which had been south all day, at sunset suddenly came round to N.E., and soon began to blow

* Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii. p. 141.

with violence, bringing with it clouds of dust, and immense quantities of sand-flies, which I should not have expected to find here. These put sleep out of the question for the whole night. The wind was also extremely hot and relaxing. This is the so much dreaded Sherki, which seems to blow from any quarter, from E. to N.E. It resembles the Italian sirocco*, and is greatly feared by the people of Sulimania for its violence and relaxing qualities. One thing is extremely curious, and to me as yet quite unaccountable, though asserted by every one in the country,—that the influence of this wind is not felt more than two hours off in any direction.

May 30.—I sat for an hour with the Pasha this morning. He pressed me to give him my word that I would visit Sulimana every year, in which case he would build a comfortable house for me. His recreant brother, Hassan Bey, accompanied by Rustam Effendi, the ex-Defterdar† of Bagdad, who is the bearer of a khilaut‡ for Mahmood Pasha, is expected here the day after to-morrow, and an istakbol§ is preparing for the khilaut.

In the evening I dined with Osman Bey. All the principal persons in the town, amounting to fourteen, were invited to meet me, and the dinner was

* Pronounced scirocco, and no doubt the same word as sherki, *i. e.* easterly. The Koords call it Baya Rish, or black wind.

† Lord Treasurer. ‡ A dress of honour.

§ A public entry.

really a most excellent one. It was served in the Persian style like that of the Pasha, in oblong trays called khuantchees, on which the dishes were arranged. We dined out on a grass-plot before the house. The Bey and I sat at one khuantchee at the top of the party; the others were arranged at khuantchees down each side. Kai Khosroo Bey rolled in after the dinner had commenced, and gobbling out an excuse in a few unintelligible words, immediately placed himself at the head of one of the side-tables, and addressed himself to the viands with great diligence. The Koords, like the Persians, eat slowly, and talk between whiles, their dinner lasting as long as ours. They have a great objection to the ravenous mode of feeding practised by the Turks, among whom the dishes are put down separately on the table, and taken off after a few mouthfuls have been snatched by the guests. This seems to be the old Tartar fashion; while the Persians appear always to have been deliberate at their meals *. After dinner most of the guests went to the Pasha's Divan, while a few, invited by the Bey, stayed to a musical party. The performers were those of the other night, and

* I now see clearly the meaning of the passage in Hafiz, which in English literally is, "These wanton damsels have snatched away quiet from my heart, as Turks do a tray of plunder;" about which sundry far-fetched explanations have been given. So little observing are the Orientals, that it is very likely the allusion contained in this passage, though concerning their own customs, never struck them.

were very indifferent. I had much curious conversation with the Bey about the political state of his country. He did not disguise his sentiments from me. He hates the Turks bitterly. "They are made up of treachery and insolence," said he. "No one knows how to treat the Turks," continued he, "as well as I do. It is a maxim with me to keep them down, and never to trust them. A Turk never behaves well but when he is kept in terror, and treated with incivility." Though I do not go the length he does, I feel that there is some justice in what he says. He made up a wrestling match for to-morrow afternoon, and wished it to be at my house, as he was afraid that it would be presuming to expect I should come twice running to him. But my house has no space for such exhibitions, and I desired him in our future intercourse to waive all ceremony.

I had an opportunity to-day of observing, what had often struck me before, that the Oriental prayers are a matter of mere routine. When the company this evening rose to pray at the sunset *Azan* or prayer, the Bey muttered religious ejaculations for several minutes before he began with prodigious apparent fervour; but in the interval of the rikiahs or prostrations, overhearing some trivial remark which I made to a person who had spoken to me, (also in the interval of his devotions,) he turned about to answer me; and then gave directions to his people about

laying out the dinner, which they were in the act of bringing in. He then went on again with another rikiah. I have often observed this indifference and indecorum in the Mahometans; chatting, scolding, and looking about them while yet on their knees in the attitude of devotion. The fact is, that these prayers are so formal, so unvarying, so often and so publicly repeated, that they become a mere pantomime. When the Bey sat down again on the sofa, while the servants were arranging the dishes, he recited the names of God on his tespih or beads, frequently interrupting himself to make some indifferent observation.

May 31.—Passed the morning with Abdulla Pasha, and in the afternoon went to the wrestling-match. The court was full of people, and the wall was covered with spectators, every one being admitted. There were some matches made in a peasant-like style with very little science; but the Koords were delighted, and none more so than Osman Bey himself. Two of the wrestlers belonged to Azeez Aga, the Masraf's eldest son, a fine youg man, who has taken mightily to me. I backed his men against those of the Bey; but I was not lucky, as they were both thrown. The Koords are the most determined sportsmen I ever knew; great and small, young and old,—it is the favourite passion of the nation. The Bey has made up a party to come to my house, on purpose to show off his skill at the sword.

On my return home, I sent him a present of my fine pistols, to his infinite delight, but I am told he never keeps his presents a month; and whoever asks for anything he has is sure to get it from him. I made him promise to keep my pistols as a remembrance.

June 1.—This morning Rustum Effendi, from Bagdad, made his public entry into the town, accompanied by Hassan Bey. The Pasha went out about a mile to meet him, as the Effendi is the bearer of the Pelisse of Investiture from the Pasha of Bagdad. It appears that the Pasha of Bagdad, who seduced Hassan Bey from his allegiance, has actually sold him back again, and given him up unconditionally to his offended brother. It is fortunate for Hassan Bey that his brother is neither a Turk nor a Persian. He was brought as a prisoner, by a party of a hundred Georgians, who guarded him night and day until he reached Sulimania. The young man appeared very downcast; indeed he makes but a foolish sort of a figure. However, the dastardly way in which he has been abandoned by the Turks operates rather in his favour. All the people of the town express openly their contempt for the Pasha of Bagdad for giving him up.

In the afternoon, at the Meidan, I met Suliman Bey, the Pasha's youngest brother. He, Osman Bey, and the Pasha, are by the same mother, a lady of the Bebbeh family, and sister to Khaled Pasha. Hassan Bey is by the sister of Kai Khosroo Bey, of the Jaf tribe.

Suliman Bey is thirty years of age, but appears older than he really is. He is taller than his brothers; of a mild, serious, and agreeable countenance, and gentle, unaffected manners.

Bauker Khan was likewise of the party at the Meidan, and seemingly in high spirits, notwithstanding the events of the day, and the entire revolution in favour of the Turkish interests. There is still, however, a mystery in his stay here, which I cannot entirely penetrate. We talked of the Bakhtyarees, who are unquestionably Koords, as I had always supposed. Many people present had conversed with them. Bauker Khan, himself a Koord, has often been among them. He says their language is a dialect of the Loristan Koordish, and that he can understand them when they speak. All the accounts I have ever had agree with this.

June 2.—The barley-crops are now getting in. The harvest has been a little retarded by the late rains. Cucumbers have just made their appearance, but as yet they are scarce and dear. Some mulberries are ripe. Wheat is not ready to be cut down until the middle or latter end of June.

On going to-day to pay my compliments to the Pasha on his investiture, I found him sitting on a grass-plat on one side of the palace, in a very pleasant situation. He had got up some wrestling-matches to entertain me, for he has no taste himself for anything of the kind.

Hassan Bey, the runaway brother, was there. I like his appearance less than that of his brothers. He was muttering prayers to himself all the time, and seemed quite recovered from his embarrassment. His late history has been simply this:—He was the favourite brother of Mahmood Pasha; but last year Daoud, Pasha of Bagdad, began a secret correspondence with him, to endeavour to entice him from, and set him up, against his brother, in which at last he was successful. Hassan Bey ran away to Bagdad, where he was received with singular honour, and shortly afterwards created Pasha of Keuy Sanjiak; from which post, however, he was recalled in a few weeks, the Pasha of Bagdad finding it to be impossible to make head against Mahmood Pasha, assisted by the Persians. At last, finding Hassan Bey of no further use to him, he closed with the first advantageous offer made by Mahmood Pasha, and gave up Hassan Bey to his justly offended brother, without caring what became of him. As throwing light on the above transaction, I may here add, that about a twelvemonth ago an officer of Mahmood Pasha's was treating with Daoud Pasha about some affair, when the Pasha, after making some difficulties, at last seemingly consented to the wishes of the Koordish chief, and said to his emissary, "I swear by God, and by the head of my son Yusuf, that I consider Mahmood Pasha as my son equally with Yusuf; that I love him as a father, and have his interests

nearest my heart." He had already decided the affair against Mahmood Pasha, and was at that very moment engaged in the secret correspondence with Hassan Bey, which had for its object to betray and destroy the very man whom "he considered as his son equal with Yusuf." This anecdote is unquestionable, and is one of many, of a similar character, which I could relate of Daoud Pasha, and almost every other Turkish chief whom I have known. Osman Bey, and several other dashing young Koords, have been for the last two days practising the sword, with an intention of showing off before me to-morrow. The exhibition was to have taken place this evening, but was deferred on account of my visit to the Pasha.

June 3.—I went in the morning to welcome Rustum Effendi to Sulimania, and in the afternoon our party of swordsmen met at my house. A roll of felt, forty folds thick, was dipped in water, and suspended by a string. Osman Bey took the first cut, and at an easy blow severed the roll in two. Suliman Bey, who by the bye is a pleasing young man, followed, and did the same. Azeez Aga came next, and was equally successful. Another felt was suspended, but Osman Bey failed; he, however, cut through to within two or three folds. Azeez Aga and Suliman Bey also failed. Osman Bey then took another cut; but by this time he was nervous, and performed worse than before. Azeez Aga then took one of the sections of the felt, extending and placing it on the

ground, and cut it through clean at a blow. His brother Abdurrahman did the same. This I thought a greater feat than cutting through the suspended felt. The Bey asked me if this was not better than our system. I told him it would do very well, provided the adversary stood to be cut at like the roll of felt; but I showed him how, if he missed his cut, he was entirely at the mercy of an opponent, who knew the use of his weapon, according to our method. He seemed convinced at last that there was some truth in what I said; but Azeez Aga would not allow it.

June 8.—Mr. Bell arrived * on the 4th, since when I have been visiting and amusing myself among my Koordish friends; but I recollect nothing worth recording, and the relaxing effect of the north-east wind has rendered me averse to writing.

This afternoon I had some discourse with Omar Aga and Mahmood Aga about the agriculture of Koordistan. The usual increase of grain is about five to ten, to one of seed; fifteen is an extraordinarily good crop. Last year the crops of grain were bad, and yielded only two. Wheat and barley are sown alternately in the same ground. They

* Mr. Bell had been appointed by the government of Bombay surgeon and assistant to the Bagdad residency; and being in very delicate health, he joined Mr. Rich in Koordistan for the benefit of the mountain-air. His very amiable disposition, his lively and unaffected manners, his love of travelling, and thirst after information, made him a most welcome and agreeable addition to Mr. Rich's family; to whom his medical skill and gentle kindness were afterwards of the very greatest benefit.—*Ed.*

depend on the rain*; which mode of agriculture is called *dem*. There is a kind of corn called *bahara*, which is sown in the spring, and requires artificial irrigation. In the plains the land is not allowed to lie fallow; but it is relieved by alternating the crops of wheat and barley. In the hilly country the land must rest every other year. Cotton must never be sown twice running in the same ground; some crops of tobacco generally intervene.

The cotton is all of the annual kind, and generally requires watering, though in the hilly grounds some is grown by the means of rain. Manure is applied only to vines and tobacco. Rice should not be sown for several years running in the same ground, which, however, may be employed for other grain. The rice is chiefly grown in the district of Shehrizoor. No hemp or flax is grown in Koordistan. Omar Aga told me that this year he has thrown into the ground a small quantity of flax seed, which he procured from a *Hadgee* who had brought it from Egypt. Much Indian corn, millet, lentiles, gram, and one or two other species of pulse, are grown. The plough is drawn by two bullocks.

No trees of the orange or lemon genus will flourish in Koordistan. The summer heat is indeed more than adequate; but the winter is too severe for them.

* It must be remembered, that much of the cultivation in the East is watered by the help of artificial means, such as, for instance, aqueducts and canals.

The Pasha lately procured some Seville oranges and sweet lime-plants from Bagdad, for his new garden; but the first winter killed them. The ricinus, or castor-oil plant, is cultivated all over Koordistan; sometimes in separate fields, sometimes mixed with cotton.

June 10.—I have been much indisposed the last two days, principally owing I believe to the heat; as we are living in a tent, until our Koordish summer residence, called a tchardak, is ready to receive us. The heat of the sun strikes with great force through the canvass of the tent, in which the thermometer stands at 103° and 104°; while in a tchardak it does not rise above 92°.

The Pasha to-day proposed a review, as most of the horses are now come back from grass; but, as it was to take place at the hottest time of the day, I begged to be excused, and the review was put off. I had no notion it had been exclusively intended for my amusement, otherwise I would have made an effort to go. As soon as the Pasha was informed I was unwell, he came immediately to visit me, without previously sending word, and with such haste, that I had not time to turn out the guard before he was at the door. He sat with me an hour and a half. He told me the Pasha of Bagdad had recommended him to build a fort, and promised to furnish it with ordnance and stores. He therefore begged I would ride out and look for a convenient spot in the

neighbourhood, and assist them by tracing it out, which I promised him to do when I was well enough. He recurred to the European astronomy, a subject which he had before touched upon in several conversations. He particularly inquired concerning the mountains in the moon; and said he had been always taught in his religion, that the moon was a piece of iron, polished by the Almighty, in order to reflect on the earth the rays of the sun. He has caused his munnejim bashi, or chief astronomer, to draw me up a map of the world according to the Oriental system, which he gave me; and it is really very well done in its way.

The Pasha invited me to come to-morrow to the palace, to be present at an exhibition of sword cutting, as Osman Bey has been preparing himself ever since the last trial. He has also requested I would let him see the sepoys exercise.

June 11.—We have to-day got into our tchardak. It is about thirty feet long by fifteen broad, and the architecture is primitive enough. Three ranges of four posts are driven into the ground. They are forked on the top, and are about seven feet high. These are connected together at the top by long spars, and over them rafters are laid, on which is heaped an accumulation of oak boughs and leaves to the thickness of two or three feet, having a few bricks thrown loosely on the top to keep them steady. After the superstructure is raised, they lay the

floor: this is first done with common mud, which when dry is again covered with a plaster of clay mixed with chopped straw: a ledge of about six inches high runs round the whole. This, with some variety in the size, is the ordinary accommodation of the Koords during the hot months. They spread their beds on the top at night, and screen themselves from public view by an open reed mat called a tchigh, which allows the air to pass. The largest and handsomest tchardaks have generally a haouz, or tank of water, in the centre, sometimes with a little jet d'eau, which much refreshes the air.

The display of swordmanship this evening at the Pasha's went off but poorly. The Pasha and I had another astronomical conversation. His astronomer has reported me to be little less than a Maskelyne or a Herschel. The fast of Ramazan, it had been supposed, would have commenced on the thirteenth; but I assured the Pasha that the moon had actually changed, and informed him of the hour and minute. After I left him he ordered the fast to be proclaimed for to-morrow.

June 15.—The Ramazan having begun, I sit out from nine until about midnight to receive visitors, as the Mahometans, during this fast, turn night into day, sleeping, and spending the hours of fasting in retirement and reading the Koran, and devoting the night to eating and receiving company.

Last night we were entertained by the perform-

ance of two Koordish peasants on the *bilwar*, or Koordish flute, made of a reed. They played in unison. The tones were soft and agreeable: the airs melancholy, and rather monotonous. The best was a song called "Leili jan," and another beginning "Az de Naleem*."

A Koordish servant of my mehmandar's was desired to sing. He struck up a dismal ditty, consisting of a great number of verses, each of two parts or strains, which were regularly connected together by a sob or, as he gave it, a hiccup. The song itself seemed intended to imitate wailing.

The Koordish shepherd's flute is called shemshal, and is made of wood turned. Its tones are loud, but not disagreeable, especially when echoed among the mountains. They have particular calls for gathering together their sheep, which these animals are said to comprehend perfectly. This flute requires a great deal of breath; and in playing on it they make a noise by forcing their breath with a kind of humming.

A Gooran, from Sinna, next gave us a Sinna air, which was a sad screaming performance, and the Sulimania people present declared that they understood it only imperfectly.

* Besides these we were often favoured with other popular Koordish airs, such as "Men Kuzha benaz;" "Mil ki Jan;" "Azeezee."

CHAPTER V.

Brave Russian Soldier—Cruelty of the Prince of Kermanshah—Great Mahometan Saint—Natural Productions of Koordistan—Piety of Mahmood Pasha—Anecdote—Abdullah Pasha arrested—The Bairam—Koordish Tribes—Anecdote—The Bulbassi Tribes—The reigning Families in Koordistan—Arrival of Delli Samaan with Antiques.

June 24 —MANY visits have passed between me and the Pasha, Osman Bey, and my usual round of friends (always at night), in the interval since the date of my last journal; but I have not been well, and consequently have avoided writing; neither do I recollect much worth recording. The conversation of the Pasha has been chiefly of a religious character since the commencement of the Ramazan. He displays an extraordinary degree of piety and faith in his way, without any of the intolerance or arrogance which a Turk of much less devotion invariably assumes. "The bravest man I ever knew," said the Pasha, "was a poor Russian soldier, whom I saw when I accompanied the Prince Mahomed Ali Mirza in his inroad into Georgia. The man was carrying dispatches, and was taken prisoner by the Persians, and brought before the Prince, who interrogated him as to the purport of his business. 'What I am going about,' said the man, 'is contained in my dispatches; they are in Russian; read them if you

can.' The Prince, finding nothing was to be got out of him, asked him to become a Mussulman. The man refused; on which the Prince threatened him with the most cruel torments, but the man's resolution was not to be shaken. The Prince therefore ordered a grave to be dug; all the while the soldier laughed and chatted with those around him with the utmost unconcern. When the grave was ready, the Prince once more asked him if he would become a Mussulman; and upon his refusal, ordered him to be buried alive, which was instantly done, though I did all I could to prevent so barbarous an act. It was a pity to see so fine and brave a fellow sacrificed for religion. What business had the Prince with his faith?"

I could not help thinking, on hearing this atrocious anecdote, that if I commanded a Russian army, and ever took the Prince prisoner, I would infallibly hang his highness on the first tree we came to.

I spent yesterday evening again with the Pasha, who conversed on various subjects. He told me that the natives of Koordistan are subject to a fever which they call *gheranitee*, that is, heaviness. It continues for three or four days, and is carried off by a profuse perspiration, which leaves the patient in a very weak state. This generally prevails in the spring, but is seldom fatal.

There is a great Mahometan saint living in Sulimania. His name is Sheikh Khaled; but the

Koords think it profanation to call him by any other name than *Hazret i Mevlana*, or the holy beloved one; and talk of his sayings as being *Hadeez*, or inspired. He is of the Jaf tribe, and is a dervish of the Nakshibendi order, which he embraced at Delhi, under the guidance of the celebrated Soofee Sultan Abdulla. He has 12,000 disciples in various parts of Turkey and Arabia. All the Koords call him an evlia or saint; and a great many of them almost put him on a footing with their Prophet. Osman Bey, who with the Pasha and almost all the principal Koords are, his mureeds or disciples, told me that he was at least equal to the famous Mussulman saint, Sheikh Abdul Kader*.

* In a journal of Mr. Rich's, of an older date, at Bagdad, is the following account of another of this singular body of men, the Mahometan dervishes:—"To day (January 7, 1817) a mureed (disciple) of Sultan Hassan, a celebrated dervish, came to see me. We talked about his master, whom he praised extravagantly. 'The Sultan, sir,' said he, meaning the dervish, 'understands everything by miracle. If you spoke to him in your own language he would understand you, though he never learnt it; and he knows every science without having read: nay, he knows even what passes in your mind; and when you have the intention of consulting him, he will answer you without your having spoken a word. He knows that we are now talking about him, and he will appear to people in dreams, or even in actual presence, though they be in India or Persia.' The same person solemnly assured me to-day (January 17) that he had seen and conversed with Khidder Elias (the Prophet Elijah), whom the Mahometans believe to be still alive, and walking the earth; sometimes revealing himself to dervishes, of whom he is the peculiar patron and protector. My friend assured me that Khidder Elias accompanied him for two days to show him the road."

June 25.—I had much conversation last night with Omar Aga relative to the natural productions of Koordistan.

Kerkook is the mart to which all the productions of this part of Koordistan are carried, not by the Koords themselves, but by the natives of Kerkook, who come here for the purpose, and make advances of money to the cultivators for their rice, honey, &c. A great quantity of honey of the finest quality is produced in Koordistan; the bees are kept in hives of mud.

Gall-nuts are produced in great abundance, especially in the dwarf oak forest of Karadagh. They are exported to Kerkook, and thence to Mousul.

The plant which produces the gum arabic grows wild in the mountains. It has a purple flower, and is called ghewun.

Manna* is found on the dwarf oak, though several other plants are said to produce it, but not so abundantly, or of such good quality. It is collected by gathering the leaves of the tree†, letting them dry, and then gently threshing them on a cloth. It is thus brought to market in lumps, mixed with an immense quantity of fragments of leaves, from which it is afterwards cleared by boiling. There is another kind

* Called in Turkish, kudret halvassi, or the divine sweetmeat; in Arabic, musee; in Persian, ghezungabeen; in Koordish, ghezo.

† "The manna on each leaf did pearled lie."

Fairfax's Tasso.

of manna found on rocks and stones, which is quite pure, of a white colour, and it is much more esteemed than the tree manna. The manna season begins in the latter end of June, at which period, when a night is more than usually cool, the Koords say it rains manna, and maintain that the greatest quantity is always found in the morning after such a night.

Omar Aga likewise told me the names of several plants and animals in Koordish, which I here insert, together with other Koordish words of which I have learnt the meaning. Many are evidently Persian.

Haws, the berries of the hawthorn, are called gweizh or gowheizh; milk-wort, khuzhilk; briar-rose, shilan; trefoil, separeh; hollyhock, herro; sunflower, gul ruzhian perest; the common anemone, deazilk; the thistle, kiwar*; convolvolus major, lulan; a poplar, ispindar; weeping-willow, shorabi; the turpentine-tree, dariben: this tree grows in the mountains; the turpentine is procured from it by wounding the tree in the spring, and placing earthen vessels to receive the juice, which is of a very fine quality. The red-breast is called fendeguleh; a tortoise, kessal; the trout, which is common in many of the mountain-streams, is called kashina; the quail, karawara; a species of partridge smaller than the red-legged kind, and of a bluish or slaty

* The Koords give these to their horses, well beaten up and wetted, when they cannot procure barley; and they say it nourishes the horses very well.

grey, are called seska; grapes, træ; a valley, doli; a lady, yaya; the ladies of the reigning family call themselves khanum; but all the other Koordish ladies are called yaya, which seems to be the original Koordish term for lady. The men have preserved no original titles; they are all beys, khans or agas.

July 1.—The Pasha was with me this evening. He is certainly, without exception, the most unaffected and practically pious Mahometan I ever knew. He told me an anecdote to-night, not in praise of himself, but simply as narrating a fact, illustrative of the advantage of placing our confidence in God, which is highly characteristic. I will endeavour to give it as nearly as possible in his own words. It would lose much were it told in any other than his own simple and *scriptural* idiom.

"During the time I was a hostage at Kermanshah for the fidelity of my late father, he was obliged by circumstances to adopt the Turkish interests. My life was consequently forfeited; and the Shahzadeh sent for me to put me to death. It was night. I was brought before him with my arms tied behind my back. The Prince was sitting in his hall, and lighted candles were in the middle of it, and the executioner stood by ready to perform his office on me. Many a man who would face death in the field of honour would shrink at being brought up, with his hands bound, before the executioner. It was a fearful sight (may God never show it to you!); and I

santry. We threw some bread to them which they immediately snapped. Over the little pond which is formed by this spring grew a very fine tchinar, or oriental plane; and some poplars and willows were scattered about. The place put me in mind of Kara Hassan; and the Koords are right, when they say that Sulimania is built in the very worst part of Koordistan. This village belongs to the district of Serotchik. All the land on the south is in that district; and all on the north-west is in the district of Shehribazar, of which the capital is, or rather was, Karatcholan. Having refreshed ourselves at the village of Benawillee with a cup of coffee, under the shade of the beautiful plane-tree, we mounted again at a quarter before seven, and proceeding at a pretty good pace over an undulating country, we descended a steep hill, and at half past seven arrived at our konak or resting-place, the village of Gherradeh, where we found our tents already pitched, as I had taken the precaution of sending them and the heavy baggage off last night. It had had a difficult passage over Giozheh, and two or three of the baggage mules got a roll down, but fortunately no serious accident occurred.

The village of Gherradeh is situated in a dell, and buried in a wood of walnut, willow and poplar trees. Many rills descend into the hollow; and indeed there is no want of fine springs all over this country. We passed a great many on our road to-day, after de-

scending Giozheh. Gherradeh belongs to the district of Shehribazar. I am delighted with its situation. The shade of the spreading trees, the murmuring of the little rills, and the singing of some fine thrushes or blackbirds, conspired to render it extremely agreeable.

When we left Sulimania this morning at four o'clock, it was already warm; the wind was east, and as we approached the line of hills they threw out a heat like a reverberator. As soon as we attained the summit of the hills, we found ourselves in a different climate; and we might have prolonged our ride for an hour or two more, without the slightest inconvenience from the heat.

The thermometer at half past two P.M. 99°; at 10 P.M. 75°.

During our journey to-day we saw a great many vineyards and plantations of tobacco. All the fruit of Sulimania is brought from these parts.

As we had been told at Sulimania that the roads over which we were to pass were very steep, rough, and precipitous, and in some places in the mountains so narrow that two horses could not go abreast, we were obliged to abandon the takht-revan and mohaffas in this excursion, leaving them behind us at Sulimania. The women servants we sent off on horseback last night with the tents and baggage. Mrs. Rich accompanied us on her pony, a present from Osman Bey, which carried her over the mountains admirably.

Omar Aga, who is our mehmandar, called to one of his men to-day by the name of *Parveez*. He tells me these ancient names are commonly preserved among the tribes, such as Khosroo, Bahram, Parveez, Kobad, Perizad, *i. e.* Parysatis.

We heard the turtle-doves at this village, for the first time in Koordistan. In the afternoon we had a very pleasant stroll along the side of the dell or glen, through lanes of poplars, blackberries, privet, hawthorn and willow, among vineyards and orchards of plum, peach, mulberry, and figs. We saw one very fine olive tree. Little springs of water gushed from the steep side of the dell everywhere.

July 18.—A fine cool night; but it was of little avail to us, as soon after midnight began a variety of hideous sounds, proceeding from our people beginning to load, which beggared the confusion of Babel, and rendered all further rest impossible. Nothing is undertaken in this country without noise and screaming, which bears no proportion to the work done. The very animals themselves seem to delight in contributing to the confusion; and while their masters are swearing, hallooing, and shrieking, they whine, squeak, snort, and fly at one another incessantly, till the business of loading is concluded, and the whole party fairly on the road.

Omar Aga returned yesterday to Sulimania on business of his own, and will not join us again till this night's station.

At four we set off, first re-ascending the slope by which we descended into the glen, and then shaping our course due east to the hills, or rather mountains, for they now do indeed begin to merit that name. These mountains come round from the Giozheh, or Azmir range, and passing in front of us, with some interruptions, go to form the same range again on our left; but in that direction they seem to diminish in consequence. Directly on our left we had, at the distance of three or four miles, the high mount of Serseer, which is a detached portion of the hills I have been describing. Abdurrahman Pasha was very desirous of transferring his capital to it, on account of its detached and defensible position, its summit being only accessible by one road; but the want of an adequate supply of water deterred him.

At half past four we passed along a ridge, with a small dell on the left, and a very deep and large glen, containing several villages, on the right hand; which glen runs nearly east and west, and at the eastern extremity is shut up by a *col*, which divides it from another similar glen; and the south sides of both these glens rise at once into a high mountain. Our road gradually ascended. All the country is covered with bushes of dwarf oak. At five we reached the hills at an opening corresponding with the *col* or eastern head of the glen on our right. Hence Goodroon bore N. 60 W., and from this situation I could form a pretty good notion of the skeleton of that part

of the country. The Giozheh, or Azmir, terminates on the north. Goodroon begins before or south of the termination of Azmir, the valley or dell of Margapa being between them. The Goodroon then forms a range more considerable and more rocky than Azmir, which it sends off in a north-easterly direction. We now descended by a very steep road, and kept winding in a *gorge* of the mountains, which were steep on either hand, but that on the right was most considerable. The road continually ascended and descended, and was sometimes intersected by valleys. The sides of the hills were covered with vineyards, some of which, in very elevated situations, seemed almost perpendicular, and could certainly only be cultivated by men suspended by cords like samphire-gatherers. The principal cultivation hereabouts is the vine and tobacco. We passed some corn which was not yet got in. Dwarf oaks everywhere abounded; and by the little streams in the valley, willows often intervened with the wild vine. None of the grapes were yet near maturity.

At twenty minutes past six we alighted in a burying-ground, under the shade of some oaks, to rest a little, for I was by no means well. The place where we alighted was a valley, in which several dells or glens united, each discharging its little stream, by which it was formed, into the Tenguzhee, a river which runs hard by. One of

these streams turned a mill, and formed a pleasant cascade.

In the hills we saw much chalk in different states, and a good deal of flint. The strata still seemed generally to slope to the east, and the west face of all the hills was the most abrupt.

Having refreshed ourselves a little, at seven we mounted again. Our road the rest of the way was in a north-east direction. At twenty minutes past seven we crossed the Tenguzhee river, now three or four yards over, and about a foot and a half deep; but, from its bed, it is evident that it must occasionally be a considerable torrent. It runs north; doubtless to the Kiupri or Altoon river, which is the great receptacle of all the waters of this part of Koordistan*. From the banks of the Tenguzhee we rose immediately by a very steep ascent, which occupied thirty minutes, at a good hard pull. On our right was the Tenguzhee, which has cut a passage for itself through the mountain. The descent, which commenced immediately—for what we had crossed was a ridge—occupied half an hour, but was a great deal more sloping and gradual than the ascent. Our level was consequently much higher.

We now wound among the hills covered with

* The Tenguzhee river is the same as the Karatcholan river. It runs past Karatcholan, and uniting with the Hareer river, falls into the Kiupri.

dwarf oak, ascending and descending; and at twenty minutes before ten, leaving the direct road and turning south for a few minutes, we arrived at the village of Doladreizh — meaning, in Koordish, "the long valley."

I found no inconvenience from the sun to-day, though I was very unwell. At two P.M., the hottest time of the day, the thermometer stood at 98°; at ten at night at 74°.

Near this village, which is our resting place for to-day, are many willows, vines, plum, and fig-trees. On the hills the corn is not yet got in. On our right, parallel with our road, and not far from us, are the high mountains of Kazhav, or Kurree Kazhav. The face of the country to-day was mountainous and beautiful. Here and there the stony sides of the mountains showed themselves, but in general the character of the scenery was not rocky nor abrupt, but undulating.

We found the road to-day excellent, and much better than I had seen in any part of Asia Minor. Some of the views down into the valley reminded me of the Jura.

July 19.—The night-air was quite sharp. At a quarter before four we mounted, and in a few minutes were out of the little valley in which Doladreizh is situated. The general direction of our road was a little south of east; but we wound much along the sides of the hills, generally ascending. The road was really beautiful, winding among woods

of oak, which was here of a considerable size, interspersed with sumach, willows, wild vines, and sycamores. We had not proceeded far, when we passed Fet'h ullah Aga, the Ishik Agassi, or Master of the Ceremonies of Mahmood Pasha, returning from Sinna, to which place this is the high road; and shortly after we met an officer belonging to Khaled Bey, the chief of the province to which we are going, at the head of a party of riflemen, who had come thus far to meet me. The officer, who spoke no Turkish, had evidently prepared himself to answer the questions which he thought I might ask; but unfortunately, I did not put them in the order in which he expected, which produced a very laughable equivoque. "How far have we to go?" was my first question. "He went the day before yesterday to Sulimania," was the reply, imagining I had inquired for the Bey.

We soon began a very steep ascent, I think the highest and steepest I had yet seen; but the road was excellent. We attained the summit at six, the ascent having occupied about forty minutes; for half an hour of which it seemed, as we toiled up, to be almost perpendicular. Hence the Kazhav bore due west and old Goodroon reared its bare rocky head, in N. 65 W., above all the other mountains. We immediately began to descend by a beautiful and excellent road, among a thick forest of oaks, through which it ran in a zigzag direction, and was not

so steep as the ascent. From the top we had a fine view of the plain, winding among beautifully-shaped hills covered with dwarf oak, the background being formed by the high mountains of Persia, whose outline was also extremely picturesque. Along the plain meandered the river of Kizzeljee, which afterwards runs through a vale on our left, and taking a northerly course, goes through the district of Siwel to discharge itself into the Kiupri Soo. Its source is at the foot of the Persian mountains*. In about forty minutes we reached the foot of the mountain, which runs nearly north and south; and here the road branches into two, that on the left going north-east, to Beestan, the capital of the district of Kizzeljee, and about two hours off, and the one on the right, leading south to Ahmed Kulwan, the proposed place of our residence.

At the foot of the mountain we were met by the two sons of Khaled Bey, at the head of his retainers, in number about two hundred horsemen, well mounted and armed. They were headed by tchaoushes, with silver sticks and little drums, indicative of the rank of the chief, Kizzeljee being a banner or sanjiak of the Ottoman empire. On the junction of the party with ours, a Babel of confusion and noise took place, which is only to be comprehended by one who has seen the honours of an

* That of the Kiupri Soo is at Lajan.

*Istakbol**. Horses are inhospitable animals: ours took offence at the strangers who mixed with them, who were indignant in their turn. The Koordish horses are all fiery and ill-broken; and a scene of snorting, neighing, squeaking, stamping, capering, and fighting forthwith began. The young Bey endeavoured to pay compliments to me in Persian, but the horses of his party had better lungs than himself, and had they failed, their place would have been more than supplied by some double drums and zoorna† men, mounted on miserable jades, who composed his band or mehter khana. When they fell into the rear and became silent, *the song* was taken up by a Stentorian Persian, who roared out Pehlivan or wrestler's ditties, and accompanied himself on the *dimbek* or single drum, which makes a terrible clattering. The Bey tried to talk, but it was only visibly. I replied in the same way. We rode S. along the foot of the hills, which are scooped out into a beautiful amphitheatre. As soon as we came into good ground, a match of jereeding or throwing the spear, and tilting with the spear, began. The Koords are all desperately bold though unscientific horsemen. The tilting was accompanied by the double drum and zoorna, and the scene was altogether fine and picturesque. One Koord was run away with by his Bucephalus, and another came down

* A public entry into a place. † A trumpet.

horse and all, at full speed, and was much hurt, though not seriously.

At half past seven we arrived at our *cantonment* under the hills, about a mile north-east of Ahmed Kulwan. Our quarters, which Khaled Bey had had the civility to construct on purpose for us, were situated at the head of a beautiful spring, and consisted of a number of tchardaks, through two of which a little stream of water ran and was formed into a haouz or tank. The whole was surrounded by a neat wattled fence enclosure, and divided by a similar one into haram and divan khaneh. On each side of us were corn-fields in which the reapers were at work, and as they worked they chanted the tale of Ferhad and Shireen in Koordish verse.

The Bey's second son, with five or six gentlemen of the district who had accompanied him, now took their leave to return to Beestan. The eldest, Mahommed Bey, remained with a party to do duty at our cantonment. In the night I heard him going on the patrole himself. This place is much subject to incursions from marauders belonging to the border tribes.

The cotton in this neighbourhood has been greatly injured by the locusts, swarms of which are even yet on the ground*. They consume nothing but what is green.

* The locust is called, in Koordish, koolla.

Soon after sunset we were greatly annoyed by swarms of large and very venomous mosquitoes. The night was cool and the morning quite cold. The ground was wet with dew. At this season there is no dew in the plain of Sulimania.

July 24.—The temperature of a fine spring at our cantonment is 57°. I tried it at all times of the day, and it gave constantly the same result. A spring in the hills above Ahmed Kulwan was 52°. One in a close valley, nearly on a level with our post, was 63°.

On a hill due east of us, on the other bank of the Kizzeljee river, are the remains of a castle called Kiz Kalassi, or the Girl's Castle, in all likelihood Sassanian. Near our cantonment is a clump of poplar trees of the largest size I ever saw. One of them measured sixteen feet in girth, and really was a magnificent tree. Two or three of them were broken down and lying in fine ruins on the ground. I was informed this was occasioned by the weight of snow, the year before last, being greater than they could bear.

About a mile east of Ahmed Kulwan twelve of the Bebbeh family once surprised the camp, and put to flight several thousand Persians. This was in the time of Sultan Shah Hussein. Suliman Bebbeh was chief of Koordistan*, and on that very day he gained a victory over the Turkish army.

* It must therefore have happened some time between 1088 and 1092 of the Hejira. See p. 81, note.

There is a green frog in Koordistan which climbs trees, and catches flies and locusts like a cat, by striking out with its fore paw. I have often seen it perform this feat. It is in every respect like the common frog, but is of an apple-green colour and smooth skin. I have seen them roosting in bushes at night.

I was present at Ahmed Kulwan at a game which would have dislocated the limbs of any but a stout Koord. A man sat on the ground and had a rope tied to one of his legs, which was laid hold of by a large party, who dragged him along the rough stony ground, and whirled him round like men heaving a capstan. A man stood by him, and endeavoured to prevent their hauling him along by keeping hold of another rope, fastened to another part of his body; and if he could catch any of the assailants, without quitting hold of his rope, the man so caught was obliged to sit down and be dragged in his turn. All this was performed with abundance of shouts, shrieks, and capers. A very good-natured savage named Kadera Gavra, or Big Kader, who always attended us, was a principal performer in this sport. He was an excellent fellow, and grew much attached to us. He was remarkable for always stalking about with a club in his hand, dressed in a shaggy goat skin jacket over his other clothes, though the weather was extremely sultry.

August 1.—During my stay at Ahmed Kulwan,

I made no notes, partly from indisposition, partly from occupation, and partly also from idleness. I find I have still too much writing to do for my present state of spirits.

Having stayed some days at Ahmed Kulwan, I determined on quitting it. In this I was principally influenced by the circumstance of the Bey's son insisting on remaining with us the whole of the time we stayed there. I thought it best, therefore, to move to Beestan*, that is, in Persian, Beedistan, the place of willows, the present capital of the district, where his house is, and consequently where we shall give him less trouble. All things being in readiness for our removal, we set out to-day at a quarter past five in the morning, and keeping the hills close on our left, at six we arrived at the river of Kizzeljee, where it forces for itself a passage through the mountains. This place is north from Ahmed Kulwan. On the south side of the pass, or left bank of the river, on a high insulated rock, are the remains of a castle, called the castle of Kizzeljee, and said to be very ancient. The village of the same name is close by it, and was formerly the capital of the district, but some time ago it was abandoned for Beestan. I observe that

* The change proved unfortunate. We left a healthy for a very unhealthy place, where the fever that prevails in some measure all over Koordistan at this season was peculiarly severe. All our people fell ill at Beestan, and consequently they took a great dislike to Koordistan, and longed to be back in the burning plains of Bagdad, where the natives seem to flourish.—*Ed.*

most of the villages in Koordistan are placed in sheltered nooks, and in valleys out of sight, probably in order to escape the visits of bodies of troops passing to and fro. This however is frequently ineffectual, and the district of Kizzeljee in particular, being a frontier province, is peculiarly obnoxious to the usual calamities of oriental warfare. Within the last twenty years, it has been several times entirely laid waste by the Persians and Aman ullah Khan. Nor are the Koords of rival parties, of the same nation, more merciful towards the villages of the opposite party. Siwell being in the interior, and out of the line of military operations, is a much more tranquil district.

We now left the mountains, and stretching across the plain, came to a line which branches out east from them, and is well covered with dwarf oak. Crossing this we reached a vale, through which a river winds beautifully, its banks being clothed with willows. A similar line of hills bounds it on the other side. The Beestan river is sometimes called Tattan, from a village of that name on its banks. It makes its way through the mountains, and joins the Karatcholan and Kizzeljee rivers below Karatcholan. The united streams fall into the Kiupri Soo.

Keeping the mountains we had just crossed on our right, we arrived at half past seven at Beestan; which is a village of about fifty houses* at the foot

* It contains about fifty families, of which fifteen or twenty are Jews.

of these hills, and curiously thrust in, not in the most advantageous situation, under the foot of an insulated rock, about two hundred feet in height, which cuts it off from the vale through which the river flows, and renders its position close and warm. On the south, or right hand, the hills are very high, composed seemingly, like all the hills in this part, of gypsum, variously tinged with iron, and some schistous laminæ, and clothed with dwarf oak. On the left hand is the bare high rock, at the foot of which the village stands, and on whose summit are some vestiges of building. The whole breadth of the interval between the rock and the hills does not exceed a quarter of a mile. Towards the east it is more open, and the view in that direction is bounded by distant mountains, the face of which nearest to us is the district of Teratool in Koordistan; the opposite one is the district of Sakiz in the territory of Sinna, and subject to Persia.

Beestan lies N. 10 E. by the compass from Ahmed Kulwan.

Banna N. 10 E. of Beestan; five hours distance.

We found tchardaks prepared for us in the highest part of the village, opposite the Bey's house. The outside of the village would have been more agreeable; but the tchardaks were ready, and I would not hear of further trouble being given on our account. In fact they were the Bey's own tchardaks prepared for his summer accommodation, which he resigned to us.

In the evening I had a conversation with the Bey, on the subject of Koordistan. He says the clannish Koords bear no proportion to the peasant race in numbers, the latter being at least as four or even five to one. Of tribes who move about, he reckons about ten thousand families, consisting, on an average, of seven persons to a tent, which he thinks is a very fair estimate. Of settled tribes, such as the Kermanj, Nooreddin, and Shinkees, he does not think there is more than one-third of this number, or about three thousand families*.

August 2. — We clambered up the rock early this morning, in order to see the ruins said to exist on the summit. We saw some traces of wall enclosing it, and found bricks evidently of a Sassanian appearance. On the very top, which is not many yards over, a reservoir is cut in the gypsous strata, and an old thorn-tree still flourishes, which may have seen the castle in its perfect state. We had a fine view of the vale of Tattan, with the river winding through it; and several villages were to be discovered in the opposite hills, E.N.E. of us. At a short distance from the foot of the rock is an artificial mount of a circular form and flat top, like those of Tchemtchemal, Derghezeen, &c. It is called Rustum's Mount. Another of the same description, farther north, is called the Shah's Mount. On some of

* This refers only to the government of Sulimania, excluding that of Keuy Sanjiak.

the neighbouring hills urns of earthenware, of extraordinary dimensions, have been found.

August 8.—We have been all ill with a bilious fever, which seems to be the disorder of the place. I have myself suffered much, and twenty-six persons of our party were at one time ill. Last night poor Jaaffer Ali*, who is suffering under the fever, was much alarmed by some Koords bringing in a dead body to the room where he was sleeping, and it was with great difficulty he could persuade them to take it away.

Some evenings ago, when I was better, we strolled out to a very pleasant glen, due south of Beestan, which runs up into the hills. Several springs descend through it, and the sides are covered with wild fig, quince, and pear-trees; and the glen is besides ornamented with magnificent old walnut-trees. The thermometer, on being immersed in a spring-head, marked 60°. There is a spring just opposite the town at the foot of the hill, the temperature of which is 57°.

The hills hereabouts are slate, intersected by veins of gypsum.

The pointed hill of Ardbaba, just over on this side of Bana, bore N. 10 E. A little to the right of it is a part of the same chain, consisting of three curious summits close together called Surena.

* One of the Indian servants, a native of Lucknow.

August 11.—My fever has now settled into a strong tertian. All the people are ill. Mrs. Rich, thank God, has escaped, and so has Mr. Bell; but every hour they come and tell us "Such a one is taken ill." This is very sad and dismal. The fever has a worse effect on me than on the others, owing to my previous malady. So great was the determination of blood to my head the other night, that Mr. Bell was obliged to take a pound of blood from me, which afforded me great relief.

I am now resolved to quit this place as soon as possible. I have taken measures to send the sepoys and the sick, together with all superfluous baggage, back to Sulimania, and to march with as few incumbrances as possible to a neighbouring village with better air, where we may remain for a few days till we are strong enough to set out on our excursion farther into Koordistan, which may possibly extend as far as Sinna. Besides my fever I have an inflammation in my right eye, which troubles me much and causes me to write with pain, and wholly prevents my observing. It is lucky it only came on after the eclipse of Jupiter's first satellite, which served me to correct the longitude of Beestan.

August 13.—We left Beestan at five o'clock this morning, and, riding through the plain of Tattan or Beestan, crossed the hills which surround it, and descended into the plain before Ahmed Kulwan, or the

plain of the Kizzeljee river*. We crossed it, and arrived at the beautiful village of Penjween at nine, having been delayed a quarter of an hour on the way, the whole of which we performed but slowly. I was so ill, and my eye so much inflamed, that I could neither observe much, nor could I have recorded my observations had I made any.

We were all day among travelling parties, or small encampments of the Jaf Koords, who are now occupying these parts previous to their moving off to Shehrizoor. I regretted I could not enjoy the scene, which was really interesting and picturesque. Their tents and baggage were neatly packed on bullocks and cows. The use of these animals as beasts of burden seems peculiar to the Koordish nation. I remember observing the same custom among the Rishwan Koords, in Asia Minor, of whom, by the bye, the Jafs somewhat reminded me. The men and women travelled on foot, and a fine stout-looking people they were. The women were clothed in a blue chemise and trowsers, and wore on their heads a small cap, their hair seeming to curl about their faces. They wore the tcharokhia, which is a cloak of blue and white checked calico thrown over their shoulders. In its form it resembles the plaid of the Highlanders of Scotland. It is an indispensable

* Jackals are found only in the plains of Kizzeljee and Shehrizoor, but in none of the hilly parts.

part of every Koordish woman's dress: the higher class wear it of yellow and red silk.

The Jaf men wore a dress belted round their middles, light drawers, with the worsted shoe, which is a comfortable covering for the feet, and a conical felt cap on their heads. All were armed with a sabre and light target; some added a pistol, and the horsemen always carried a lance. We saw one lady who appeared to be a person of some distinction. She was mounted on a mare, whose bridle and trappings were curiously ornamented with shells and beads, and her saddle was covered with a carpet decorated with tassels. A couple of animals carried her baggage, on which a servant rode, and a well-armed horseman attended her. None of the women had the slightest pretensions to a veil, nor had they even a handkerchief round the lower part of the face like the Arab women.

Penjween, where we take up our quarters for a few days, is a large village, beautifully situated in a glen in the hills, on the south side of the plain of the Kizzeljee river. From this place our old station at Ahmed Kulwan bears about N. 55 W., distant one hour's good pace of a horseman. The old castle of Kizzeljee N. 45 W.

In the daytime we sit in a garden under the shade of a fine walnut-tree, overhanging a spring, the temperature of which is 56°.

The village, though in the district of Kizzeljee,

belongs, with a neighbouring one, to Fet'hullah Aga, whose house we occupied at Sulimania. It may be worth about 15,000 piastres per annum, as it has but little cultivation belonging to it. We saw some millet growing, which was still green. The glen is full of gardens, orchards, and vineyards. Scarcely any of the fruit is yet ripe. The inhabitants are mostly carriers, and they take their mules as far as Sinna and Hamadan.

August 18.—Unexpected delays have occurred in procuring the necessary supply of mules for the sepoys. I hope I have at last managed the business, and that all will be ready for them to start for Sulimania to-morrow; in which case we shall, in all likelihood, begin our travels the next day. The people, however, I am glad to say, are mostly better. I hope I have also got rid of my fever, as I had no attack yesterday, which was the day for it. Mrs. Rich, thank God, has escaped an attack. She was indeed ill at Ahmed Kulwan, but without any symptoms of this fever, which is an extremely brisk bilious intermittent, that almost immediately affects the head. Omar Aga says it is common throughout Koordistan at this season. He attributes it to the change of temperature at night, which is sometimes pretty sharp, while the day is extremely hot; but there may be also some local causes, as it is worse at some places than others. The confined valleys and low situations seem to be very bad.

The heliacal rising of Sirius, (in Koordish Ghillaweizh, for many of the stars have original Koordish names,) about the 10th of August, is the signal in Koordistan for the breaking up of the great heats. The nights then become fresh, but the days are still very hot.

PENJWEEN.

August 19.—Last night two thieves made an incursion into our camp, and succeeded in carrying off two pair of shoes belonging to some of the tent-pitchers. It is very surprising we have not been more troubled with them, considering our vicinity to the tents of the wandering tribes. Apropos—Omar Aga told me last night that the tents we now see in the neighbouring plain belong to the Ghellali, Kelhore, and some other *fragments* of tribes, who are now descending from the mountains, and not to the Jafs proper. All these tribes pay tribute to the Vali of Sinna for the permission of summer pasturage in his territory. The Jafs pay four hundred tomauns annually, besides a present of horses and sheep.

I believe I have omitted mentioning that a body of the villagers of every place we come to are always turned out at night to guard our camp. These guards are called Kishakjees, which seems to be a Turkish word, though only used in Persia and Koordistan.

The peasantry of Penjween look well and comfortable, which is rare in these parts. Their houses are

separated by wattled enclosures, and have a neater appearance than I have seen in other parts of Koordistan.

There are some families of Jews here, who trade in gall-nuts, hides, &c. with Sinna and Hamadan. Many hides are exported to the latter place. The village Jews in Koordistan are, besides, dyers.

Penjween is the emporium of the wandering tribes. Caravans go from hence to Hamadan in eight days; to Sinna in four.

I greatly lament my ignorance of natural history, as much might be done in that way in Koordistan. I recognise hereabouts the common nettle; the deadly nightshade; the wild hollyhocks, still in full flower; the sumach.

Of birds, besides the redbreast, which I have already mentioned, there are a beautiful kind of woodpecker, of red and grey colours; turtle-doves, one species of which I never saw before, beautifully spotted; quails numerous; and the red-legged partridge in prodigious abundance.

CHAPTER VII.

Entrance into Persia—Lake of Zeribar—Kai Khosroo Bey—Jaf encampment—Djereeding match—Cross Mount Zagros—Garran peasantry—Inclement winter—Jaf quarrel—Sinna—Magnificent collation—The palace—Tyranny of the Vali of Sinna—General mourning—Rebellion—Death of the Vali's son—Despair and cruelty of the Vali—Terror of his subjects—Change in our plans—Consternation of the Vali's ministers—Entreaties of the council—Are successful—Their joy and gratitude—Departure from Sinna for the camp of the Vali.

August 20.—THE necessary cattle for the transport of the sepoys, the sick, and the baggage having arrived, I resolved on setting out on my trip to Sinna, in which I have for my object the re-establishment of my health, the visiting the chain of Zagros, with its hitherto unknown pass of Garran, and the fixing the position of the capital of Persian Koordistan.

We set out at 5 A.M.; and as I was desirous of ascertaining the nature of the plain which goes to the foot of Zagros, and the direction of the subordinate hills, we took the road by the plain, though there is one direct across the hills from Penjween, which shortens the distance about an hour. The road through the plain keeps along the foot of the hills which bound the plain of the Kizzeljee river on the south, and winds with them from east into south. They are well wooded to the foot, and often recede into

beautiful semi-circular forms, most of the areas of which were occupied by neat little encampments of the tribes, many parties of whom we met on their march. We marched nearly towards the sun, which rendered the inflammation in my eye extremely painful, and prevented me from enjoying the ride, that would otherwise have been very pleasant.

At six A.M. we entered Persia; the frontier of which is marked by a little wooden bridge over a small rivulet which falls into the Kizzeljee, but is frequently dry. The Kizzeljee river soon after disappeared to the right, behind the hills that now separate the plain, which turns more south. We met an elderly man carried on a kind of bier, with his head foremost, as if they were taking him to the grave: he was, however, sitting up and looking about him. Omar Aga, on inquiry, found he had had his leg broken by a stone, in attempting to rob a village the other night.

On ascending a little eminence at half past seven, we saw the small but clear blue lake of Zeribar: in the background to the south were the wild rocky mountains of Avroman, through which there are only foot-paths. The left side of the lake was mountainous and wooded. The right side was a plain, evidently at no very distant period occupied by the lake, which has now shrunk to about three miles in length by two in breadth. All around it, except on the hilly side, where it still retains its ori-

ginal bed, is a morass full of high reeds, about a mile in breadth, and thronged with wild fowl. The beaver is likewise found here. The greatest depth of the lake is said to be near the centre. In the winter it is quite frozen over; and Omar Aga tells me he has often hunted on it*. All the people of the country believe this lake to have been once a city, which God caused to be swallowed up by an earthquake on account of the wickedness of its governors. Omar Aga says it has sensibly diminished in his recollection.

Hitherto our direction was about S. 70 E., but hence the tents of the Jaf chief, Kai Khosroo Bey, bore south, though we still kept to the foot of the hills, with the lake about a couple of miles on our left, and our road wound round in a semi-circular direction.

We were soon met by four tchaoushes belonging to the Bey; handsome, well-mounted men, with plumes of herons' feathers in their turbans. Under their horses' bellies were carpets, from which depended a profusion of yellow worsted tassels.

At half past nine we arrived at Kai Khosroo Bey's camp, about two miles south of the lake. Before we reached the camp we were met by the Bey himself, mounted on his magnificent horse, the finest

* There is a profusion of the Lotus (Nilofer) in the Lake Zeribar.

animal I have seen for many years, accompanied by his three sons, and Mahommed Bey his nephew, the son of the last Jaf chief, Kader Bey. Kai Khosroo Bey looked in much better spirits than I usually saw him in at Sulimania. He was superbly dressed in a rich Constantinople capote with gold bosses, and made a very fine figure. His eldest son, a very handsome lad, was habited in a similar manner, over a robe of rich European brocade; the youngest, a white-headed boy, was dressed in black velvet and silver. Many fine-looking Jaf horsemen accompanied him; and a match of djereeding, in which the young men distinguished themselves, commenced and lasted till we got to the camp. The Bey's tents were of the usual black stuff, surrounded by tchighs or mats, but high and spacious, and a divan canvass tent was prepared for me to receive my visitors, and a comfortable tchardak, which had belonged to the Bey's haram, was given up for my own accommodation and that of Mrs. Rich. The Bey's women waited in it to receive her. Our reception was kind and hospitable in the extreme; but here I must close my journal of to-day, and leave much to memory. Inflamed eyes and throbbing temples completely unfit me for writing.

On a hill due south * of us is the castle of

* Surena bears N.; Ardbaba, the peaked summit over Banna, N. 10 W.

Meriwan *, now in ruins; I believe it is Sassanian. On the very pinnacle of another hill, forming the south side of a valley about three miles broad, which runs up east to the foot of Zagros, are the ruins of two Sassanian castles, bearing S. 55 E. and S. 60 E. of our camp, distant about two or three miles.

The bare precipices of Avroman bear due south of us, and extend westward, overlooking Shehrizoor; whose plains are separated from us by the hills which come down from Ahmed Kulwan to Penjween and the lake. Between Avroman and Zagros is a narrow valley, through which runs a direct road to Kermanshah from Sulimania, called the Shamian road. Through this valley flows a little river which comes down from Garran, and falls into the Diala. The chain of Zagros is bare and high †. It is visible at intervals from Surena and Ardbaba, which I am now satisfied are part of Zagros. Hajee Ahmed, that part of Zagros to which the Jafs retire in summer, lies from hence N. 60 E. Zagros seems to incline easterly from Ardbaba, in the district of Banna, to Garran, and thence to come out more westerly, in the direction of our road to-morrow. The pass of Garran is N. 85 E. In the afternoon the young Beys had a match of djereeding, to show off before Mrs. Rich. At night I sat some time with Kai Khosroo Bey;

* Meriwan is the name of the district we are in: it belongs to Sinna.

† Direction N. 10 W. to S. 30 E.

we had some Persian singing by two Mullas. Some Indian Fakeers were present; and an elderly woman perfectly naked, but very quiet and well behaved. It was a disgusting sight. She is subject to the epilepsy, and was once mad, when she threw off her clothes and took to the mountains, where she lived for some years in a perfect state of wildness. She was at last reclaimed, and is now quiet, but cannot be persuaded to put on clothes. She sometimes visits Sulimania, where she walks about the streets in a state of perfect nudity.

This must suffice for my journal at the Jaf camp. I find, if I have any regard for my health and comfort, I must abridge my journal as much as possible, and confine it to an indication of the principal occurrences. I have, besides the inflammation in my eye, been tormented with a pain at the back of my head ever since my fever began; and too much writing always distresses me now.

August 21.—Took leave of our kind entertainer (whose disinterested hospitality I shall never forget) at half past five, and proceeded down the valley, formed by a prolongation of the hill of Meriwan on the south, and of the hills of Ziribar on the north in the general direction noted yesterday, viz. N. 85 E., though the road was not in a straight line, but wound a little. At the end of it we crossed a little line of hills, and at half past seven arrived at Gueiza-kwera (which means a spoilt walnut), a little village

in a narrow dell. In the valley through which we passed was fought the battle (if such it may be called, which was over in ten minutes) in which Suliman Pasha, then Kiahya of Bagdad, was taken prisoner, with the best part of his army, by Abdurrahman Pasha, the Koordish chief, in the mad expedition undertaken by Ali Pasha of Bagdad against Persia. I rode to-day in much pain on account of my eye, our road being directly against the sun. The houses, or rather huts, in Gueizakwera are covered with a kind of inartificial thatching of long reeds, thrown over a ridge pole, and hanging down, the whole roof being high and narrow. We were in a hut of a better description, which I believe serves for the mosque. All the houses are separated from each other by an enclosure of wattles. It is a miserable village; though Sheikh Kereem, one of the naybs of the district (there are two), resides in it. He is a well-behaved man, dressed in the Bebbeh, not the Persian fashion. I left two of my men, who were too ill to go on, under his charge *.

August 22.—We were off by five, and proceeded through a hilly but open country till six, when we came to the entrance of a narrow valley, formed by two stupendous cliffs, which reared their bare heads above the oak woods that cover their declivities. The small river of Aserabad or Garran flows through

* One died soon after; the other returned to me at Banna.

the pass, and is crossed by a neat bridge of three arches, built by Aman ullah Khan, the present Vali of Sinna. We had been rising very gently ever since we left the village, but now we began to ascend sensibly, keeping the Aserabad on our left for about a mile. It flows into the Diala. Our direction to the bridge was N. 70 W., thence S. 70 E.; the road extremely beautiful, through woods of oak, ash, wild-pear, vine, and tchinar or oriental plane, which cover the hills almost to their summits; and among them we remarked hawthorn and a gigantic wild-rose. It was enlivened by a large division of the Jafs, proceeding to the plains of Ziribar with their families and flocks. Their property was loaded on bullocks. The children were carried in cradles at the women's backs; or, if a little bigger, were loaded, two and three together, on the back of a mare or bullock. Several most masculine sibyls (complete Meg Merrilies) strode along with the other women; they seemed to be of great authority in taking charge of the parties. The men sauntered on, with a heavy mace at their girdle, and a sword and a target over their backs. Some drove the flocks of sheep, goats and horses, and a few of the better sort rode; but the care of the families and loads always devolved on the women.

They are a hard-featured, sturdy race. The road was excellent; the vale through which we ascended very narrow. At ten minutes before eight we came

own, my courage forsook me. In my agony, however, I had presence of mind left to call on the name of the Lord; and, praised be his name, it was instantly revealed to me. I felt it strike on my heart, as if the following words had been impressed on it: "Am I not He who brought thee out of thy mother's womb, and protected thee through all dangers to the present hour? Might I not have destroyed thee at any moment? therefore why fearest thou now? Can this man do aught against thee, except by my will?' At that instant I felt comfort, my heart gained strength, and I stood before the prince fearless and undaunted. Blessed be God, instead of causing me to be put to death, as had been his firm resolve when he sent for me, the Prince only remanded me back to prison, and nothing more was done to me."

Last night while I was sitting in a large company at Omar Khaznadar's, the evening having previously been calm and warm, and we were all busily employed in talking, just as the moon rose about ten, an intolerably hot puff of wind came from the north-east. All were immediately silent, as if they had suddenly felt an earthquake, and then exclaimed, in a dismal tone, "The sherki is come *!" This was indeed the so much dreaded sherki, and it has continued blowing ever since with great violence from the east

* As soon as this wind came on, the thermometer rose 10 degrees, from 80° to 90°.

and north-east, the wind being heated like our Bagdad saum, but I think softer and more relaxing. This wind is the terror of these parts, and without it the climate of Sulimania would be very agreeable.

The town of Sulimania is situated in a hollow, about two miles from the foot of the east range of hills, the *débris* of which slope down to it; and among these in a sort of ravine it is built. The neighbouring hills are steep and bare; in height they may be about 300 yards. They serve as a reflector to the rays of the sun, which strikes upon them from about seven in the morning until sunset all the summer; and the wind rushing down the face of these hills carries its heat thus acquired to the town when it blows from the east and north-east. About east of the town the hills recede a little, and the south-east wind is not so bad, consequently, as the north-east, which is the worst point of all. The sherki has the same heated, relaxing quality, all along this line of hills; but westward it reaches no farther than the Tanjeroo river, and as soon as you cross the ridge of the hills its effects cease altogether. The same phenomenon prevails at Keuy Sanjiak, which is situated in a narrow valley of the same aspect as this; but the hills are higher, and the sherki is stronger and hotter. It seldom blows due north here, and all the west points are agreeable.

I must now mention a curious fact, which I could not set down until I had ascertained it by a long

course of observations. At dawn, it is generally quite calm. As the sun rises above the hills, a slight air comes on from the point of sunrise. This follows the sun to the meridian, at noon there being generally a breeze, or at least a strong puff or two from the south. When the sun passes the meridian, the wind comes round to the west. The mornings are generally disagreeable, and the afternoons extremely pleasant, with a fine westerly breeze. I have observed this always to be the case when the sherki did not prevail. The hottest time of the day is from noon until 3 P.M.

July 6.—Last night I was with Osman Bey. He appeared absent and much out of spirits, though he made a strong effort to talk and amuse me. I observed the same thing of the Pasha, with whom I passed the preceding evening. Soon after I left Osman Bey, which was about eleven at night, Abdullah Pasha was arrested, and confined in a room separated off from the haram of the palace. At the same moment, a detachment under the command of Suliman Bey marched off to seize the brothers of Abdullah Pasha, who reside in their government, in a district west of Sulimania. The motive of this act is stated to be as follows:—

When Mahmood Pasha finally determined on submitting to the Turks a short time ago, he went to Sheikh Khaled, the great living saint of Sulimania, accompanied by his uncle, Abdullah Pasha, and his

two brothers, Osman and Suliman. These three swore allegiance to Mahmood Pasha; and, as they foresaw that the Prince of Kermanshah was likely to attempt gaining over one of them, to set him up against the Pasha and the Turkish interest, they took an oath on the sword and the Koran and by their divorce*, that whatever letters might come to either of them from Persia or Turkey, they should open them at Sheikh Khaled's house, and in presence of the whole party who then made the agreement. The first person to be tried was Osman Bey, who shortly after received a letter from the Shahzadeh, inviting him to come to Kermanshah, and promising him the government of Sulimania. This letter Osman Bey immediately communicated to his brothers. Another letter of the same nature was received by Abdullah Pasha, who, contrary to their agreement, concealed it; and the fact was only made known to Mahmood Pasha by an express sent to him by the Pasha of Bagdad, who somehow or other had come to the knowledge of it, and who recommended Mahmood Pasha to secure his uncle. Mahmood Pasha would not believe it, and absolutely refused to take any steps against Abdullah Pasha; but at the same time he resolved to watch his motions more narrowly. At last he ascertained from Abdullah Pasha's own Khaznadar that he was preparing to

* That is, "May my wife be divorced if I break my word."

escape to Kermanshah; and his immediate arrest was the consequence.

Abdullah Pasha had been given up, or rather betrayed, into the hands of Mahmood Pasha last year by the Pasha of Bagdad in the most disgraceful manner, and left entirely at the mercy of his nephew, who, had he been of a revengeful disposition, might have dispatched him secretly or openly without loss of time, or without any one calling him to an account; but no such thought entered the mind of Mahmood Pasha, who treated him kindly, and gave him some of the finest districts in Koordistan for his support, besides paying off debts he had contracted during his residence in Bagdad. Indeed he gave him more than was his share, considering the Pasha's own wants and the claims of the other members of his family. Such a return therefore as the present was the more melancholy.

July 10.—At night the Pasha sat with me some time. His spirits were much depressed. He spoke in the most affecting manner of the conduct of his uncle, and of his own feelings on discovering his treachery. The sentiments he expressed (and which were no doubt his real ones) exhibited a degree of feeling, devotion, and benevolence, which I never thought to have met with in the East, and which I fear are not often to be found in better countries. He talked much of his own affairs, and consulted me on several points.

A beacon has been lighted from the opposite hills, to announce that the new moon has been seen from thence; so that to-morrow is the feast of the Bairam.

July 11.—I had a long conversation with my intelligent friend Omar Aga, about various points relating to the Koords and their country. I set them down at random.

The people of Khoshnav and Rewendiz are to the last degree savage and stupid. They have no sort of scruple about killing a man, but would not miss a prayer for the world, though they have been known to fight in the mosque. Many years ago there was a quarrel between two districts about a dog, in which seventy men were killed on the spot, of whom thirty fell in a mosque, after they had joined together in public worship. They still fight at intervals about this same quarrel; and no encounter takes place without the slaughter of some men. There is a Khoshnav chief now alive, whose name I forget: a fly once settled on his eye, and teased him; he drove it off; the insect returned two or three times; and at last the Koord getting into a fury, struck himself in the eye with his khanjar or dagger, blinded himself of one eye, and was very nearly killed.

In the tribes* which form the Bulbass nation, every man, even of the meanest rank, has a voice in public affairs. You may be settling business with Bulbass

* The names of four of which are Rummook, Manzoor, Piran, and Mamash.

chiefs, and have come to an agreement with them, when on a sudden some common fellow will start up and say, "I do not agree to it!" and this is enough to spoil the whole affair in a moment. When Abdurrahman Pasha had finished a war in which he had been engaged with the Bulbassis, a treaty was concluded; and it was agreed that *Kako Hassan*, or brother Hassan, the Bulbass chief, should visit Sulimania, Selim Bey, the Pasha's brother, remaining as hostage among the Bulbassis. When Kako Hassan was setting out, on a sudden a common fellow laid his hand on his dagger, and said very coolly, "If the Bebbehs get hold of Kako Hassan, they will certainly kill him, and then they will boast of having shed the blood of a Bulbass chief; it is better for me to kill him myself here." All attempts to make him hear reason were in vain. Selim Bey, therefore, mounted his horse, and resolved on returning to his own home, and having nothing to say to Kako Hassan. When he had rid a little way, the savage suddenly changed his mind, and hallooed after the Bey, desiring him to come back. "Take Kako Hassan," said he, "and go with him yourself; we don't want a hostage: if you are men, you will behave properly to him." All the Bulbassis agreed to this arrangement; and the Bey and Kako Hassan departed together *.

* Some further information concerning the Bulbassis, obtained from one of the tribe, is added from among Mr. Rich's loose papers.

The

The Bulbassis have among them a people of dependants or peasants, who have no voice in their affairs, and are considered as a very inferior *caste*. This people are found scattered all over Koordistan, and are of no tribe or clan. The tribesmen call them *Kelowspee* or White Caps, and also Gooran. This latter name, which is the proper denomination of the people of Sinna, is applied by the clansmen as

The Bulbassi nation is composed of the following tribes:—

1. Kabaiz, the reigning family, consisting of about two hundred persons; 2. Manzoor; 3. Mamash; 4. Piran; 5. Rummook; 6. Sinn and Taafah, who together make one tribe. The chiefs of tribes are called Muzzin. Each chief has a certain number of thieves, who rob for him; and his tribe makes him voluntary gifts of provisions. These are his only revenues. The price of blood among the Bulbassis is twenty-two oxen; but it may be made up in other effects, to which often a nominal value is attached, more than twice the real amount, when the affair is to be compounded amicably. Their only laws are the usages of the tribe, and these are administered by the chief, assisted by the council of elders. No crimes are punished with death but adultery, seduction, and such like. The Bulbassis will not bestow a girl in marriage on a person of another tribe or people. They have courtship among them; and carrying off a girl by the lover is common. When a chief dies, he is succeeded by the best or bravest of his family, with the common consent of his tribe. If his eldest son is incapable, the best of the brothers succeeds. When a chief is once nominated he cannot be deposed, and his authority is so well defined, that there are no instances of a chief ever having attempted to exceed them. In their own country the Bulbassis do not willingly acknowledge any superior, either Turkish or Persian; but when they descend into the regions of Karatchook (which they have not done for several years) they pay a tribute of sheep to the Bey. They are very fond of armour; and most of the principal people among them possess a complete suit of mail.

a term of reproach, and especially to timorous people. May not these be the aboriginal inhabitants of these countries, who had been conquered by the fierce tribes of the mountains? There are some wandering tribes under the government of Sinna, but all the settled population are Goorans *.

Among the reigning families in Koordistan, that of Bahdinan, whose capital is Amadia †, is the noblest, and is even looked upon as something saintly, deriving its origin from the caliphs; but from the ancient name of the family it dates possibly from a much more remote antiquity ‡. No person dare use the same vessel or pipe as is used by the prince of this family; not even his own pipe-bearer for the purpose of lighting or trying it for his master. His person is so sacred, that, in the fiercest battle among tribes, their arms would fall from their hands if he approached them. Yet he has little or no power over the savage and warlike clans which compose his people; and he receives nothing from the revenues of his own estates. Should he want a sum of money

* The Bulbassi Koords have a most curious way of curing wounds. They sew the wounded man in the skin of a bullock fresh stripped off the animal, leaving only his head out; and they leave him in it till the skin begins to putrefy. They say this never fails to cure the most desperate spear or sabre wounds.

† Amadia is called by the natives Ekbadan or Ekbeden. It is situated on a mountain, and contains about 1000 houses of Mahometans, 200 of Jews, 50 Nestorians, and a few Jacobite and Armenian families. See Appendix.

‡ I believe Zoroaster was from the country of Amadia.

for any extraordinary exigency, he mounts his mule and goes round to the chiefs of the different clans, becoming a musaffer, or guest, for a night with each of them, when, by the laws of hospitality, they cannot refuse his request; and in the morning when he departs, the chief with whom he has passed the night makes up a small sum as a voluntary offering to him.

He affects the state of the latter Abasside caliphs. He always sits alone. A servant brings in his dinner and then leaves him till he has finished it. After having eaten enough he smoothes the dish over, that no one may see what part he has eaten. He then calls a single attendant, who removes the dinner, brings him the basin and ewer to wash, supplies him with a pipe, and then leaves him alone again. The pasha is very well dressed, something in the fashion of Mousul, with a Cashmere shawl on his head, wound round a red cap which hangs down behind, and is called a fess. When he holds a divan, first the kiahya *, or prime minister, enters and salutes the pasha with an inclination of the body in the Persian manner, seating himself at a respectful distance. The chief of the Meroori tribe next follows, and takes his seat by the side of the kiahya; then the other resident chiefs of clans †, in the order of the

* The present kiahya is chief of the Nerooi tribe.

† The chiefs of certain clans are always resident in Amadia, or with the Pasha. Other clans may depute their chiefs with an occasional present, and that not unless they personally respect the Pasha.

rank of their clans. Pipes are then brought at the command of the pasha. Only one servant is allowed to enter, who distributes the pipes; and when the Pasha wishes the divan to break up, he orders coffee. The kahvajee, or coffee-maker, looks through the window, sees how many are present, fills as many cups with coffee, and arranges them on a tray which he brings in and hands in succession; after which they all go away, except it please the Pasha to order any particular person, with whom he may have business, to stop. It seems the grandeur of the Bahdinan Prince to render himself as inaccessible and invisible as possible. The Bebbeh chief, on the contrary, is expected to make himself as public as he can; and he has, indeed, seldom an hour to himself.

Some of the Bahdinan princes, the father of the present one, for instance, have even covered their heads with a veil whenever they rode out, that no profane eye might see their countenance; and this we learn from Benjamin of Tudela was the practice of the later Caliphs of Bagdad. The uniform of the Pasha's own officers and servants is a black jacket made of abba stuff, manufactured at Mousul, with gold frogs. All wear the many-coloured striped trowsers which are the supreme bon ton in Amadia and Julamerk.

The Pasha, when he goes a hunting, changes his dress at a hunting-box of his, near Amadia, for one

of a mountaineer of lower rank, in which he clambers the cliffs and lies in wait for the wild goat, observing never to shoot one younger than four years. Their age is easily recognized by the practised eye, even at a distance, by their horns. This and snaring, shooting, or hawking the red-legged partridge, is the only sport in the territory of Amadia, which is too mountainous to admit of exercise on horseback.

The air of Amadia is hot and unwholesome in the summer; at which period all the inhabitants retire to their yaylak or summer quarters, about two hours and a half from the town, in an elevated situation, where there is snow all the summer. Here the Pasha has a country-house, and the people make tchardaks. A strong guard is obliged to be kept, for fear of incursions from the Tiyari, an independent Christian tribe of the Chaldean nation *, who are much dreaded by all the Mahometans †.

Besides that of Bahdinan, there are other ancient, and once powerful families, who have ruled over different portions of Koordistan.

* These Christian tribes are geographically within the limits of the territory of Hakkari.

† Matran Hanna, the Syrian patriach at Mousul, gave me the names of the following tribes of this people, whom he called Nestorian Christians:—The Tiyari, Tkoob, Jelooi, Liweeni, Berwaree, Nerooi. There are both Mahometans and Christians of the Nerooi and Berwaree tribe: the others are all Nestorians. There are four villages of Nestorians near Amadia called Gheranmoosi, who *wear felt hats.*

The family of Boattan, which commands the district of the same name, is a respectable family, but greatly reduced in consideration and influence. Their capital is Jezira, which is said to be now in a very ruinous condition. The district of Tor is between Jezira and Mardin, but independent of both.

The Soran family was very ancient, and once the most powerful of all the families of Koordistan, the whole of which country it possessed. Its capital was Hareer, where many of its monuments may still be seen, of a very superior style of architecture to any other in Koordistan of any age. This family is become extinct, and out of its ruins rose the Bebbeh family, with several others, who had been feudal chiefs under the Sorans. Of this number is the family of Keuy Sanjiak, which was a banner of the Sorans. It has since been expelled from Keuy Sanjiak, which is now governed by the Bebbehs.

The Bebbehs were feudal chiefs of Pizhder, under the Sorans, and their capital at that time was Darishmana, but which is now a miserable village of about eighteen houses. The Bebbeh family was formerly much more formidable than it is now, especially before the accession of old Suliman Pasha to the government of Bagdad, when the most part of the country, as far as Zengabad, Mendeli, and Bedran Jessan, was subject to the chief of the Bebbehs; Al-toon Kiupri and Arbil being likewise under his authority; and even Sinna, a province of Koordistan, which is generally under the dominion of Persia.

The family of Zehav is not much respected, nor was it ever of any great importance out of its own territory.

July 16.—After various consultations, we have at length selected the district of Kizzeljee as the best place for us to reside in during the great heats, which are already becoming extremely oppressive at Sulimania; and we have fixed upon to-morrow for our departure. All this day has been occupied in preparations, and in taking leave of the Pasha, Osman, and Suliman Beys, and our other friends. With the Pasha I had a very interesting conversation of more than two hours, principally on his own affairs. I most heartily wish him a happy issue out of his troubles, as he is a most amiable man. All my Sulimania friends are very loth to part with us, even for so short a time. They used all their endeavours to persuade me to remain at Sulimania. I never experienced such hospitality.

In the evening Delli Samaan arrived from Mousul with antiques*.

* Delli Samaan, or mad Simeon, was a Syrian Christian, who for many years had been employed by Mr. Rich to travel about and purchase for him coins and antiques.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Sulimania for the Mountains—The Pass of Giozheh—Tents pitched at Gherradeh—Beauty of the situation —Noise and bustle of loading—High Mountains—Vineyards — Corn — Beautiful Country — Officer of the Chief of the District of Kizzeljee—Laughable Equivoque—Steep Ascent —Sons of Khaled Bey—Cantonment at Ahmed Kulwan— Reapers singing the Tale of Ferhad and Shireen—Locusts— Temperature of Springs — Green Frogs — Curious Game — Leave Ahmed Kulwan — Journey to Beestan — Artificial Mounts—Unhealthiness of Beestan—Our People all taken ill — Leave Beestan — Penjween — Jaf encampments — Moving parties—Lady and her servants—Jews.

July 17.—We left Sulimania at twenty minutes before four o'clock in the morning, and took the Giozheh road, as being the easiest through which to pass the chain, or rather wall, of bare hills, which bounds Sulimania on the east. The Giozheh is the most southern of the passes that lead directly over this wall. Next to it, on the north, is the Azmir road, which goes to the city, or rather site of the old city of Karatcholan; and farther north is another called the Gavian road.

We reached the foot of the hills by a gentle rise all the way up from Sulimania, a little after four, and immediately began the ascent; first in the dry bed of a torrent, and then along the steep face of the hill, by a very narrow and precipitous path. About

five we reached the summit, which in that part is a ledge of sandstone, joining two more *lumpish* and higher parts of the hill, and is only a few feet over. Here a fine view presented itself. Before us was the plain (which I call so to distinguish it from the hills, for, strictly speaking, there is not a level spot on it) of Surojik and Shehribazar, terminated on the right or south by a defile, and bounded on the east by high mountains, over which the sun was just rising. Towards the north, or Shehribazar side, the plain seems to narrow. The whole area is entirely cut up and broken into innumerable hills and valleys and ravines, formed by the bounding chain of hills, some of which are very considerable. The chain in which we were travelling was of sandstone, the layers sloping to the east. On its eastern face are many bushes of dwarf-oak; and the country beneath us appeared agreeably spotted with wood and cultivation. Our descent was north along the east face of the wall, but the road was not so abrupt as in ascending. We arrived at the bottom at six; the ascent having occupied thirty-five minutes, and the descent one hour and ten minutes. The remainder of our day's journey was N. 50 E. Soon after entering a narrow ravine, we passed first a small village, whose name I did not inquire, and then we came to the village of Benawillee, situated by a fine spring of water, in which we saw some considerable fish of the carp kind. They are quite tame, being unmolested by the pea-

to the foot of a very steep ascent in the same direction, the road not winding much; at a slow progress it occupied us forty-five minutes in ascending. The mountains were gypsous and slaty. At half past eight we reached the top of the *Col*, and saw higher summits on either hand quite bare. We almost immediately began descending by a steep path, the wood became more rare, and was confined to the dwarf oak. The mountains on all sides were bare, and, as far as the view extended, nothing but a sea of naked brown hills was visible—a dismal prospect after what we had just quitted. At five minutes past nine we reached the foot of the pass, and sat down to our breakfast, which we found prepared under some willows by a little brook.

This pass of Zagros is called Garran, from the name of a peer, or saint, as I am informed, though it is certainly no Mahometan name. The pass of Ardbaba to Banna is reckoned easier. This entrance into Persia is by no means pleasing; every thing looks burnt and bare; and there is said to be no more wood eastward to the frontiers of India.

At half past ten we mounted again: our road thence wound through high, bare, unsightly hills of crumbling slate, covered with a slight reddish soil; and there were no signs of population or cultivation. Our road S. 70 E. At a quarter to twelve we reached a little river (which must at times be a consider-

able torrent) called Kakor Zekria*. We crossed the river twice, and then quitted it, leaving it on our left hand. At five minutes before one we struck out of the high road up a very narrow valley; and at five minutes past one arrived at the miserable village of Jenawera, still in the district of Meriwan, which is the largest of the dependencies of Sinna. The Gooran peasantry are by no means so good looking as those of Turkish Koordistan.

August 23.—We mounted at a quarter past five this morning. Our direction was S. 50 E. for about half an hour, until we reached the high road. Our general direction then was S. 80 E. all day; but the road wound through the sinuosities of narrow valleys, and sometimes over the hills which separate them. On the whole the ascents seemed more than the descents. The country was of the same unpleasant aspect as yesterday. In some places we observed the water was conducted in little earthen trenches for cultivation. Omar Aga says the soil is too poor here to be susceptible of culture without artificial irrigation. The winter is very inclement, and the snow lies deep and long. At ten minutes before seven we passed, close on our left, an artificial mount with a flat top, like Tchemtchemal. It is in a

* The Kakor Zekria runs westerly to Shamian, and thence, round in the direction of Gavro, it falls into the Diala.

narrow valley, close at the foot of a hill. The natives call it the kalaa, or castle, though a castle it could never have been, as it might be attacked even with stones from the neighbouring hills. After having continued ascending almost all the way from Jenawera, we descended for about a quarter of an hour, and arrived at the foot of the descent at eight o'clock. We immediately after, however, rose again by a very steep ascent, of which we attained the summit at half past eight, and had a fine view of the line of mount Zagros. The descent was inconsiderable.

At ten minutes past nine we arrived at the tents belonging to the villagers of Berruder, in a narrow valley. The village itself is over the hills on the left, about a mile off. The Berruder peasants always encamp in the summer on this spot. They had just cut the corn, and were treading it out with mules and oxen.

Here I received a messenger from Sulimania; and this is only the third day since he left that place, though he travelled on foot.

I immersed the thermometer in a fine spring near the camp, and was surprised to find it 61°.

Among the straw I found a large insect of the locust kind, about four inches long. It had no wings; but had a kind of sword projecting from the tail. It bites pretty severely, but does no harm to the cultivation. The Koords call it sheera kulla,

or the lion locust *. We also found a mole, called in Koordish mousha kwera, or the blind mouse.

August 24.—About fifteen days ago some Jafs had a quarrel with some people in the neighbourhood, and wounded one of them badly with a sabre. To-night three Jafs were passing with some cattle, when six or seven horsemen of the neighbourhood assembled, drove off the Jafs, and seized the cattle. Omar Aga hearing of it, immediately sent off four of his horsemen, who in about half an hour returned into camp with the cattle, which they had recovered, and two prisoners. In the course of the night the comrades of the prisoners came and made up the affair. The men were given back; but the cattle were restored to the right owners.

At half-past five we mounted: the morning air was quite sharp. Soon after leaving the village we crossed a pretty high and steep hill. Our road all the day wound through very narrow valleys among the slaty hills, through which ran a little stream whose course was easterly: it goes towards Gavro, and falls into the Diala. It ran through a bed of reeds and willows, whose green formed a pleasing contrast with the burnt appearance of the slaty hills. We saw also many wild rose-bushes, and a tree

* This is the חרגול *(chargol)* of the Talmudists, or *Garam* of the Cape of Good Hope.—See Ludolf, De Locustis, pp. 13, 14.

called in Persian senjed, in Koordish sinjov*, which bears a small fruit like a jujube.

At eight we alighted on the banks of the little river to refresh ourselves, and after a short halt we mounted again at twenty minutes to nine; and at half past nine arrived at the large dirty village of Doweisa, consisting of miserable hovels with flat roofs, built on the side of a bare black slate hill. There are, however, many gardens and vineyards in the valley and on the sides of some neighbouring hills, which make the place look better than any we have seen since we passed Garran. The higher class of people here wear the Persian dress, which fashion is entirely followed by the women.

Our stage to-day was three hours and twenty minutes, the direction northward of east; but I was not well enough to observe the compass frequently.

Doweisa, where we halt for to-day, is in the district of Husnabad, in which is also the capital of the province, Sinna, which lies south-east of this village, at about three *farsakhs* distance†.

August 25.—Last night Mirza Fyzullah, one of the Vali of Sinna's secretaries, arrived at the village. It seems the Vali, who is out on an excursion in his

* In Turkish, idjee.

† According to Major Rennel, the farsakh is little short of 3½ British miles. See "Illustrations of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand," p. 4. Mr. Fraser, in his interesting "Journey into Khorassan," p. 367, says, "The Khorassanee farsakh is rather more than that of Irak;" rather less than 4 British miles.

northern provinces, has heard of our arrival in his territory, and has sent orders to Sinna that I should be lodged in his palace and received exactly with the same honours as himself. His second son, who is now nominally governor of the town, is consequently preparing to come out to meet me at the head of all the troops, which is precisely the very thing I am anxious to avoid; I therefore positively refused the intended honour. The Khan's orders, however, were precise, and he is not a man to be disobeyed even in trifles; I had, therefore, considerable difficulty in avoiding the ceremony, and only escaped by positively declaring that I would immediately return to the place from whence I came if they insisted. I also promised to explain my reasons to the Khan. I at last got off with a compromise, however, that two or three of the principal men should receive me at the Vali's garden, where for the present I propose to take up my abode. The Mirza brought with him a letter from Mahommed Khan, the little prince, with a present of six mule-loads of fruit and one of snow.

This negotiation detained me till half-past six, when we set out. The country was still the same, but rather more open, and in some valleys we noticed gardens and vineyards, with a few small villages. The level of the country descended as we approached the town, behind which it again rose, and after several breaks and hills, terminated in the

high ridge of the Bazir Khani hills running north and south. Over this range, which is of no great length, are the roads to Hamadan and Teheraun *.

We proceeded but slowly, especially the latter part of the road, as I felt myself extremely unwell, and was much troubled with my old giddiness in the head.

Sinna wore a much more imposing appearance than I expected, with its castellated palace on a height, and some good-looking buildings round the foot of it. When we came near the town, we turned off to the right to the garden of the Khosrooabad, which is less than a quarter of a mile to the south-west of the town, and is situated on a slope that runs from the foot of a pretty high hill down to the town. At a distance it looked like a plantation of poplars, the garden having no other wall or defence than this tree very closely planted all round it. We arrived at the gate of it at ten minutes before ten, and were certainly agreeably surprised by the spectacle which met us. We were ushered up avenues of poplars of great height and beauty, to a magnificent garden-house of great elevation, with a fine square tank full of jets d'eau in front and at the back of it. All the jets d'eau were playing, and round the sides of the tank were disposed baskets of fine-looking fruit. The

* The Bazir Khani hills terminate in a plateau, which is the elevation of Hamadan, there being scarcely any descent after reaching the top of these hills.—*Ed.*

pavilion was lofty, and elegantly painted and gilded in the Persian taste. In it was a magnificent collation of fruit, very tastefully displayed, and we had a fine view down the grand centre avenue of the garden, which was really striking. The garden was planted by Aman ullah Khan, the present Vali, about fourteen years ago, and was named by him Khosrooabad, in honour of his father, Khosroo Khan, the late Vali. It is a piece of ground of six hundred ghez shahee square*, divided into squares by avenues of poplars, with one grand centre avenue. The compartments were filled with fine fruit-trees of every species that will grow in this climate, and the vicinity of the pavilion and the grand avenue were planted with flowers and flowering shrubs.

I was received at the garden-gate by Mirza Faraj Ullah, the uncle of the little prince, who is now at Sinna; Inayet ullah Bey, one of the principal men of the town, and some other gentlemen whose names I do not recollect.

In the afternoon I received an express courier from the Vali himself, entreating me, after I had rested myself at Sinna, to return to Sulimania by the road on which he now is; and as this will not detain me much, and will show me some new and interesting places, I mean to comply with his request.†

* Each ghez shahee is about $\frac{1}{3}$ English yard.

† The Vali spoke in his letter of having heard of, and long wished to see Mr. Rich.—*Ed.*

I had not yet in the East seen so fine a garden and pavilion, and I was consequently much struck with it. It is, like all these kind of works, an imitation of the Tcharbagh at Ispahan, and of the other places of the same kind of the age of the Seffiviyeh dynasty.

After waiting till we were quite exhausted by hunger, a splendid breakfast, or rather a very solid dinner, was served: each one had a separate tray. About ten at night a similar meal was again served up.

The gentlemen whom I met with here (all of the Gooran race) spoke the Gooran Koordish among themselves, but used Persian in conversing with me. They were all habited in the Persian costume, the effect of which is not pleasing. They are by no means so open or manly as my friends the Bebbehs. The Persian dress and manners are certainly against them; but, besides this, I believe they are reckoned inferior in these respects to the other Koords: they have the appearance of something sneaking about them; as Omar Aga would say, '*They are not clansmen.*' I must confess he forms a very striking contrast to them; and he looks, with his military, frank deportment, his flowing dress, and party-coloured turban, thrown back off his fine manly forehead, like a prince among them. I find he is well known and highly respected here.

August 26.—The Persians are by no means so truly polite as the Turks in one respect—they will not

leave you to yourself. A Turkish chief would have welcomed you to his house, and not shown himself again till you desired it, especially where there was a lady. The Persians are crowding about you day and night, there is no getting rid of them, and it avails us nothing being out of town. Mrs. Rich cannot stir out of her room to get a walk in the garden. I understand we should be better able to *bow them off* if we were in town; and as they wish us to occupy the apartments prepared for us in the palace, and I desire to see something of the town, I agreed to the proposal, and left the garden this morning. After riding down the slope on which the garden is situated, to a dirty ravine, in a few minutes we arrived at the outer wall of the town, which is of mud, and thence ascending a rough and bad street, reached the gate of the castle or palace, where we found the guard turned out to receive us. This guard consisted of about a hundred *Avramis* or Fusileers from Avroman, who have the privilege of guarding the palace. They were very wild-looking fellows, (but not of the clannish physiognomy,) clothed in a coarse white woollen dress, cut something in the Persian fashion. On their heads they wore a curious cap of black felt pointed at the top, and terminating at the bottom in fine long points, something like a spider. They rested on their long rifles, and stared at us as we passed along.

We were ushered through a court to a good room

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situated on a fine terrace which overlooks the town, and in a few minutes the little Khan came to see me. He is a fine little boy, about nine or ten years old, but with a steadiness and gravity of demeanour far beyond his years, evidently assumed for the occasion. Inayet ullah Bey, who had twisted a shawl round his cap in the court-fashion, acted as spokesman and master of the ceremonies. Mirza Faraj ullah stood by his nephew, and every one as they came into the room, servants and all, saluted the little prince by bending the body in a very ungraceful way, but he took no notice of any.

Coffee, sherbet, and trays of sweetmeats were brought. The little Khan presented me with coffee and sherbet, with his own hand. I remarked that all the Persians ate immoderately of the sweetmeats. No conversation of any interest took place. Sundry hyperbolical compliments passed, and after the Khan took his leave we were walked about the palace.

A new pavilion is building at the end of the terrace near the entrance, which is called the Khosroowia, in honour of the Khan's eldest surviving son, whose name *was* Khosroo Khan, but it has been changed lately to Mahommed Ali, for good luck. Close to the room appropriated to me is the old hall of audience, built by Khosroo Khan, the father of Aman ullah Khan at the birth of his son the present Vali, that is, forty-seven years ago. The painting and gilding, which was once handsome, is now out of

repair. It is *wainscoted* with alabaster to the height of about four feet, and painted with flowers; in the upper compartments are sundry paintings representing the battle of Kalderan; that between Tamerlane and Bajazet; portraits of some of the Seffiviyeh race of kings of Persia; one of the present king of Persia with his preposterous beard; and of Alexander the Great, with a watch lying by him, dressed in the Persian fashion, and with the face of a coquetish woman. It is curious, however, that they have the tradition of his having been a beardless and beautiful young man.

The front of the hall is open and supported by pillars; at the back of it is an alcove, which the Persians call Shah-nasheen, highly ornamented, with a little fountain in it, and glass windows to the hall which may be let down at pleasure. This kind of hall is called talar. They are all imitations of the Seffiviyeh buildings at Ispahan. This talar is upwards of fifty feet long by twenty-five broad, exclusive of the alcove.

Turning round a corner on the same terrace, which is ornamented with shrubs and flowers, is the new Hall of Audience, built by Aman ullah Khan about four years ago. This room is larger than the talar, and enclosed in front with beautifully-painted windows. It is a very splendid room. The wainscot is of semi-diaphanous marble or alabaster, beautifully painted and gilt, in a tasteful pattern and rich, har-

monious colours. The steps are of the same alabaster, which is brought from a hill on the road to Hamadan, and is dug out with much trouble.

The effect is greatly spoiled by the upper compartments, which are occupied by large tawdry kind of sign-post paintings, representing Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the Battle of Delhi, Nadir Shah restoring the crown to the Mogul, and sundry other performances of a similar description; and worse than all, certain upright figures said to be portraits of the Emperor of Russia, the Prince of Wales, the Governor-General of India, the King of Spain, the Emperor of Germany, and Bonaparte with a gun and bayonet in his hand. These were all horrible daubs, without the slightest resemblance either in person or costume, except that of the Emperor of Russia, which you could just tell who it is meant for. His Iranian majesty again figures with his hideous beard and pound weight of jewels. On the sides of the hall are two little galleries, called bala khoneh*, beautifully ornamented. The whole is one blaze of gold and brilliant colours. The alabaster skirting is really both splendid and beautiful; and if, instead of the aforesaid daubs, it were surmounted by paintings of Rubens, whose richness would harmonize well with the rest of the room, or in want of these, which are not easily to be had, by Gobelin tapestry,—the

* From whence comes *balcony* in English.

room would be worth going to see in any part of Europe. Farther on, in another court, is a little room or cabinet, lined with looking-glass, and most strangely ornamented with decanters, cups, glass bottles, punch-bowls, &c.

This is the great delight of the Persians, and they grinned and looked in my face for signs of surprise as they showed me this cabinet of curiosities. Still farther on, in another court, is a neat little oratory, and many other buildings not yet completed, in one of which an English bow window projected over the terrace or platform. The palace when finished will be very handsome; but there are a great number of Oriental incongruities observable, such as dark, narrow and dirty passages, break-neck stairs, &c.

I forgot to mention that, in the new hall, is a painting representing the battle of Meriwan, in which Aman ullah Khan and his Goorans make the prominent figures, and Suliman Kiahya is brought prisoner before him. It happens, as already noticed*, that neither the Goorans nor the Persians were in the action, which was over in ten minutes, and the Kiahya surrendered to Abdurrahman Pasha.

Aman ullah Khan possesses in common with all the Persians a rage for building. It is a fancy, indeed, which he can easily indulge, as he forces all the tradesmen to work gratis for him, and in return gives them certain privileges, such as taking cattle

* See pp. 190, 191.

from the peasants for carriage, when they have occasion, exemption from receiving public guests and government officers, protection against creditors, and certain other equally equitable indulgences.

A very handsome mosque, the improvements in the palace, some baths, and caravanserais, a large bazaar round a Meidan, but which is far from being well stocked, and other works, attest his taste and his tyranny. The traveller admires the magnificence of Aman ullah Khan, but the unfortunate citizen and peasant groan when his buildings are mentioned.

The palace is situated on a high mount, which overlooks all the town, and is surrounded by a mud wall in a very bad condition. At the foot is part of the town, and then again another embattled wall, beyond which is more of the city, which again is surrounded by a wall. Aman ullah Khan has greatly extended the city within the last few years. Some good-looking houses built of bricks were visible from the terrace: the ordinary habitations are of mud, like those of Sulimania. The town is every way surrounded by higher ground than itself, and is situated on a slope which runs down to a valley filled with gardens and vineyards, so that the streets are all up and down. From the valley the ground rises again in broken hills, which terminate in the Bazir Khani range before mentioned.

Intermittent fevers are not uncommon here in the spring and autumn. They have been every where

more rife this year, and there has been a sensible diminution of the waters all over Persian and Turkish Koordistan. The castle and the higher grounds about Sinna are reckoned healthy.

I returned to my room fatigued from viewing the palace (I do not much enjoy looking over any house); and was not sorry to find a sumptuous breakfast, or rather dinner prepared, after which I lay down to rest myself in the talar. When I got up, some of the ayans, or principal gentlemen, came to see me; and in the dusk of the evening Mrs. Rich came in from the garden. Dinner was, as usual, not brought in till ten o'clock, and I understand the Persians are usually even later than this hour.

August 27.—From Mirza Fyzullah I learnt that the Koords have a general name for Zagros, which they call Shahoo *. This name is the common denomination for the mountain in Juanroo; but it is also understood as the general appellation by the better informed Koords of these parts, who say it reaches down between Shiraz and Bushire, and thence to Bender Abbassi.

Sinna †, which was formerly situated on a flat mount, south of the present town, was built one hundred and seventy-five years ago, by an ancestor of

* Anquétil du Perron says that, in the Parsee books, Mount Elwend, near Hamadan, is called Shaho.

† The proper name of Sinna is Sinendrij—Sinna is a colloquial abbreviation.

Aman ullah Khan's. It now contains about four or five thousand families. There are two hundred families of Jews, and fifty houses of the Chaldean Catholic rite, dependent on the Patriarch of Diarbekir, and in the diocese of Mousul. They have a church and a priest, and are all tradesmen or merchants in a very small way *. The Mahometan inhabitants of the town are all Sunnis of the Shafei sect. The Vali and his family affect to be Shiyyahs, in order to please the King of Persia.

We have arrived at a very distressing moment at Sinna, as there is a general mourning in the place on the following account: the Vali's eldest son, Mahommed Hussein Khan, whose mother was a woman of low rank, the daughter of a seraff or banker in the town, was in consequence excluded from the succession, in favour of his second brother, Mahommed Ali or Khosroo Khan, whose mother was of the first family in Sinna after that of the Vali himself, and who was besides the Vali's favourite son. Some quarrels arose between the brothers, in which the father showed a marked preference for the younger. Mahommed Hussein Khan became disgusted, and some designing people availed themselves of this to foment the dissensions. They promised him support, and at last persuaded him to run away from Sinna,

* Carpets of a superior quality to those of Kermanshah are made in Sinna.

which he did a few months ago, at the head of a considerable body of followers, for he was very popular. He took the road between the territories of Bagdad and Kermanshah, and on his way plundered some of the tribes under his father's government, which were pasturing in the plains of Bagdad and Khanakeen. The Vali, having procured permission from the King of Persia, pursued his son at the head of an army. I arrived at Khanakeen and Kasr i Shireen a couple of days after he had left those places, in March last*. He at last came up with his son in the territory of Kermanshah. A battle ensued, in which both sides fought with considerable fury. The Vali had given strict orders that no one should fire at or wound his son; but in the confusion the young man received a wound, of which he died shortly after his arrival at Sinna, to which place he was brought after the action. The Vali was almost distracted. He beheaded a great number of his son's followers on the spot; and after his return to Sinna he put to death upwards of a hundred considerable persons. Nearly four hundred more fled to Kermanshah, and the Vali turned out their wives and families beggars, ruined their houses, and confiscated their property.

His second son, Mahommed Ali, or Khosroo Khan, who is to be his successor, is a lad of about fifteen

* An account of the excursion here referred to by Mr. Rich will be found in another part of these volumes.—*Ed.*

years old. He has already received the patent of succession from the Shah, and is affianced to one of the Shah's daughters. The marriage is to take place at the approaching Noorooz, and is to be celebrated at Teheraun with great splendour. In the meantime the Vali is going about screwing his subjects to their utmost endurance to procure money for the expenses, which, including the necessary presents to the Shah, will be enormous. The little boy who is left at Sinna is named Mahommed Khan, and is about ten years old. The Vali has eight sons in all.

Aman Ullah Khan, the Vali of Sinna *, is forty-seven years of age, and is said to be a perfect master of Persian politeness, elegance, and policy. The Persians themselves say he can outwit any of them; and all agree that his cunning and duplicity set all precautions at defiance. His manners are represented to be so insinuating, and his *tact* so perfect, that he can gain whomsoever he pleases; but he has always a selfish object in what he does, and no reliance can be placed on him. He is cruel and avaricious even beyond the generality of Persian governors. All the province trembles when his name

* There were formerly four Valis or tributary princes in Persia, viz. the Princes of Georgia, Sinna, Loristan, and Haweiza; but the Vali of Sinna is the only one remaining. The Prince of Haweiza was called Mevla, or holy, and was a Seyd or supposed descendant of the Prophet. Kelb Ali Khan, the murderer of Messrs. Grant and Fotheringham, is descended from the Valis of Loristan, who were of the Feili tribe.

is mentioned. He is splendid in his establishment, and is supposed to be possessed of immense wealth. The greater portion of it has been gained in commerce, and he has money in the hands of many merchants, who trade with it for him. He has more than fifty thousand sheep, which he distributes about to different people to take care of for him, with the proviso, that whenever he calls for them, however distant the period may be, they must always be forthcoming; that is, that they must never grow old, never get sick, never die, or be eaten by wolves. He is partner with every merchant and tradesman in his territory; or rather he is the general monopolizer. I wanted a new box for my sextant; all the wood and even the carpenter were the property of the Vali, and I was obliged to get an order from Mirz Feraj ullah. The same thing happened when I wanted a green silk string for my pistols. I desired Ovanness* to see if he could get me some wine. He applied to a Christian, who told him he durst not let him have any without an order, as the Vali knew every bottle in his house. All the Vali's partners must take care that his profits are regular, whatever may be their luck. The Kiurkjee Basha, or pelisse-maker to the

* Cofa Ovanness was one of the native secretaries attached to the Bagdad residency. He was an Armenian by birth, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and highly esteemed by Mr. Rich for his uprightness, in a country where it is rare, his fidelity, simplicity of character, and affectionate disposition.—*Ed.*

Vali, is a Christian. The Vali gave him a hundred tomans to traffic with on his account, upon this condition, that he shall pay him regularly twenty tomans a year. The poor man finds this a very losing concern, and would gladly give back the money, but he dare not even propose this. The Vali is now on a progress through his districts. The people of Sakiz sent to offer him six hundred tomans if he would not visit their town. He answered that he would both come and have a thousand tomans. I have heard a dozen more anecdotes of a similar kind. Some time ago four of the principal men of Sinna went to throw themselves at the feet of the King of Persia, to complain of the tyranny of the Vali, and to implore his Majesty's protection. The king sent the men to his son Mohammed Ali Mirza, from whom the Vali sought to buy them. A bargain was struck, after which the Vali offered the Prince two thousand tomans more, if he would cause their eyes to be put out at Kermanshah, and then send them to him. This was agreed to, and the unfortunate men were blinded and then sent prisoners to Sinna.

This morning I went to see the little Khan. He was sitting in the shahnazeen of the talar. Inayet ullah Bey and another nobleman in court-dresses were with him. Refreshments were served as before, but little interesting conversation took place. Many questions were asked about Frenghistan, to most of which Omar Aga, who is now very learned on these

subjects, saved me the trouble of answering. Every one here asks after Malcolm with great interest.

In the afternoon some of the Khan's family came to see me. I received them in the talar, as the little Khan holds his divan in the morning and I mine in the afternoon.

The Khans who came to see me were Shir Mahommed Khan, a brother of the Vali's, Subhan Verdi Khan, an uncle of the Vali's, and Ahmed Khan his cousin. They all wore the court-dress, and were very gentlemanly, elderly men. They talked of the antiquity of their family, which they said had been Princes of Sinna for nearly 700 years. The name of the family is Mamooi, and it is really very ancient; but, being of the Gooran or peasant caste, is not esteemed by the clansmen. They told me that Ardelan was originally the name of a celebrated personage of their family*, and that since his time the rulers of these provinces have been called Valis of Sinna Ardelan, as those of Sulimania are called Mirimirans of Baban. Some have thought Ardelan was a territorial denomination only, but this they assured me was quite a mistake. One of the Khans observed, when I praised some of the buildings, that they spent all their money about their houses, but that the Bebbehs invested their property in money and transportable effects, that they might be ready to

* As Bebbeh was one of the family of Kermanj.—*Ed.*

fly at a moment's warning, in case of troubles or the deposition of their chief. Omar Aga immediately answered, "Yes, you spend money about houses, because it is indifferent to you who is chief; you are content to remain where you are. We are always ready to follow our chief wherever he goes, through troubles, and difficulties, and dangers, and we keep our property ready for him in his distress." This was no mere boasting, but most strictly true, as I could prove by many anecdotes of circumstances which have occurred within my own knowledge. If Aman ullah Khan were deposed, not a single man would follow him except some menials whom he could afford to pay. But if Mahmood Pasha of Sulimania were deposed, all his relations would instantly leave their country and follow him, giving him up whatever they possessed in ready money and effects, and would even work at daily labour to bring their pittance to contribute to his support and comfort. Nothing can be more marked than the difference of spirit in the clansmen and Goorans, who are a timid and heartless race, and said to be meaner, more thievish, and more deceitful even than the Persians.

One thing I observe in the Persian manners which is certainly pleasing; there is no shifting nor petty manœuvring, as among the Turks, to avoid sitting below or rising up to a European. They always

endeavour to place you above themselves, and treat you in every respect as they would one of their own great men.

This evening Mr. Bellino set out on an antiquarian excursion to Hamadan and Kermanshah.

August 28.—This evening the Serbazes, or regular troops, were reviewed before me. The Vali has about 300 of them, which he raised a year ago, in imitation of those of Abbas Mirza, who sent him a sort of Russian officer to drill them, with a drum and fife, and a few Russian soldiers. The drill is after the English fashion, and it was curious to hear the Persian drummers and fifers beating off *The British Grenadiers*. The officer and the best of the Serbazes are now with the Vali, and only a hundred remain here, who they tell me are only recruits. They were very like Falstaff's host. They wore the common Persian cap and the long Persian dress, stuffed into white linen drawers, which looked very ill, and they were very sad performers. Too much had evidently been attempted with them in so short a time. They had good English muskets, which the Vali purchased of the Shah, who drives a trade in this way, getting them from India and selling them at an advanced price to his sons and subjects. The word of command was given by a Russian, and the commandant of the battalion stood by with a shepherd's crook in his hand, which he occasionally bestowed on the

heads and legs of the men. He was out of uniform, in a common Persian dress.

The Vali has many Nomadic Koords under his jurisdiction. These are branches of the Sheikh Ismaeli, the Merdemeh, the Kelhore, and Jaf tribes. The Jafs were formerly all subjects of Sinna, inhabiting the province of Juanroo.

August 29.—The territory of Sinna* is divided into seven boluks or provinces, namely, Juanroo on the S.W. extremity, Avroman, Merivan, Banna, Sakiz (on the Tabreez road), Hassanabad, in which is Sinna, and Isfendabad on the Hamadan road. Each of these provinces is divided into four or five mahalls† or smaller districts. Two of the above-mentioned provinces, Avroman and Banna, have for a long period been governed by the same family from which the Vali, however, always chooses the governor; and from this I conclude that these districts were originally independent, and submitted to the Vali of Sinna by treaty. The other provinces are governed by any person appointed by the Vali. Juanroo‡ is governed by one of the Vali's sons. We

* At two hours and a half farsakhs, S. of Sinna, is the river Garro, which forms, or rather is the principal stream of the Diala. It is formed by many springs, which join at a place in Hassanabad.

† Literally parishes.

‡ From Sinna to Juanroo the distance is eighteen farsakhs; from Sinna to Sakiz (the capital of the district) twenty-four farsakhs; Sinna to Avroman (the nearest part of the district), twelve farsakhs.

were shown to-day the Vali's private room. It was a handsome apartment. Round it were pictures of women. One was said to be the portrait of a female slave, sent as a present to one of the Vali's ancestors by Shah Abbas the Great. We entered the room rather before it was prepared for our reception; and as it had only just been opened, we perceived a strong smell of liquor, and saw in the niches certain case bottles and decanters, which plainly showed that the Khan was not an overscrupulous Mussulman, and that this apartment was reserved for his secret pleasures.

From some symptoms of Persian rapacity I thought I had perceived among the Vali's people at Sinna, I judged it would be better not to go to his camp as I had promised. I therefore imparted my intention of returning by the direct road to Sulimania, to my hosts, in the evening. This, as I expected, produced a remonstrance, which of course was fruitless. I saw they looked at each other very blank; and after trying in vain to change my resolution, they all retired to Omar Aga's room, where a council was held, and several deputations were sent to intreat I would go to the Vali; but I remained firm. I began to fear the attentions of the Khan would require a more considerable return than I could afford, and this made me resolute. Omar Aga came several times, then the Seid, then Ovanness *; but to no purpose.

* Two of the native secretaries belonging to the Residency.

At last the whole council came to the door of the room where I was sitting, intreating, and even supplicating, that I would listen to them. They said that I little knew the Khan's vindictive character; that nothing even I could say would persuade him but what they had done something to disgust me, and produce so sudden a change in my resolution; and that he had dug up the roots of Mahommed Reshid Bey's family for less; that if I persisted in refusing, Inayet ullah Bey and Mirza Feraj ullah said they would run away, and that they should be in Sulimania as quickly as I could, for that meeting the Khan would be quite out of the question.

I thought their distress might be affected, at least to so great a degree; and I therefore still held out. I afterwards, however, began to relent, and sent to offer them a compromise, of sending my Persian secretary to camp to apologize for not going myself, and to express my satisfaction with their conduct. I was informed that they were really in tears, and that my offer gave them but little pleasure. They afterwards, as I have since learned, took a *fal*, or omen, from Hafiz, which encouraged them to make another attempt. In the meantime I began to think that their earnestness could not proceed wholly from affectation, and I recollected some stories which I had heard of the implacability and cruelty of the Vali, especially in the instance of Mahommed Reshid Bey; and I really began to fear these poor men might get

into some scrape on my account. I therefore resolved on gratifying them, at all risk of inconvenience to myself. So that when they again came to the door to intreat, as a last favour, that I would defer my departure for a day, till they could inform their master of my change of plan, they found me prepared to grant more than they required; and I told them that I would, to oblige them, consent to go to the Khan. Their joy at this sudden revolution in my sentiments plainly showed me that their concern had not been affected. The discussion lasted till eleven at night; by which time I got so severe a headache that all rest was out of the question.

CHAPTER VIII.

Leave Sinna—Appearance of the Country—Tents of Gulaneh—The Koords great politicians—The Kizzel Ozan River—Encampments—A Peasant's remark—Lawless conduct of the Jafs—Precipitous Road—Refreshments of Honey and Butter—Arrival at the Village of Meek—Mrs. Rich taken on to another Village—Bee-hive—Rejoin Mrs. Rich—Present of Fruit from the Vali—Arrival at Bana—The Vali's Son—Fine Fruit.

August 30.—I ROSE unrefreshed at dawn, but determined to begin our journey. When I came to the outer court, I found Mirza Feraj ullah, who ran up to me, took me by the hand, and expressed his gratitude to me for having yielded to their solicitations, which had, he said, set him completely at ease He accompanied me out of the town. My mehmandar to camp is Abdullah Bey, the son of Inayet ullah Bey, who had been sent expressly for this purpose by the Vali. We proceeded first through the castle-gate, and then through that of the city walls, which reminded me of those of Bussora, and, like them, they are built of mud. I now find that the city has only one wall besides that of the fortified palace, and that all beyond it is suburb, which is pretty extensive. At a quarter before six in the morning we finally left the town. Abdullah Bey now told me the real causes of their distress last night. He said I could form but a faint notion of the suspicious and vindictive character of the Vali; that on hearing I had

given up my idea of visiting him, he would reason thus:—" 'Here is a man whom both I and my neighbours have often in vain invited, yet he was coming out of his way purposely to see me of his own accord. This visit would have been talked of, and done me honour; and possibly also he might have had business with me, or something to impart to me. These men at Sinna knew this, and have purposely done something to disgust him and send him back without seeing me; they are not my well-wishers; they may be in some plot against me.' You may readily imagine that such a train of reasoning" (added the young man) "would produce evil consequences for us."

Abdullah Bey informed me that the winter is much harder at Sinna than at Sulimania, and the summer much cooler. Immediately after leaving the town we rose, and continued gently ascending all the march. The country was open and tolerably well cultivated. The tops of the hills were broken and craggy; sometimes so much so as to look like ruins. On the sides of the hill we still observed slate and gypsum. Many of the crags seemed strongly tinged with iron. Some of the stones were greenish with micaceous particles.

For some time we travelled in the bed of a torrent. About eight we saw on our left the large village and vineyards of Saru Kamish; and soon after we began to ascend the heights of Allah u

Khoda, whose summit we reached by a gentle acclivity at a quarter to ten. This mountain joins the Bazir Khani range, and stretches away from Zagros, which we saw towering above all the other parallel ranges of mountains on our left. Before us were hills; also on our right, or in an E.S.E. direction. To the north-east of us were the plains of Ban Leilak in the distance, with the tops of some high mountains just appearing. Above us on all sides were craggy summits. We wound along the side of the mountain for some time, and at twenty minutes past ten began to descend by a very gentle declivity. This mountain runs north-east. About half past eleven we reached the large, but filthy village of Bayenko, situated in a valley at the bottom of the descent. It is in the province, or boluk, of Hassanabad; and here we joined the Tabreez road. Our general direction was due north,—our rate of travelling very good; except for one hour and a half, when we had considerable difficulty in making our way over some crumbling narrow paths which run along the precipitous sides of the mountains. Mrs. Rich left the town on horseback about dawn this morning, and only arrived an hour before us, owing to having taken a more circuitous route. Our stage to-day is called four farsakhs.

August 31.—We mounted at forty minutes past five. After winding for some time through a dell, as we advanced the country became more open.

The summits of the hills were still craggy; and passing along the road we observed slate, some gypsum, and a little nitre. The soil was indifferent, and the cultivation poor and thin. We noticed many springs on first setting out. Ban Leilak, a district subject to Sinna, lay to the east of us, and had the appearance of a plain broken into hills, with a line of hills running through it. It is reckoned very cool during the hot season. Our road was very undulating, chiefly in a northerly direction. The air was delightful, reminding us of the climate of Bagdad in the month of December. At nine we passed, on our left, a flat artificial mount raised by Nadir Shah, who pitched his tent on it. He remained here forty days on account of the excellence of the air, during his campaign against Topal Osman, Pasha of Bagdad. At forty minutes past nine we arrived at the tents of the villagers of Gulaneh, who, like those of Berruder, encamp during the summer. The tents were situated close to the road, and not far from a hill called Taoushan Tepeh, from the quantity of hares always found here in winter. The Persians do not make use of the hawk in hunting the hare, as the Turks do, but course them with greyhounds.

We found a two-pole tent of the Vali's pitched for us, with a handsome carpet, the manufacture of Sinna, and nimmuds all round. Omar Aga, therefore, occupied the tent I had brought with me, and Abdullah Bey had his own.

The Koords are as great politicians as Englishmen. Omar Aga and Abdullah Bey talked nothing but politics the whole of the day's march.

Gulaneh, being a frontier village between the two provinces of Hassanabad and Kara Tourow, frequently changes its masters, and the governor of either province who has most interest generally gets possession of it.

We now find that, in all likelihood, we shall have to go as far as Banna to reach the Vali. This was not communicated to me at first, for fear of my objecting to the distance. Banna is but a day or two out of our way; and as the journey there will give me an opportunity of seeing a new and very interesting part of Koordistan, I the less regret the delay. A visit to the caves of Kereftoo would cause us a detention of two days more, which I cannot consent to, all my people being ill of the fever. We are a complete walking hospital.

September 1.—We marched at half past five this morning, and directed our course north-west to the hilly tract on our left. We had several steep ascents and descents for the first hour, during which our rate of travelling was slow, but afterwards became very good. At five minutes before seven we reached a very steep descent to the Kizzel Ozan, a river of some geographical celebrity*. The source is about

* The Kizzel Ozan is supposed by Major Rennell to be the Gozan of the Scriptures. See 2 Kings xvii. 6; and the following is his description of it in his "Inquiry concerning the Disposal

two farsahks off to the left or west, in the Abbas Bey mountains. It runs east, and goes hence to Meiandoav. I viewed the stream with the interest with which one sees all great or celebrated rivers in their infant state. There was not above a foot of water in it; but this is extraordinary, and proceeds from the uncommon drought of the season. It is generally up to the stirrups, and frequently unfordable for days together in the spring. The Vali proposes to build a bridge over it.

of the Ten Tribes of the Jews which were carried into Captivity to Nineveh." "This river springs from the country anciently named Matiene, between Tabreez and Hamadan, and, taking its course eastward, falls into the south-west part of the Caspian sea, penetrating in its way the great ridge of mountains that divides Media from the Caspian provinces. From the upper level of Media it descends with a rapid and furious course through a frightful chasm, which its waters have worn through the base of the mountains, which is many miles in width; when, having reached the lower country of Ghilan, it glides with a navigable course to the sea. Previous to its descent, it collects the waters of Abhar and Casbin, &c. under the name of Shah-rud, and the collective waters take the name of Isperud, or the White River, perhaps from its long-continued foaming course through the mountains; for Della Valle says, 'that its waters themselves have a reddish tinge.' Travellers describe with horror the road which leads along the side of the chasm, and which is the only one practicable for loaded beasts from Ghilan to Ispahan. It is generally excavated from the steep rocky cliff which impends over the dreadful gulf below, and along it the traveller holds loosely the bridle of his beast while he leads him along, fearing to be drawn after him should a false step be made.—See Olearius, Hanway, &c. This chasm is about 180 miles to the westward of the Caspian sea."—Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, note, page 395.

Immediately after crossing the Kizzel Ozan we ascended again, and passed over a very broken tract of the same bare aspect as before. There were some very craggy summits around us. The country, for the most part, is uncultivated, and is usually the summer-pasturage of the Sulimania tribes. From some vestiges of their camps, which we passed, I took occasion to inquire their mode of encampment. I found it was always in a circle, with their flocks* in the centre. This indeed is necessary for defence, as they are generally on bad terms with the people of the countries through which they wander, and their depredations render them very unwelcome guests.

We are now evidently at a great elevation above the sea. All this part seems to be a plateau intersected by ravines. It is prodigiously fertile in *riwaz*, of an excellent quality, especially in the stony places. This herb, which grows wild all over Koordistan and most parts of Persia, and which is in great request for sherbets, is, I believe, the garden rhubarb of which we make tarts in England.

We passed through a valley, which gradually narrowed into a rocky ravine, in which there was a great accumulation of fresh rain-water, that proved there had been a storm here last night. At half-past nine we ascended the extremity of the ravine, and descending again into a valley, reached the large village

* The fleeces of the flocks of Karatcholan are reckoned more productive: those of this part of the country finer and more silky.

of Kelekowa in the district of Hobetoo. Large ricks of coarse hay were piled up for winter-consumption. The inhabitants were reaping the corn. The millet was yet quite green. Some Indian corn was ripe. The winter is said to be extremely hard in all this part of the country. The air was delightfully cool, and we might have ridden all day without any inconvenience from the sun.

We went on to the tents of the village, which were pitched at the termination of the valley, where we arrived at ten minutes past ten*.

The time of encampment is nearly over, and the people are about to return to the village. The temperature of a fine spring near our camp was 50°.

There are great quantities of the pink and white crocus in flower, growing all about, even in the middle of the road. On inquiring for some roots to take to Bagdad, the peasants brought us a number of bulbs of different kinds. The whole country, they say, is covered with flowers in the spring.

September 2.—Though it was extremely cold last night, I was devoured with sand-flies, which did not allow me to rest a moment. The air this morning was so sharp that I was glad to betake myself to my old sheepskin spencer. We mounted at six. The valley continues in a northerly direction, and through it runs the road to Sakiz and Tabreez; but our road lay over the hills which form the valley, in a north-

* This is still the Tabrez road, which we quit to-morrow.

west direction, in which we continued the whole of the day, though with some windings.

A peasant, who was walking by us, looking about him to see that no Persian was within hearing, said to Omar Aga, "God bless the Kermanj*!" "And how do you like the Sinna men?" said Omar Aga. "The curse of God to them all," answered the man. "Hush! if they heard you, what would become of you?" "They could not treat me much worse than they do now," was the poor peasant's reply.

The country rose gradually, but very perceptibly, from the moment we left the village-tents. We found ourselves on a plateau, and surrounded by craggy summits, and lines of hills, terminating the plateau. One hill on our left adjoins Hajee Ahmed, which is about four farsahks distant, and hides it from our view. All the lines of hills appear to run north-east and south-west to Zagros. The winter here is intensely cold, and this road becomes then quite impassable from the snow. We saw traces of a recent heavy storm of rain, which is rather a phenomenon at this period, the rain generally commencing about the beginning of October, after which the snow very soon follows. The whole country is wild and uncultivated, being only used for summer-pasturage (yaylak) by the tribes of Sulimania. At eight we began a very steep descent, which occupied

* The name of the Pasha of Sulimania's clan, to which Omar Aga belonged.—*Ed.*

about a quarter of an hour, into a narrow valley winding between high hills, in which we continued the rest of the march. We at length came to one or two miserable-looking villages and some patches of cultivation. The corn was just got in. We observed some stunted cotton plants and a small recinus, or castor-oil plant, nearly as stunted.

Mrs. Rich, who generally sets off rather before me in the morning, got on but slowly to-day; and as we had nearly come up with her, we alighted at half past nine near a little spring, to allow of her getting clear of us*. We mounted again at ten, and continuing in the same narrow valley, at eleven we reached the village of Soormoosi. It is situated in the district of Khorkhoora, which we entered at the bottom of the steep descent or commencement of the valley. High up in the opposite hills, we remarked

* In compliance with eastern customs, as has already been mentioned, Mr. and Mrs. Rich travelled with separate establishments, which marched at different hours, and were always careful to keep at a distance from each other on the road, especially when Mr. Rich was accompanied by any men of rank of the country. His party on this occasion consisted of a mehmandar and his suite, besides the gentlemen, officers, and servants of the Residency. Mrs. Rich was accompanied by her female attendants, some guards, Aga Minas, and sometimes, though this was perhaps not quite according to rule, by the physician, Dr. Bell. However it may be here remarked, the Mahometans make a distinction, and tolerate a European lady's being attended by men of her own country and religion; but the unpardonable offence in their eyes is, her being seen unveiled by Mahometans, or in any way conspicuous, whether veiled or unveiled, on occasions of public ceremony.—*Ed.*

a little square fort, to which the peasants used to retire for security against the incursions of the Bulbassis. These incursions, however, have either diminished or wholly ceased; the strength and spirit of that nation having been broken both by the Turks and Persians.

In the valley it was disagreeably hot when the wind was intercepted. During the course of our day's march I observed more gypsum than usual: slate as before, with some nitre and chalk. I believe I saw granite on some of the crags, but am not quite sure.

More people hereabouts wear the Turco-Koordish than the Persian dress. The women were all habited after the Persian fashion.

September 3.—We set out at six, and continued winding through the valley at rather a slow pace, until we struck over the hills which bound it on the S. side. The rest of our journey was at a pleasant pace, but we had much winding in the course of our march. Upon ascending the hill, we came to some wild pear-trees of a considerable size, which formed an agreeable sight after the bare country we had travelled over ever since we had left Sinna; throughout which, except in gardens, we had seen nothing larger than a wild rose-bush, of which there are great quantities every where, and a stunted willow.

We wound round the mountains, on some of the highest parts of which the grass was still green and

in flower. At half past seven we descended into a narrow glen, and then immediately rose again; and at twenty minutes past eight we turned west, in which course we continued (winding considerably) the rest of the way. We soon after reached a little stream called the Khorkhoora river, much swollen by the late rain. The flush of waters had retired and left a quantity of fish dead in the mud*.

Hence we ascended up the sides of a rocky glen, and at ten arrived at the village of Kara Bokra, situated nearly at the top of the glen, where the summit of the mountain rises above it. Some poplar and fruit trees make the place look pleasant, but it is, as usual, a filthy village. On the opposite height of the glen are the remains of a fort, built as a place of refuge against the Bulbassis.

We saw one or two wretched villages to-day, but for the most part the country was very wild. We heard sad accounts of the lawless conduct of the Jafs, who pasture all over this district, but the bad government of the Vali has at least as much to do in the depopulation of the country as the incursions of the wild clans.

* This stream falls into the Kizzel Ozan; it rises under a very considerable mountain on our left called Tchaltchemeh, which is a part of the Khosroo Khan chain of mountains, on the side of which, under the summit, is Kara Bokra, the village to which we are going. Sakiz is about N. W. of us, on the other side of the Khosroo Khan: the course of all the mountains is from S. W. to N. E., where most of them lose themselves in the plateau we have passed.

I noticed to-day schistus in horizontal laminæ, intersected with veins of gypsum, more frequent than before. Some of the gypsum was tinged of a beautiful red colour. I observed likewise much mica, especially towards the end of the stage.

We meant to have gone farther to-day, so as to have reached Banna to-morrow, but the Koords, who wished us to get on, seemed not quite clear respecting the distance; and as the road was mountainous and fatiguing, I was resolved not to risk a long march with my poor sick people, and determined upon halting for the day at Kara Bokra. We found the day very warm in this close valley.

Sakiz, the capital of this district, is due north of us, and distant six hours by a very bad road, and seven by rather a better one. It is situated on the other side of the Khosroo Khan mountains*.

September 4.—We left the village of Kara Bokra at a quarter past six, and quitting the glen ascended the hill which forms the north side of it, to the fort, which we attained in ten minutes, by a steep but not bad road. We then wound among the tops of the hills. Bears abound in these hills, but are all of the common brown sort.

At five minutes past seven we began to descend by a good road. Upon reaching the bottom, we found ourselves in a narrow, rocky valley, or rather

* From Kara Bokra to Serkhuan i Shelal, the capital of Teratul, is four hours; thence to Beestan four hours.

ravine among the hills, in which we continued the rest of the day, to our infinite trouble. The road continually ascended or descended along the steep sides of crumbling slate. The path was narrow and shelving, indeed it was nothing more than a sheep-path with a precipice on the left hand. The Koords even confessed it was the most disagreeable road they had ever travelled over, and for the first time, at a bad pass, I saw them dismount. Omar Aga's horse fell with him once, on the very edge of the precipice; he very adroitly threw himself off at the moment, without quitting the bridle, otherwise horse and man must have been killed. My head turned so much, that I was obliged to walk the whole way from the foot of the mountain, to the end of the march,—a severe effort, even for a person in health and used to walking. The day was also hot and disagreeable, and the eye was unrewarded by a single beautiful or agreeable prospect.

From the mountain we saw Mount Kelli Khan, and Mount Zagros, or a part of it. We reached the foot of the mountain at thirty-five minutes past seven; and soon after came to a miserable little village, named Hajee Mahommed. Thence rising a little, we dropped at once on the village of Soota, by a most horrible break-neck descent, with a precipice on our left hand. Here we halted at half past eight, and refreshed ourselves with a cup of coffee. We imagined that our difficulties were nearly at an end,

but we found afterwards that the worst was to come. At a quarter past nine we started again; and soon after, having descended and crossed the little stream which occupied the bottom of the ravine, we reached the little village of Seifatala, or the bitter apple, where we again stopped to rest. A kind of priest or man of the law, who seemed to be the proprietor of the village, set before us an ample meal of honey, fresh butter*, yoghourt†, cucumbers, and buttermilk.

Omar Aga and the Bey fell to voraciously at these rustic delicacies. I was too much heated to touch anything but a spoonful or two of the buttermilk.

At half past eleven we set off again over the same horrible road. The Khorkhoora, which still flowed in the bottom of the ravine, was fringed with willows; and now we came to some rather pretty lanes of stunted ash and poplar-trees, and gigantic wild rose-bushes.

At half past one I was so much exhausted, that I was obliged to rest myself under the willows by the stream, which was full of fish quite tame, none of the people hereabouts being fond of fish. At two we mounted, I may say marched, for I did not take to my horse the whole way on account of the precipices,

* The natives of this part of the East always eat honey and butter together, and it is likely to be a prevailing custom in other parts of the East, from the mention made of it in scripture—"Butter and honey shall he eat," Isaiah vii. 15.

† A preparation of milk.

which were too much for my weak head; and at twenty minutes to three we arrived at the village of Meek, quite exhausted. Here an additional mortification awaited me. Mrs. Rich with the baggage had been taken on to Bayendereh, a village up the valley, instead of turning to the right and stopping at Meek. I could not move, nor could Mrs. Rich, after such a day's journey, come back to join me; which I found after I had learnt where she had been carried to, and after having waited so long in the hopes of her coming to dinner that all appetite vanished, and was succeeded by a slight attack of fever. I had no linen to change, though all my clothes were wet with perspiration. In this emergency Omar Aga was most kind, and poor old Hajee Cossim* took the greatest care of me, sitting by my bed all night. Yet it was the first time these many years that that office had been performed by a servant or a stranger, and I could not but fancy myself not so comfortable.

Meek is in the district of Sakiz, which commenced at the little stream just before we reached Seifatala. The honey of all this part of the country is very famous, from the number of aromatic plants which grow hereabouts. Tired as I was, I went to see a bee-hive in a garden close by. The garden was prettily planted with flowers and aromatic herbs. It contained a cottage, or rather hut, built of wattles.

* One of Mr. Rich's servants.

On one side of it were inserted tubes of earthenware, or rather hardened mud, open at one end, with a small aperture at the other, or outwards. When they want to take the honey, they open the opposite side of the hut to that in which the tubes are inserted, and light a fire of straw, when the bees immediately escape through the small aperture into the air, leaving the honey at the disposal of the proprietor. They drew out one of the tubes, and showed me the bees at work on several combs. They were so intent on their occupation, that they did not assault the intruder.

We heard to-day the crowing of innumerable multitudes of partridges. In Avroman they are said to be still more abundant. Hundreds are taken by parties of sportsmen stationed on opposite hills, who frighten the covey by shouting as soon as it comes in their direction. The birds at last become alarmed and confused, and drop to the ground, when they are easily taken. Abdullah Bey assured me that, on one occasion, when he was out with the Vali on a hunting party of this sort in Avroman, upwards of a thousand partridges were taken.

Deer of several kinds, the wild goat, and I believe the elk, (for they call it the mountain-ox, as they do the deer the mountain sheep,) are very abundant. They are hunted in the winter. Antelopes are found in the province of Isfendabad.

September 5.—I was very ill all night, and this

morning it was a question whether I could proceed to-day. I was resolved to make the attempt, and accordingly at seven we left Meek, and after mounting a hill by a very precipitous path, we wound round the summit of it, to the place from whence the descent to the village of Bayendereh commences. Here I found myself so very weak, that I could go no farther. In attempting to sit down, I fainted and fell; luckily Koord Oglou* was behind me, who received me in his arms. I now resolved, or rather this attack of weakness resolved for me, that I could proceed no farther than Bayendereh, the village where Mrs. Rich had taken up her quarters last night. My evil destiny, however, pursued me, and by some mistake, Mrs. Rich had marched on to another stage. When Omar Aga, who had ridden on, found this, he sent forward a horseman to bring the party to a halt at the nearest village after Bayendereh; and he came back to tell me the arrangement he had made. I went on therefore, or rather was carried by Koord Oglou and the farrier down the descent, and rested again under a willow by the side of a pretty stream. Here a cup of coffee was prepared, which I found reviving; and kind Omar Aga insisted on my swallowing a couple of spoonfuls of the universal Koordish remedy, airan, or butter milk, which he procured from the village of Bayendereh. This

* Mr. Rich's Imrahor or chief groom: he was a native of Bayazid in Armenia.—*Ed.*

really refreshed me considerably, and at half past ten I found myself able to proceed the rest of the way, the road fortunately being easy.

We mounted therefore, and rode at a tolerable pace along a winding but more open valley, through which ran a stream prettily fringed with willows. At a quarter to twelve, without having ascended considerably, we reached the top of a very steep descent, I think the steepest we had yet met with; it occupied about half an hour, and is called Kelleh Balin. Both Omar Aga and Abdullah Bey agreed in saying it was a pass of Zagros. The two mountains here form a valley which reaches to Banna. Both are wooded with the dwarf oak.

From the foot of the descent we proceeded through a beautiful lane of dwarf oaks, ash, willow, and poplars, and at half past one arrived at the village of Surene, situated in a valley formed by two branches of Zagros*, a wretched place with an imposing name, where at last I rejoined Mrs. Rich, and enjoyed the breakfast she had prepared for me, not having taken any sustenance since the day before yesterday at dinner.

* The west branch seems to be the same hill we crossed laterally coming to the vale of Bayendereh. From the pass to the village it is about S. 70 W. It then turns off more southerly, and returns again to Banna. The three points which we saw from Ahmed Kulwan and Zeribar are about S. 50 W. from Surene; and Banna lies in N. 83 W.

A man from the Vali, who is at Banna, reached me here with some loads of fruit and a polite letter.

September 5.—We left Surene at six o'clock, and proceeded through the beautiful valley. At seven we passed on our right hand the village of Bjæ, or Bzhæ. Soon after the valley and mountains wound more southerly. We now saw the three points so often mentioned; and shortly after a pass opened through the mountains leading to Kizzeljee; then the mountains returned again; and at half past nine we arrived at our station at Ahmedava, as the Koords pronounce Ahmedabad, in the neighbourhood of Banna. It was a pleasant spot, situated on the Ard-baba hills, which is a part of the west or south chain of Zagros *, and about ten minutes' walk of a horse from Banna. There were some vineyards, and a pretty terrace, where the Sultan of Banna sometimes pitches a tent for recreation. Near a cool spring, was a remarkably fine willow, indeed I think the largest and finest I ever saw; the Vali had pitched a few tents for our reception; and we found his *maître d'hôtel* and some cooks ready to wait upon us.

In the afternoon a son of the Khan's, Hussein

* The mountain on the north side of the valley of Banna, which seems to be Zagros proper, the south and others being only ramifications, winds to N. 25 W.; where it seems to form an abrupt promontory, and disappears. That point is Bitwein, about thirteen hours off.

† The temperature of the spring was 53°.

Kouli Khan, came to welcome me to the place, accompanied by the Vizir and three other ministers or members of council; one of whom, an old man, Mirza Abdul Kercem I think they called him, was the principal spokesman. The little Khan was a fine boy, of about twelve years of age. His countenance was very like that of the one at Sinna, but seemingly much more lively and intelligent. He behaved with great propriety, made his compliments with a good grace in Persian, and endeavoured to enter into conversation, by asking how far it was to England, how I liked Koordistan, if we smoked the kalioon in our country, &c. The rest of the conversation was carried on by the old men; and, as it consisted chiefly of Persian compliments, it is not worth recording.

I received in the evening a large present of fruit from the Khan,—some peaches from Meiandaov, which, though not very fine, were acceptable, as being the first of the season. On these occasions the sculptures of Persepolis strongly present themselves to my mind. The introducer of the party, with a staff, precedes a long train of servants, each bearing some article, the present being as much as possible divided, to make the greater show. The Khan insists on our breakfast and dinner being prepared in his own kitchen. It is of course in the Persian taste, but I think better dressed than at Sinna, and they attend to our hours of comfort.

CHAPTER IX.

Visit to the Vali of Sinna—The Castle of Banna—Conversation of the Vali—Marriage of his Son—The Vali returns my visit—His cruelty at Banna—Preparations for our departure—Unexpected hindrances — Difficulty of obtaining Cattle — Vali's apologies—The Sultan of Banna—Begin our march—Village Chief—Refuses to allow us to proceed on our journey—Disagreeable situation — Determine to fight our way — The Chief alarmed—Allows us to proceed—Mountains—Enter the Bebbeh Territory—Omar Aga's retainers—Ruins of Karatcholan—Fine Fruit—Precipitous Hills—Arrival at Sulimania.

September 7. — THIS morning was fixed for my visit to the Khan. He had promised to receive me early on account of the heat, which I much dread being exposed to; but it was half past ten before they came to say he was ready. We then rode into town: at the entrance of which we were received by Mirza Inayet ullah and a party of horse, who considerably increased the heat, and covered us with dust. On ascending the hill of the castle we found a street formed by riflemen from Sakiz and other mountain districts, and the Serbazes or regular troops, who received me with presented arms, and, by the way, did not look any better than those at Sinna. There were about a hundred and fifty of them. The castle, or palace, or whatever it may be called, is a wretched-looking place. The Khan was

sitting in an unplastered talar, surrounded by a quantity of melons. He rose to receive me, and gave his hand to Mr. Bell and myself. I was much disappointed in his manners and appearance. I had expected to see the dignity and refinement of Daoud Pasha*; instead of which I found a plain, rough kind of Persian, and rather an oddity—something of what we should call a good fellow, with no dignity, and nothing remarkable in his conversation, which consisted entirely of abrupt questions and short remarks. In person he is above the middle size, has rather a short thick face, grizly beard, and bushy black eyebrows, which, being straight and contracted, gave rather an unpleasing character to the upper part of his face. I must here observe that I never did see either a graceful or dignified Persian: indeed, their dress does not admit of the first; and rough, abrupt manners, with a loud voice, are now the fashion, in order to imitate the tribesmen and court party. I should call the Persians ruffian dandies.

With the Khan was sitting Musa Khan, the governor of Serdesht, now on a visit to the Vali; the Sultan of Sakiz, a favourite of Khan's, and the Sultan of Banna. Omar Aga seated himself on a line with them, and seemed perfectly free and unconcerned, much more so indeed than they did. He looked like a prince among them. The Khan's two

* The Pasha of Bagdad.

sons stood outside the window at the head of a party of armed attendants. The favourite son, Mahommed Ali Khan, who is to be married to the King of Persia's daughter at the approaching feast of the Noorooz, is a coarse swarthy-looking boy, and resembles his father, which none of the others, whom I have seen, do. The Vali had on a black Cashmere shawl upper dress: he was otherwise plainly attired; nor had he any handsome arms or trinkets about him. A ship spyglass, an old lacquered cane with a silver head, and a plate containing a common watch, two or three silver-mounted seals, with a Birmingham opium-box, were all that ornamented his sadr or throne. He spoke to me in Turkish, which is the fashionable language now in Persia; but as I have already said, I recollect little worth recording. He merely asked short questions, and had a disagreeable trick of repeating insignificant things, and making you repeat them also. He asked how old I was; I told him thirty-three: he remarked in Koordish that I looked like forty. He then inquired about my illness, in a profusion of Oriental medical terms, with which he seemed to be quite familiar. He spoke of Malcolm in high terms, and told me that Malcolm had made him handsome presents. He asked what an English resident had to do in Bagdad, and afterwards, what was my salary. About fifty melons were then set before him: he pulled a little Birmingham knife out of his pocket,

and tasted them all. Trays of sweetmeats were afterwards produced. He and I ate out of the same tray, and he insisted on breaking off bits and giving them to me. A constant succession of kalioons was kept up. He asked much about Bonaparte; inquired if he built caravanserais, and said he had a great name. I sat about two hours with him. At parting he rose, welcomed me again, and told me he would soon come to see me. He inquired particularly of the people, if I was satisfied with my treatment at Sinna, and if any one had misbehaved. From a sudden frown over his countenance, and the terror with which his servants look when it appears; I could well believe, if I had known nothing else, that he is a formidable master. Indeed, all I hear of him proves him to be a most rapacious, vindictive, cruel man. The bastinado is going on every day at Banna, and great sums of money have been already extorted. There was a rebellion here last winter, which they say is the reason of these acts of severity.

Banna is a wretched, filthy place, scarcely deserving the name of town *. It is not much better than the villages we have passed through, only a little larger. The amaret or castle stands on a little artificial mount. Banna is properly the name of the district, Berozeh being that of the town; the latter appellation, however, is not commonly used. There are many Jews residing here.

* Sakiz is said to be a larger and better built place.

September 8.—Musa Khan of Serdesht came to see me this morning. He spoke much of the English at Tabreez. It is really delightful to hear the manner in which our countrymen in Persia are spoken of by every one.

In the evening the Vali came to pay his visit. He was preceded by his Serbazes, and followed by a considerable number of horse. The procession was not so showy as a Turkish one would have been. There is something mean and dismal-looking in the Persian costume, especially *en masse*. The Khan was more plainly dressed than yesterday; and had over him a dervish's coarse woollen robe. He was received at the tent door by the Serbazes with presented arms, and "God save the King," on the drums and fifes. The Khan of Serdesht, the Sultans of Banna and Sakiz, accompanied him. He showed me various arms; asked me if they were English or French; what was their value, &c. He told me the King of Persia had promised him three field-pieces, with artillerymen to drill a party of his own. "And I will learn myself, you'll see;—I will become as good a toptchee * as an Englishman—that I will. You know the battlements of the palace at Sinna? I will have a gun planted there, and place some bullocks and sheep on the opposite hill. You'll see how many I will kill every day." He now became

* An artilleryman.

quite cordial; the conversation was indeed not very interesting in point of information, but it was quite unrestrained, He turned to Musa Khan, and said in Koordish, "Walla, I have taken to this man." He then said to me, "Will you be my brother? It is good to have such a friend as I am; I am a rich fellow." My library was mentioned. Omar Agar adroitly took the opportunity of letting him know I wanted the famous History of Koordistan, called the Tarikh al Akrad. He was in high good-humour. "Do you want the Tarikh al Akrad? Walla, you shall have it." This book I have been in search of for many years. It would alone have been worth a journey to Sinna to obtain *.

He has apparently latterly taken a religious turn. He was perpetually praying and ejaculating, and said he intended to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. At one time he inquired the hour, and on being informed, he took a small pill of opium and a sugar-plum after it; and a great number of kalioons were smoked. I mentioned to him my wish to march to-morrow. He requested me to stay till the next day, that he might see me again. He came at four o'clock and stayed till near dark, when he took his leave in a very cordial manner. He was mounted on a steady large road-horse, on a pack-saddle covered

* Mr. Rich succeeded in getting this History of the Koords, but I do not remember from whom; and it is now in the British Museum, with the rest of his library of Oriental books.—*Ed.*

with velvet. His servants quite started when he turned round suddenly, or spoke to any of them.

September 9.—I was to have called on the Vali to-day to take leave of him. I told him to fix any time when he had no business, as it was quite equal to me when I went; and he said he would let me know. All the morning he was busy *settling accounts* with Banna. He pulled out the eyes of three of the principal men of this part of the country; and sent off their wives and daughters, with those of some other considerable persons, to Sinna. We saw the long train of women mounted on horses marching across the plain, escorted by some of the Khan's people, who rode among the women. *This* was the occupation of his morning, which fortunately only begins at eleven o'clock. The more we hear of him, the more disgusted are we with this monster. In the afternoon he rode out to inspect a village which he had seized. Before he went out he sent me word that unavoidable business had detained him all day, but that to-morrow he hoped to take leave of me, when he would march in one direction and I in another. This prospect of a late march annoyed me much, and I sent to make excuses, but he was then gone out, and did not come back till late at night.

About eleven I went to bed, and had not long deposited myself therein, when the Ferosh Bashi* came to say he had orders to strike my tents imme-

* Head of the tent-pitchers.

diately. I was amazed at this sudden rudeness, which neither I nor Omar Aga, who came to inform me of it, knew what to make of. One thing I was resolved, that the tent should not be struck unless superior force were employed; and I requested Omar Aga, late as it was, to ride into town to the Vali, and demand an explanation of this extraordinary order. He complied; and in about half an hour sent back his mulla, (Fakih Kader, a most excellent fellow, *par parenthese*,) to tell me that it was all a mistake; that the Mirzas had requested him not to complain to the Khan, and that the Ferosh Bashi was in great alarm, and said that if the Khan knew it he would pull his eyes out. Omar Aga further represented, that in consequence of this he had not seen the Vali, and that he would wait in town to bring out our mules (which the Vali was to provide, as none could possibly be got but by his order) early in the morning, that we might march. I saw well that the affair had been hushed up; and as I could not imagine any intended insult, I concluded the order had been given in a fit of intoxication, as, besides opium, the Khan liberally uses the juice of the grape, and, as may be easily imagined, at such moments is a perfect brute. This disagreeable affair kept me up till two in the morning*.

* Last night my poor groom, Hussein, died. He had given himself up from the moment he had been attacked, soon after leaving Sinna. He was a fine young man. Hassan, a tent-pitcher, is also dead at a village where I was obliged to leave him; and a groom is dead at Sulimania.

September 10.—We rose with the sun, but no mules appeared. Omar Aga, who had returned from the town, told me they were coming, but that nine of the number were taken from a caravan which was passing through Banna from Bagdad to Georgia, and which I had yesterday cleared from double duties and certain other extortions the Khan's people had intended to impose on it.

The usual breakfast was preparing for us, after eating which the Khan would expect to see me, to take leave. The Vakil Kharj, or the maitre d'hôtel of the Khan, and Abdulla Bey, were the parties by whom all this was communicated to me. I was indignant. I said that I would not have the caravan mules (which I ordered to be given back to the owner, and afterwards saw that the order was executed); that I would march myself, and leave my baggage on the ground, and that I would on no account see the Khan. Abdullah Bey and some of the Khan's people immediately galloped off to town. The caravan man kept close to me with his mules, which had just been brought to our camp. The Vakil Kharj made haste to serve up his breakfast, hoping thereby to conciliate me, though I was not angry with him, for he was very civil and attentive. Omar Aga got ready three or four pack-horses, which he had collected from different quarters, to load the most necessary and important articles and file off. My saddle-bags, with the sextant, were the first things he thought of. All was bustle and stir.

When the few things that could be loaded were got off, Mrs. Rich and Mr. Bell mounted, accompanied by one or two of the sick people of our party and a trusty man of Omar Aga's, a clansman and cousin of his own, armed with my rifle and grotesquely accoutred with a broadsword of mine, the broad buff belt with its shining plate being swung over his shoulder. He was the commander of the party, and would have made a fine figure at the head of a party of banditti.

About half an hour after I had dispatched the party, Abdullah Bey came back, full gallop, to say that the Vali had just risen, and heard that I was detained for want of animals, that he had ordered his own horse to be given me for this service, that he was exceedingly concerned that anything unpleasant should have happened, requested that as my road lay through the town, I would take a cup of coffee with him in the way, and that I would further honour him by accepting a road-horse or ambling hackney, in token that I was satisfied with him. I was as well pleased that things were to pass off amicably, and accordingly, after having distributed money among (but not satisfied, for that was out of the question) the crowd of harpies which beset me, I rode into the town to take leave of the Khan. I found him very busy, dictating a letter to a mirza, who was sitting on his knees before him and writing just what the Khan told him, though I am confident it would not

be what the mirza would have written had he been left to himself*.

The Khan received me very civilly, and even courteously, in his odd way. A small common opera-glass was lying before him. He said it was a present from the prime minister of the Shah; desired me to look through it, and asked what it might be worth. He wondered why it did not magnify as much as a larger one; and said, since they had bestowed such pains on making it, he thought they might have made it as powerful as a telescope. The Sultan of Banna, Noorullah Sultan, came in, and sat down at a distance. The Khan introduced him to me, and added "That he was a good boy†" (this good boy had a stiff black beard, about a foot in length, and seemed in evident terror of his panegyrist); "that he had made him, the Vali, a present of a village" (*i. e.* the village which the Vali had just appropriated), "where he meant to plant a garden that should exceed the Khosrooabad, and bring people from Mousul, Aleppo, and Cairo to look at it." Sweetmeats were now served up. The Khan asked me what he should send me as a present. I told him that the book he had promised me would be the most acceptable of all presents. He assured

* The style of speaking and writing in the East are so very unlike, that Mr. Rich means to say, had the Khan given the mirza the substance of what he wished written, he would have expressed it very differently.—*Ed.*

† Yakshee Oghlan.

me I should have it; that he never told a lie, and would therefore confess that two copies were then in his possession, but that he wanted to compare them, and would infallibly send me one by an express from Sinna, to whom I should give a few canisters of gunpowder in return. He then asked me again what he should send me, and importuned me much. Finding myself closely pressed, I told him if at any time he found a book that he thought I should like, I should be obliged to him for it. This did not satisfy him: he insisted upon my specifying some book. I told him that when I returned home I would see what books were wanting, and let him know. He said he would make a bargain with me; he would write to me to send him what he wanted, and I should do the same. After about an hour's sitting I took my leave. He rose, shook hands with me, and made many compliments, insisting on knowing if I was perfectly satisfied with him. He marches from Banna to-day, on his return towards Sinna, to the great joy of the poor inhabitants of this place.

We left Banna at half past twelve, and crossing the plain in a north-west direction, entered a narrow valley, the hills above which were wooded with dwarf oak. We continued in this valley until forty-five minutes past one, when, ascending a little ridge of hills off the road, we reached at two the small, poor village of Swearwea, where we halted. I found we

had done enough for the first day's stage, as we had set out late, and it was the fever day with most of the people. Abdullah Bey had intended to have accompanied me thus far, but thought he might be more useful if he stayed behind, to forward the remainder of the baggage, and also to get off the poor Caravanjee, whom I had protected, safe and sound. I therefore took leave of him at Banna, and he is the only person I regret in this territory. He is a fine, obliging, good-humoured young man.

A lad walked by my horse from Banna to this village. I asked him what was his trade; he said a shoemaker. I was curious to know what he might pay a year to government. He said his kharj or tax was one toman every fifteen days; but that since the Khan had been at Banna his family had paid five tomans; that he was consequently near starving, his trade not bringing him enough to answer this heavy demand.

September 11. — Last night some thieves got among us, and carried off two sets of silver horse furniture and some silver-mounted arms. As soon as I was informed of it, I sent off one of my own people, Ali Aga, and Fakih Kader, one of Omar Aga's followers, to Amanullah Khan, to inform him of the robbery, and request him to discover the thieves and procure restitution.

At half past seven we left Swearwea, and returning into our yesterday's road we proceeded in a north-

west direction through the valley until nine, when we reached a fine vale which opened into it; and striking out of our road, we came at half past nine to the village of Nweizhgeh, situated on the hill that bounds the vale on the west. Our road to-day was mostly level and well wooded, principally with the dwarf oak and wild pear. The country was slaty and gypsous. We are still in the territory of Banna, which, by the bye, is a celebrated place for thieves. As the cattle we got at that place are very indifferent—a considerable portion are jackasses—we could get no farther than Nweizhgeh* to-day, there being no other village on our road between this and Merweh, four hours off, in the territory of our friends the Bebbehs.

September 12.—Ahmed Bey, the chief of the village, a very unprepossessing-looking fellow, was much inclined to be disagreeable. We found this morning that he would neither supply us with cattle nor allow us to take those we brought with us, for which he said he had the Sultan of Banna's order. This did not appear to be improbable, as from a note sent me by the Sultan (with whose conduct in other respects I had every reason to be displeased), it was evident he was inclined to take part with a man

* Nweizhgeh means *the place of prayers*: namazga, or nweizh, or nuezh, is *prayer*, in Koordish, and evidently a corruption from the Persian word namuz.

whom we had arrested upon very strong suspicions of his being concerned with the thieves.

We therefore found ourselves in a disagreeable situation. Aman ullah Khan had marched, and the only authority to whom we could look for assistance against the insolence of this chief seemed more disposed to support him than help us. The village could turn out thirty or forty musketeers, and was strongly situated. Our party, small in itself and all horsemen, was much weakened by sickness, so that we could not redress ourselves. I now began to regret having sent the Sepoys back to Sulimania, the sight of whom would soon have set matters right. Omar Aga and I held a consultation on what was to be done on the present emergency, and it was decided that we should leave our baggage and tents on the ground, march ourselves to the Bebbeh frontier, and thence send a party of Shinki fusiliers (a brave highland clan close by, in the Bebbeh territory) to the rescue of our baggage. Mrs. Rich was in the mean time marched off, under the care of Mr. Bell, with Mahommed Reza Tchaoush and some of the servants, all well mounted and armed. Omar Aga and I remained behind in charge of the sick, and ready to resist any attack that might be made on us. Ahmed Bey, however, did not seem to like our mien nor our consultation, for he soon came and said he would bring us as many asses as we wanted.

An agreement was made, and after great difficulties and delays, much swearing on their part and menaces on ours, the cattle were at last produced. We loaded the baggage, mounted the sick, and saw them fairly on the road, before we set off. From the general conduct of these people, and from something they let fall at parting, Omar Aga was apprehensive of an attack on the road. This we were determined of course to resist; and I felt quite sure we were their match in the fair field, being all well mounted and armed. We therefore formed in the best way we could for the protection of the baggage, the sick, and the helpless of our party, and adhered strictly to it till we saw them safely over the frontier.

The chief of Nweizhgeh seems to have thought it more prudent to allow us to leave his dominions unmolested, for we saw no more of him or his people*.

We marched at half past seven, and proceeded slowly to the road we had quitted yesterday, which we reached at eight. We soon after began to ascend by a good road, through a forest of dwarf oak of considerable size, of wild pear, and a tree like the hawthorn, producing a fruit which was not ill flavoured. We halted twice during our progress up

* The Sultan of Banna afterwards sent in Ahmed Bey, the chief of Nweizhgeh, as a prisoner to me at Sulimania, to punish him as I thought proper. I of course pardoned and sent him back.

the mountain we were now crossing which is called Bloo, and runs nearly north and south; but the ascent from the plain of Banna is so very gradual, that it makes no appearance on that side. On our left, at no great distance, lay the Soorkeoo mountain, rising very abruptly and running off in a south-east direction, the end nearest us being cut down by the water of Banna, and some other streams. But it is evidently a part of the chain in which we were travelling; and it is also, I believe, the same mountain that bounds the plain of Ahmed Kulwan, and which we crossed in going from Sulimania to that place by the road called the "Tariler Yoli." After resting ourselves and animals on the summit of Mount Bloo, we proceeded at half past ten. On the right and left of us was a sea of mountains, some running in lines, some broken and confused in such a manner that it was quite impossible to make out their plan. The country seemed to abound in slate, gypsum, and flint.

We soon reached the top of the descent by which we entered the Bebbeh territory. Here a magnificent sight presented itself. The road led at once down into a deep and narrow valley which the eye could not fathom; on the opposite side, the country rose again to a height even greater than that on which we stood, and was crowned by two summits*, united by a curtain, the northern of which was a singularly-

* These summits are in the district of Siwell.

shaped hill, which we had noticed from Swearwea. The aspect of the country was enchanting. It was richly wooded, with many villages and patches of cultivation, as verdant as an emerald, in the most picturesque situations. The lines and forms of the mountains were broken in the most beautiful manner. The predominant tint of the soil was a deep red, varied with copper, green, and amethyst colour where the sides of the hills had been scathed by torrents or avalanches of soil. Our descent occupied about two hours, with very little interruption, through fine woods. It was very steep, but the road by no means so bad as one might have expected in so very mountainous a country. Certainly, nothing could be more marked than the difference between *our* Koordistan and Persia viewed from this spot. The very soil seemed to have changed its nature and tint—everything was a mixture of the grand and beautiful. We arrived at the bottom of the descent at half-past twelve, and crossed the Berrozeh or Banna water, which is joined here by other mountain-streams. This stream separates Persia from Turkey. It runs north and a little west, and falls into the Altoon Soo above the Karatcholan water*.

I was heartily glad to get out of the land of trouble and beggars to that of real hospitality, and I

* The Karatcholan water joins the Altoon Soo near Shinek.

felt myself quite at home again. We ascended, and rode along the side of the opposite height, and we observed, wherever the banks were cut down by the waters, layers of stone, each two or three inches thick, curiously twisted and involved, like a piece of old-fashioned fillagree work.

At a quarter to two we arrived at the village of Merwa, in the district of Aalan. Here we were welcomed by real Koords, and might hope to enjoy some comfort. The village is beautifully situated on the side of the mountain, at no very great elevation above the river, on the opposite side of which we saw the Bloo mountain running north and a little west. It there forms a magnificent precipice of bare rock called the Bree, a cleft in which, north of the village, opens into another fine rocky scene. Beyond the cleft it increases in height, and under it was visible the town of Beytoosh, in a north-west direction, which is three hours off—not in real distance, but from the difficulty of the road. On the face of the mountain, opposite to Beytoosh, is the district of Pizhder. To the west of us is a line of hills called Koorkoor, apparently running to join that I have just described. On this side of it is Shinek, five hours off. Adjoining Shinek, on the right hand or north, is Ghellaleh. On the other side of the line is Mergeh, separated by a river from Bitwein, which is about ten hours off.

A great quantity of tobacco is grown in the neigh-

bourhood of Merwa, the leaves of which the villagers were now drying on skewers and lines. I tried it, and found it very tolerable in its quality. Maash, a kind of vetch or gram, is cultivated hereabouts in abundance, and makes beautifully green patches among the hills. The wild vine is peculiarly luxuriant, and forms itself into tasteful draperies.

September 13.—We set off at seven, and immediately commenced ascending the hill, towards the curious-shaped summit noticed before, and which is called Gimmo. These mountains abound in springs, many of which are taken advantage of by the cultivator, and conducted in little trenches round the sides of the hills, to be let down over the sloping lands as occasion requires.

At a quarter past eight we reached the beautiful village of Deira, embosomed in a wood of the finest walnut-trees I ever saw, which had a prodigious spread. Gardens, vineyards, and cultivation surrounded the village in every available spot on the sides of the mountain. The vines in many places crept up the trees and extended from one tree to the other, forming festoons and draperies. Multitudes of springs burst from the sides of the hill and dashed over the roots of the trees in numberless little cascades. Nothing was heard but the murmuring of the waters.

It was not easy to pass so beautiful a spot without a pause to enjoy its loveliness. Accordingly, Omar Aga and I alighted under the shade of a walnut, by

the side of a little rill, and the peasants immediately spread before us a collation of honey in the comb, fresh butter, buttermilk, peaches and grapes.

We loitered here till ten minutes past nine, and then quitted this lovely spot with regret. We still continued ascending, and in about half an hour reached the highest part, which was very Alpine in its appearance. Innumerable springs started from the ground. Those on the one side ran down in a northerly direction to the Berozeh water, while a little farther on they escape down towards the south, and join the Shinek water. There were no trees to be seen; but the ground was very verdant from the quantity of water. This spot is called Hazir Kanian, or the thousand springs. We had here attained the highest part of our road; but still, at a considerable height above us, were Gimmo and its fellow summit, both bare and stony. We continued for some time travelling under them. No road could have been better chosen to give me a correct notion of the chains and connexions of the mountains. Parallel with us was the Soorkeoo range, which, as I suspected, forms the Kizzeljee or Tariler mountain. It sends forth a branch, which sweeps round from the Serseer mountain, and then joins or forms that on which we now are. Behind, or south of this, is the Kurree Kazhav, running about south-east towards the Tariler. The country between is composed of broken hills, ascending to either range respectively. Villages and verdant patches on platforms, and some-

tines as it were suspended on the sides of the mountain, diversify the scene. We could not go a hundred yards without coming to a spring of water, so cold as to make the teeth ache when drunk. The country presented appearances of copper and sulphur. The road, as usual, was well wooded, and though loose and stony, was by no means bad for so mountainous a tract.

Soon after my horse cast a shoe, and I could not proceed any farther on so stony a road with so valuable an animal till the damage was repaired. We had just given leave to the farrier to visit his sweetheart, who lived in a neighbouring village, and had mounted and equipped him quite smart for the purpose. Omar Aga, however, procured the necessary tools, and performed the operation himself, saying he "would not give a farthing for a soldier who could not shoe his own horse." This detained us some time, and it was two o'clock before we arrived at the village of Kenaroo in the district of Siwell*.

September 14.—Several of Omar Aga's retainers joined him last night from Sulimania. He tells me he has in all above forty in his service, of whom only three or four are not clansmen. He added, that it would never do for him to keep the citizen or peasant *caste* in his service. "They never grow much attached, nor will they stand by you in any diffi-

* Serseer was due south of us, distant about one mile. Our road to-day was along the ridge of the Siwell mountain.

culties. The clansman, on the contrary, though not of your own clan, grows warmly attached to you; and then neither hunger, thirst, poverty, fatigue, nor danger, ever affect him or separate him from you." By Omar Aga's men I was glad to hear of the convalescence of my party at Sulimania.

At half past six we mounted. Our road was due south, descending down a glen to the foot of Serseer. We afterwards quitted the glen, and crossed the continuation of the chain of yesterday, where it joins the Serseer. We then descended to the Siwell river *, which runs by the foot of Serseer, then turns north a little west, and joins the Karatcholan at Mawutt; after which they both run to the Altoon Soo. At the place where we crossed it, the water was up to the stirrup for a few paces, and then it became shallow. It was about twelve or fifeeen yards over; but the bed is much broader. In winter it is frequently unfordable, and is passed on kelleks, or rafts.

The country had now become chalky. We descended into the plain of Shehribazar; and soon after recognized our old friend Mount Goodroon, and the Giozheh hills, bare and regular, extending like a rampart as far as the eye could reach. We have now got into the country of sandstone and conglomeration; the wood diminishing, and almost dis-

* The Siwell river is formed by the Kizzeljee and Beestan streams, and runs by the north side of Serseer.

appearing, except in particular spots. At twenty minutes to nine we descended into a deep valley or ravine, formed by the Karatcholan river *, and proceeded to the spot where the town of Karatcholan, the old capital of this part of Koordistan, was situated. The town was in this ravine, the Koords seeming to prefer such low and close situations for their towns and villages. There are now no remains of the town; but a few wretched huts of peasants occupy the spot. We alighted at Sulimanava or Suliman Abad, a garden now in decay, planted by Suliman Bebbeh, the celebrated ancestor of the Bebbeh family. This valley is much celebrated for producing fine fruit, especially grapes and watermelons. All the fruit of Sulimania is brought from this place.

September 15.—We mounted at ten minutes past six; and all our party were in high spirits at the prospect of reaching Sulimania in a few hours. I felt something like the elevation of spirits of a man

* The Karatcholan river is the same as the Tenguzee, which is formed in the direction of Dolidreizh, and runs through the Kurree Kazhav mountains. The bed of the Karatcholan river is half a mile wide, but at this season the stream is low, as it is drawn off into many streams for the melon-grounds and cultivation. Just opposite the site of the city of the same name, it receives the Tchungura water which comes from Surotchik. In winter and spring the Karatcholan river is very considerable, and frequently fills the whole of its bed. Some way farther down there was a bridge over it, formed by wicker-work thrown over stone piers: this was carried away last winter.

returning to his own house; and indeed, the kindness and hospitality I have experienced at Sulimania are well calculated to make me esteem it a kind of home.

Our road, after leaving the valley or hollow bed of the Karatcholan water, ascended gently the whole of the way. It was crossed by a deep ravine formed by a torrent now dry; and the earth and crumbling sandstone had been broken and undermined, and had slid down in various confused and ruinous heaps *.

At half past seven we reached the foot of Mount Azmir, and soon after began to ascend the steepest part of it, by a very tolerable road, which zigzagged up the face of the hill without any precipice. At eight we arrived at the summit; and after going south for about five minutes along the top of the hill, we began to descend. The first part of the descent was not bad; but afterwards, for some little time, it was along the edge of a precipice; and at one place where the road was out of repair, it was rendered really dangerous by a promontory of rock jutting out, which we were obliged to scramble over. Every one dismounted, and left his animal to make his way over by himself, which they did very slowly, deliberately, and carefully. This was soon passed; and at half past eight we reached the bottom of the principal descent, and proceeded still south, and

* I observed chalk in the course of this day's journey.

gently descending through a narrow valley, formed by the mountain on one side, and a screen branching out from and parallel with it on the other; till at ten minutes before nine we passed through an opening in the screen into the plain of Sulimania, on which we emerged at nine. Hence Sulimania bore S. 20 W. At ten we arrived at our tents at the Pasha's garden, the Tcharbaugh.

I have thus finished a journey which, though rendered unpleasant by the sickness of my people, has been completed, thank God! with less suffering than might have been expected, considering the severe fever to which we had been subjected, and the delicate constitutions and timidity of the natives of Bagdad, of whom my household was principally composed. It has been productive of much advantage. I have inspected a most curious and interesting part of Koordistan; scarcely any point of which was known previous to my visit, and which is not likely to be soon visited again by any traveller. And the routes I pursued, which often depended on mere accident, or the impulse of the moment, fortunately always turned out to be the best for giving me a general idea of the country, and the very ones I should have chosen to survey it, had I previously known enough to form a general plan of proceedings.

CHAPTER X.

Failure of Vaccination—Death of Osman Bey's Son—Sorrow of the Pasha—Antiquities of Shehrizoor—Alexander the Great and the Indian Princess—Names of districts—Omar Aga—His persecutions and imprisonment—Attachment of his Followers—His disinterestedness — His dislike of Osman Bey—Rahmet ullah Tartar — His journey through the wild and inaccessible Mountains inhabited by the Chaldean Christian Tribes—Amadia — The Pasha's advice to the Tartar—His difficulties and dangers—Chaldean Cantonment — Rice-bread —Astonishment of the Chaldeans at the sight of Rahmet ullah —Their contempt for Mahommed—Yezids—Van—Names of Koordish Clans—Wedding feast—Ladies dancing—Condition of the Koordish Women—A Koordish Marfisa—Dress of the Men—Tale of Darishmana—A Bebbeh Patriarch.

September 23.—On my arrival here I was very much mortified to find that all Mrs. Rich's plans for the introduction of vaccination have failed, owing to the ignorance and presumption of the person who undertook to carry them into execution. The matter was evidently spurious, the eruption imperfect; and all the children vaccinated by him have, with only one or two exceptions, caught the small-pox. The second son of Osman Bey, a beautiful infant of a year and a half old, was among the number, and died yesterday.

I went this morning to pay a visit of condolence to the Pasha and Osman Bey. I found the former much affected; he with difficulty repressed his tears

answered my compliments with a faltering voice, and once or twice returned to the subject of his poor little nephew with great tenderness. We gradually got upon other topics, and the old one, the antiquities of this country, was resumed. My inquiries after the site of the ancient city of Shehrizoor has set many Koords thinking on the subject. The Pasha gave it as his opinion to-day that it was situated at Kiz Kalassi, near Bistanzoor, in the province of Shehrizoor. There are still extensive ruins, or rather vestiges of ruins at Kiz Kalassi, which is about two hours from Arbet, and five from Sulimania, and from the ruins of which lime is still brought. The people here pretend that Kiz Kalassi was built by Alexander the Great, for a princess of India whom he had brought with him on his return from his Indian expedition; and who, falling sick, was recommended by her physicians to retire to a place whose climate should resemble that of her native country. The plain of Shehrizoor was selected for this purpose. Yaseen Tepeh, and Gevra Kalaa, or the great castle, are other ruins in that district; also a place called *Dezkerra*. In short, the district of Shehrizoor, and indeed all this part of Koordistan, abounds in vestiges of antiquity, though none of them are remarkable in themselves as ruins.

About an hour and a half from Sulimania, under the opposite line of hills, is Hazar Mird,—a place which, tradition says, was held out long against the

first Mahometan invaders by the fire-worshippers, or, as the Koords call them, the *Majouséan*, and was the scene of a severe conflict. All along the tops of these hills vestiges of fortifications are said to be visible at intervals.

I propose to myself a visit to Shehrizoor, as soon as the weather grows cooler.

I had to-day a striking instance of the difficulty of procuring correct information from natives of the East, even those most remarkable for their intelligence and probity; and I had an additional proof of the manner in which travellers may innocently commit the grossest blunders. The Pasha had once himself distinctly informed me that the name of his own clan was Kermanj. He now told me that this was not the case, and that Kermanj was the collective appellation of all the Bebbeh Koords*, and that his particular clan was named Bebbeh. Neither he nor any one present could tell me the meaning of the appellation Kermanj, nor whence it was derived. A gentleman present, who I believe was one of the family, said that the Bebbeh family was a branch of the Sekkir clan, and that the Shinkis and Ghellalis were related to them. The Bebbeh family has chiefly rendered itself remarkable since the extinction of the ancient house of Soran, not two hundred years ago, of which I spoke before†. They first descended from

* See Note, p. 81. † See p. 81.

Mount Pizhder, conquered Mergeh, Mawutt, and Kizzeljee from the Persians, and Zengeneh from a particular family, a part of which is now existing at Kermanshah, who, though they speak Koordish, are not accounted real Koords; possibly the family was of the peasant race.

On quitting the Pasha, I went to see Osman Bey, who received my condolence upon the death of his son with the usual cut and dried phrases:—"It is the will of God, we cannot help it; God preserve the Pasha and you!" In a short time he began chatting and laughing as usual, looked at some horses, and then had some marble brought him, to choose pieces for the ornaments of his new kiosk, making me remark that it was marble from the Karadagh.

All the people of Sulimania complain of the extraordinary prevalence of the Sherki, or easterly wind, this year, which renders this season intolerably hot and relaxing. They have not had three days together free from this wind since the beginning of the summer *. Since we have returned from the mountains we have been greatly troubled with it, and it is still very relaxing, though divested of its extraordinary heat. I have several times, during these few days past, observed the partial nature of this current of air. It has been blowing almost a hurricane in a straight current over Sulimania, while a couple of hundred yards off at our tents we had only a

* See page 125, and note.

slight breeze; nay, I have seen it blowing all round my tent, while the tent itself remained unmoved in a perfect calm. The other night, while it was blowing a strong sherki here, Aga Minas had occasion to go across the plain to the opposite mountains. As soon as he crossed the Tanjeroo river he lost this wind, which he met again at the same place on his return.

September 28.—I procured from Omar Aga a list*, which is given below, of all the districts of this part of Koordistan, commencing from the Bagdad frontier.

* Daouda; it commences four hours from Kifri. Dillo; Zenganeh; Kuom; Zun, or Zend; so called from the people who inhabit the district. Sheikhan; Nura and Tchemtchemal; Tchia Souz, i. e. the Green Mount; Kewatchemala; Shuan; Tchubook Kalaa; Esker; Kalaa Sewka; Gird Khaber; Bazian. This finishes the outer line to Sulimania.

We now return to Karadagh, which is bounded by Dillo and Zenganeh on the west and north. On the south it goes to the Diala. The pass of Banikhilan on the Diala is in Karadagh. Karadagh is a large government, and is subdivided into several districts; that in which Banikhilan is situated is called Dizziaieeh, in which is also Gewrakalaa.

Warmawa; Sertchinar, in which is Sulimania. Soordash; Mount Goodroon is in this district. Mergeh; Pizhder. Between Mergeh and Pizhder flows the river of Altoon Kiupri, whose source is at Lajan, four or five hours west of Saouk Boolak. Ghellala; Shinek; Mawutt; Aalan; Siwell; Seraou Mirawa; bounded by Mawutt, Siwell, and Aalan. Balukh Gapiron; Sheherbazar; Berkeou; Serotchik; Kulambar; Hallebjee; bounded by Khulambar, Juanroo, Warmawa, and Zehav. Shemiran; a mountainous and desert district on the other side the Diala. Tchowtan; written Tcheftan; it adjoins Kizzeljee. Kizzeljee; Terratool. Kara Hassan, a district which sometimes belongs to Bagdad and sometimes to Koordistan; it is bounded by Kerkook, Leilan, Tchemtchemal, and Shuan.

September 29.—My excellent friend Omar Aga, in talking over his own history and his late persecution, told me that four or five of his principal men were imprisoned with him. The prison was damp and fireless: it was the depth of winter. Every day one or two of his men were taken out and severely bastinadoed, to induce them to tell where their master's money and property were. The same man would sometimes suffer the bastinado twice in a day; yet not one showed the least impatience, or offered to make any confession. One day all Omar Aga's retainers combined, and contrived to let their master know that they had formed a plan for breaking open the prison on that night, putting all to the sword, and carrying off their master to Kerkook; but he positively forbade the attempt. During his imprisonment his men were almost starving; yet not one manifested the slightest wish to change his condition or seek other service. Besides being clansmen, many of Omar Aga's men are sons of those who occupied similar situations in the family of his father. Fakih Kader's (his secretary) mother, wife, little sisters and brothers, are all in Omar Aga's haram, and are considered as integral parts of his family. All his men share with him; do as he does; starve and wear rags when he is poor; make money when he is in office; and all without impatience or surprise, but just as if it were in the ordinary and unavoidable course of things. Omar

Aga himself is just an instance of this attachment. The Pasha, though he really likes him, has had the weakness to treat him very ill at the instigation of Osman Bey, who hates him. Yet Omar Aga being satisfied that the Pasha esteems him, and possessing the greatest respect for Abdurrahman, the father of the Pasha, has never offered to desert him; nor ever murmurs except in conversation with a very confidential friend, and then it is the voice of lamentation, not of querulousness or discontent. Upon my lamenting the Pasha's weakness, Omar Aga suddenly said with great earnestness, "Indeed, Sir, I assure you he is not so in general: it is only with me that he is thus." There was no affectation in this speech; it burst from the heart, and was elicited by the fear that I should think less favourably of his master. Omar Aga is now reduced to great poverty by this ill treatment, arising, as I have observed before, from the enmity of Osman Bey, against whom he does not conceal his wrath; yet he never complains, and endeavours that it should not be suspected that he is in want of anything. Intimate as I have now been with him for some months, he has never even thrown out the slightest hint for anything from me. The richest Turk would have begged downright in half the time. The other day I was dispatching a Tartar to Constantinople: now, Constantinople contains every article both of luxury and necessity that can tempt a native of the East. I

asked Omar Aga what I should get for him from thence; he said that he did not recollect anything that he wanted, and immediately changed the conversation. Another person present, the Masraf, desired me to get him a fine amber mouth-piece for his pipe. Omar Aga never courts Osman Bey, who might destroy him if he liked; and he always in his presence carries himself as high as if he had nothing to fear from him. When I asked him why he never went near the Bey except with me, "Because he has used me ill, and I do not like him," was the answer. Omar Aga is, in short, the only native of the East I have ever met with, in the course of rather a long experience among Arabs, Turks, and Persians, to whom I can apply the epithet *gentleman* in every sense of the word.

September 30. — I have just received another packet from Bombay, to be dispatched to Constantinople. The Tartar who brought it from Bagdad is Rahmet ullah Aga, the same who, during Saed Pasha's troubles, endeavoured to get to Constantinople by the way of Amadia and Van. I had a long talk with him about this road, which is a very curious one. No other Turk has ever attempted to penetrate by that way*.

* To reach Asia Minor by this route, he would have to pass through the wild and inaccessible country of the Chaldean Christian tribes, who, I believe, are the only Christians in the East who have maintained their independence against the Mahometans, to

At Ankowa*, by the recommendation of the Governor of Arbil, he took a Chaldean interpreter to help him among the Chaldean tribes of Julamerk. From Arbil he went to Akra or Naoukor, two days' journey of about twelve hours each. The road was pretty level till he began to ascend the mountain to the fort of Akra. Thence to Amadia was two days' journey of twelve hours each, but over a very mountainous and difficult road. At Amadia, Zebeer

whom they have rendered themselves very formidable. The following particulars concerning this curious people are taken from a memorandum book of Mr. Rich's. "The most savage and independent tribes of Julamerk, or Hakkari, are the Chaldean tribes, four in number, who care not for the Prince of Hakkari, and live in a completely barbarous state. They profess Christianity and are followers of Nestorius. The men are all remarkable for strength, size, and bravery, and it is said to be less safe to pass among them than through the Mahometan tribes. They inhabit the country between Amadia and Julamerk, in which tract there is only one Mahometan tribe. They give something to the Prince of Hakkari, occasionally, when he conciliates and entreats them, but never by compulsion. The territory of Hakkari extends to within about two hours' journey from Urmia. Mustafa Khan, the present prince, pays a peshgesh, or present, to Abbas Mirza, of Tabreez."

Gibbon, in mentioning this wild people, says, "The Chalybeans derived their name and temper from the iron quality of the soil; and since the days of Cyrus, they might produce, under the various appellations of Chaldeans and Zanians, an uninterrupted prescription of war and rapine. Under thereign of Justinian, they acknowledged the God and the Emperor of the Romans."—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* London. 8vo. 1802. Vol. vii. p. 134.

* A village at a little distance from Arbil, entirely inhabited by Chaldeans.

Pasha, the governor, endeavoured to persuade him to abandon his enterprise, as extremely dangerous if not impracticable, but the Tartar persisted. The Pasha then gave him some directions, among which were to pay for every thing he got, and to show no repugnance to whatever food might be placed before him, but, on the contrary, to praise it, as the people through whose country he was to pass, especially the Christians, were a ferocious, vindictive, and capricious set, extremely irritable withal, and that the slightest offence might be his destruction. He then furnished him with letters, and gave him two or three men who knew the country. But his march was one scene of difficulties; they plundered him of his money and arms, and told him they refrained from further violence for the sake of Zebeer Pasha's letter of recommendation. He was thirteen days going from Amadia to Van, including twenty-four hours' detention at Julamerk *. The province of

* Julamerk is the capital of the Koordish province of Hakkari, in which province likewise is situated Kotch Hannes, the residence of the Chaldean Patriarch, who always commands a division of the army when there is any war between the Prince of Hakkari and Persia, on the frontiers of which, between Julamerk and Salmast, his capital lies. He is reckoned as great an adept in the use of the rifle and the sword as the most accomplished robber of his flock. His Chaldean title is Catolik—and he resides in a large monastery.

Near Julamerk there is said to be a mine of iron, and one of lead, which is the property of the Prince of Hakkari, except on one day of the year, the festival of St. George, when a Nestorian

Hakkari is one exceedingly precipitous and difficult mountain all the way to Van, in many parts covered with thick forests. The inhabitants are wilder than any Koords or Arabs he had ever seen. The mountains were so high, that sometimes, after a slow winding march of four or five hours, the village they had quitted would be seen close as it were at their feet. All the days' marches were very long, and lasted from before sunrise till after sunset in October. About fifty hours from Amadia he came to a straggling village, extending near an hour's march. This was the station or cantonment of a Christian tribe. The huts were all built of logs—the inhabitants the most savage of any that he had seen in that land of savages. These Chaldeans, for so they are, wore *hats* (tchapka), in form resembling the European hat, made of rice straw. They are unacquainted with wheat or barley, and cultivate only rice, of which they make bread. In person they are more than ordinarily tall and stout. For provisions they could only supply the Tartar with walnuts, honey, and rice bread; but this fare, for which they made him pay extravagantly dear, he praised vehemently, remembering the lesson he had received at Amadia,

monastery, dedicated to that saint, has the grant of the produce of these mines for the whole day. This convent lies among the wild Nestorian tribe called the Tchoualakh, three days from Julamerk, and they maintain that on the festival day of the saint the mines yield a greater quantity of ore than on any other.—From a Note-Book of Mr. Rich's.—*Ed.*

though the dust, straw, and ashes bore an equal proportion with the rice in the villanous composition which they denominated bread. Only two or three of them spoke Koordish, and their Chaldean was very nearly unintelligible to the Ankowa interpreters. They marvelled much at the figure of the Tartar, who did not think it prudent to express equal admiration at theirs. They asked him what manner of man he was: he told them he was an Osmanli, but they did not understand what that meant; and, to his great scandal, though he durst not express it, they neither knew nor cared about the Sultan. They comprehended, however, that he was a Mussulman, and told him they had been there long before *his Mahommed*. They did not, however, plunder him, and they parted on the whole very good friends. They told him they had never seen a horseman come over their mountains before. He also saw a great number of devil-worshipping Yezids; but he did not see the Prince of Hakkari, who seems however to have very little power over his subjects, as may be supposed from their being composed entirely of clans. There is no *peasantry* properly so called, or a peculiar race of cultivators of the soil, either in Amadia or Hakkari, a proof, I think, that these provinces were the original seat of the Koords and Chaldeans: while the presence of a *Tajik* or *Tat* race all over Lower Koordistan seems to show it to be a conquered country. At last the Tartar arrived

at Van, to his no small joy. Van, though a Koordish principality, said Rahmet ullah, is quite a civilized place; and Dervish Pasha, the prince, told him he had never seen a stranger descend from those mountains.

October 1.—There was a storm of rain this morning, which lasted about an hour. It is very unseasonable, and will, it is supposed, do much harm to the rice crops, which are now getting in.

Below is, I believe, a correct account of the tribes or clans who inhabit that part of Koordistan which is under the government of the Pasha of Sulimania*.

* *First—Clans who are settled and inhabit particular districts.*

In the district of Pizhder:—

The Sekkir; the Nooreddini. Of these two tribes there are about 100 villages, and they can muster about 1000 musketeers.

In the respective districts bearing their names—

The Shinkis . 200 families
Ghellalis . 150 ditto } These two are pure clans.

The Siwell. The pure origin of these may be questioned, but they are at all events now a tribe, and do not mix with the peasants.

The other districts are mixed. Some inhabitants are of the peasant, some of the clannish race, *i. e.*, no village has inhabitants of one exclusive kind.

Second—Wandering or Encamping Clans.

The Jaf. There are twelve branches of the Jafs. Of the true Jafs, there are not more than 600 families; but under their protection there are fragments of all the tribes of Loristan and Persian Koordistan, which makes the whole strength of the tribe amount to several thousand families. The tribe musters about 1000 infantry and 300 horse; that is to say, in their own defence.

October 2.—Being informed that there was a wedding feast at a house in the outskirts of the town, I determined to become a spectator of it. In

For the service of the Pasha they could not be prevailed on to furnish so many. The whole tribe only pay to government a yearly tribute of thirty purses; sometimes less. The other tribes pay much more in proportion, because they are not so powerful, or so well protected.

The Sheikh Ismaeli . 500 families.
Kelhore . . . 200 ditto.
Mendimi . . . 300 ditto.
Kelo Gawani . . 250 ditto.
Merzink . . 80 or 90 ditto. (This was originally a part of the Bulbassis.)
Tileko . . . 100 ditto.
Koosa . . . 60 ditto.
Hamadavend . 200 ditto.
Sofiavend . 40 or 50 ditto. (These are part of the Lak nation.)
Ketcheli . . . 40 ditto.
Tchigeni . . 40 ditto.
Zengeneh . . 400 ditto, scattered in villages.
Zend . . . 60 ditto. (The tribe of Kerim Khan, King of Persia, whose dynasty was overthrown by the Kajars, the tribe of the present king. When they came first into these parts they were wandering, but they are now settled in villages. There are a great many besides established in Zengabad, and many in the Pasha of Bagdad's army.
Kerwei . . . 60 families.
Lor . . . . 60 ditto. (These are of the Feili tribe.)
Sedeni . . . 100 ditto.
Goorzei . . . 100 ditto.

None of these tribes depend on the Jafs, though the Jafs have many families from among them under their protection, which

order to avoid attracting attention, Mr. Bell and I put shawls about our heads, and concealed our dresses with black abbas or Arab cloaks, and, thus accoutred, we set forth at night to see the show. After a long walk we arrived at the place of the feast, an ordinary house; on the roof of which, not above six feet from the ground, we established ourselves among a great crowd of people. The court-yard, which was the scene of revelry, exhibited a crowd of Koords of every age and degree; from the gentleman, with the bush of party-coloured tassels on his head, to the grim savage in goat-skin. Most of them were linked by the hand in the dance called the Tchopee, forming a ring not joined at the ends, which nearly enclosed the court-yard. These evolutions consisted in swinging to and fro with their bodies, and marking time, first with one foot, then with the other, sometimes with good heavy stamps in a way which reminded me of the Irish song, "Rising on Gad and sinking on Sugan;" while the gaiety of their hearts would occasionally manifest itself in wild shrieks. Those who did not dance filled up the intervals of the space, or covered the roof of the house which encompassed the court on four sides. Num-

are not reckoned here. The Jafs, being strong and well protected, are daily acquiring additions to their numbers from persecuted members of other tribes.

None of the above tribes are entire. They are only fragments of tribes, of which parts exist also in the territory of Sinna, of Kermanshah, or of Loristan.

bers squatted down in the centre of the dancers' line, among whom were the piper and drummer. The scene was illuminated by three mashalls or torches, and the crowd bore with perfect unconcern the clouds of smoke and irruptions of sparks which poured from these flambeaus. The dancers had been at it above an hour when we arrived. After having enjoyed their exercise for about half an hour more the music ceased, and the dancers were dismissed to make room for others, by a charge made upon them by the master of the house and some friends armed with sticks. When the first set had been thus ejected and the ring cleared, a stout Koord leaped into the arena and amused the company for some minutes by sundry capers and antics with a quarter-staff. The music then struck up again the notes of the Tchopee, and a string of about thirty ladies hand in hand advanced with slow and graceful step, resplendent with gold spangles, and party-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil *. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite a novel one to me, who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men, without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab tribes women are more scrupulous.

The line or string of ladies moved slowly and wavingly round the enclosure, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful

* See the accompanying plate.

manner. The tune was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. I was delighted with this exhibition, which lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed rather a superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Sulimania. Many of them were very fine fresh-looking women.

From this exhibition it may be almost superfluous to add, that the Koordish females in their houses are far less scrupulous than Turkish, or even Arab women. Men servants are admitted, and even from strangers they are not very cautious in concealing themselves. When they are going about the town they wear a blue checked sheet over them like the Bagdad women, and a black horse-hair veil also; but this is seldom pulled down over their faces, except they are ladies of very high rank, and meet any particular people by whom they do not choose to be recognized. The Pasha's Haram Agassi, who according to eastern etiquette ought to be a eunuch, and several of the Haram servants, are stout bearded Koords. Kai Khosroo Bey's ladies at the Jaf camp did not attempt to hide themselves even from our people, and when Mrs. Rich went to return their visit in their own tents, there were as many men as women present. The lower classes, even in Sulimania, go

about the town without any veil, and may be seen early in the summer mornings in bed with their husbands, or just rising and going about their occupations on the flat roofs of their houses over the streets, which are narrow, and the houses not elevated above five or six feet from the ground. But notwithstanding this freedom and apparent shamelessness, no women can conduct themselves with more real propriety than the Koordish ladies, and their morality far exceeds that of the Turkish females.

The condition of the women is far better in Koordistan than in Turkey or Persia; that is to say, they are treated as equals by their husbands, and they laugh at and despise the slavish subjection of the Turkish women *. There is something approaching

* Instances of masculine courage are by no means rare among the Koordish females. Fyzullah Effendi, who was once Divan Effendi to the Pasha of Bagdad, called on me one day. He is a very ingenious man and has a considerable taste for mechanics. He described to me an organ he had built, which he arranged to play Turkish and Persian airs. On going away, when his servants brought him his horse and collected about him, he turned to me and said he would show me the greatest curiosity I had perhaps yet seen. He then called one of his servants to me, and asked me whether I saw in him anything particular. I said, no; but that I thought him a stout lad. He told me he was not a lad, but a girl of the Koordish tribe of Bulbassi, and that she was the finest horsewoman and bravest soldier, and best servant it was possible to imagine. That her conduct was irreproachable, and did as much honour to her own sex, as her courage would have done to the other. That she was a virgin, and that a Turk having once attempted her honour she ran him through the body, saying she would do so even to her master in a like case. She boasted of having several times charged to the mouth of a loaded cannon,

to domestic comfort in Koordistan; in Turkey the idea is quite unknown. There is, however, a species of tyranny practised by some of their powerful and licentious princes, which would not be submitted to in Turkey. If a person of this character takes a fancy to a girl, he will often force her parents to marry her to him (his religious scruples preventing him from procuring her in any other way); and when he is tired of her he will divorce her, and make one of his servants take her to wife. This species of oppression the poor peasants are peculiarly obnoxious to. Osman Bey, however, is the only prince of this family who is ever thus guilty. Female captives taken in war (generally Yezids, or the people of other parts of Koordistan) are lawfully taken into the haram as slaves.

The dance is the great passion of the Koordish females. On occasion of a wedding they will volunteer their services, when not invited, and even bring small presents to the bride for permission to exhibit in the dance. On such occasions they always perform in public without any veil, however great the crowd of men may be.

All the Oriental dances are of the same character,

without couching her lance till she was within reach of the artillerymen. She was dressed as a Koordish man, with a silk shawl round her head and a poignard at her girdle. She was well-shaped, between twenty-five and thirty years of age, of a marked Koordish countenance, and much sunburnt.

and all probably derived from the remotest antiquity. The Tchopee is a variety of the Greek Sirto, or Romeka, less animated and varied.

The dress of the ladies in Koordistan consists in the usual Turkish large trowsers and loose shift, over which they buckle a belt, with two very large gold or silver clasps. The gown is next put on. It is cut like a man's, and is buttoned at the throat, but is left flowing open from the neck downwards, displaying the shift and girdle. It is of striped or variegated silk, chintz, or Guzerat or Constantinople gold stuff, according to the season or wealth of the wearer. Next comes the benish, or cloak, of satin generally, made like the gown, but with tighter sleeves, which do not reach down to the elbows. This, in winter, is replaced by a libada, which is a garment of the same form, but quilted with cotton. In the winter they also wear the tcharokhia, but made of a species of Tartan silk. This tcharokhia is a kind of cloak, or mantle, without sleeves, fastened over the breast, and hanging down behind to the calves of the legs. It is not reckoned full dress, and is replaced on gala days by the benish, which has been borrowed from the Turks or Persians, and is therefore more esteemed than the tcharokhia, which appears to belong peculiarly to Koordistan. They do not use pelisses, but supply the place in very cold weather by an additional gown or two. Of their head dress it is rather difficult to give an adequate description.

It is formed of silk handkerchiefs, or rather, I may say, shawls, of every colour of the rainbow, artificially pinned together in front, so as to form a sort of mitre, about two feet in height. The ends of the shawls hang down behind as low as the ancles. Those who can afford it, ornament the front of their mitres with rows of broad gold lace; from each of which depends a row of little gold leaf-like ornaments. From each side of the turban hangs a string of coral; and under the turban is worn a large muslin shawl, which in front is *furled up*, and brought into a coil over the breast; behind, it hangs down the back. But this, I am informed, is only worn by married ladies. Much hair is not shown on the forehead; but a *zilf*, or lock, depends from each side of the head. The poorer female inhabitants of towns imitate the ladies in the fashion of their habiliments. The peasants in the country merely wear a shift and trowsers of coarse blue calico, the former buckled about the waist with a strap. The tcharokhia is of darker blue stuff, with several white stripes at the bottom, and is knotted by the ends over the breast. The head-dress is a small cap.

The ladies' head-dress is prodigiously heavy, and gives them great pain in learning to wear it. It frequently rubs off a good deal of the hair from the top of the head. What will appear scarcely credible is, that they actually sleep in it. They have small pillows on purpose to support it. They have very

few jewels among them. Their ornaments chiefly consist of gold and coral. Ordinary persons have them of small silver coins, little pieces of metal, and glass beads.

The dress of the gentlemen greatly resembles the Turkish in form and materials; but few, except the Pasha and his family, wear cloth or Angora shawl benishes or jubbas*. The usual upper dress is made like the antari or inner vest, but is buttoned at the throat, and allowed to hang open. It is also of flowered or striped silk stuff. This, in winter, is changed for a libada. Round the waist they wear a belt, with large gold, silver, or lapis lazuli clasps. The universal abba covers the whole. But the turban is what principally distinguishes the Koord. It is formed of a kind of tartan or chequered silk; red, yellow and blue †, with gold and silver thread intermixed. This is wound round the head, so as to leave the forehead (and they have very fine manly foreheads) quite exposed. Behind, an immense bush of fringe, or tassels, of the same colours, sewn to the ends of the shawl, hangs down over the back and shoulders, which gives them an inexpressibly wild appearance, especially when they gallop. When they wear Cashmere shawls, which some few do occa-

* The benish is an upper, the jubba an under cloak. They are Turkish words.

† All the Koords, both men and women, affect the brightest and most glaring colours in their dress.

sionally, they put them on so that the ends shall hang down at the sides and back. The common people wear shoes with ties, much like Europeans. They are either black or yellow, and ornamented with tassels. Some few use the woollen shoe, which I have seen in Persia; from which country I believe they procure them.

The peasantry and poorer tribesmen wear the common antari or gown, over which they put a dress made of a coarse shalloon, open at the breast, secured round the waist by a leathern girdle and brass plates; and the breadths of the stuff are left unsewn at the skirts, so that they hang down from the girdle in four tails, like those of a coat, two behind and two before. The colour is generally brown or white, the sleeves and breast ornamented with different coloured bobbin. The turban is of a coarse cotton cloth of dark red, striped with blue at the ends. The abba is commonly worn. Those who cannot procure one, or who do not find it sufficiently warm, use instead a cloak of goat skin, with the hair on it, or one of coarse brown woollen stuff. Jackets made of common white felt *, a most inartificial garment, or of goat skin, are also a very general upper dress.

The khanjiar, or poniard, is universal among all classes, ranks and ages. The Jafs and other tribes-

* Called in Koordish kepenek.

men add a wooden mace, the head of which is reinforced with iron stubs. This, with a sabre, and a light shield thrown over the shoulder, form the usual accoutrement of a Koord on foot. Horsemen add the lance and a brace of pistols; and all who possibly can procure it use a shirt of mail with a steel scull-cap, in time of war. The infantry are generally armed with a long heavy rifle, with a fork attached to it, for a rest.

The tribe of Shinkis supply the largest body of infantry, and they are reckoned excellent shots. The Jafs also furnish a quota; but the services of tribesmen are not much to be depended on out of their own country, or indeed in any quarrel in which they are not personally interested.

October 4.—A man from Darishmana arrived here to-day. Omar Aga, who knows I am on the look out for curiosities, immediately went to see him, and promises to bring him to me to-morrow. In the mean time he collected from him the following very curious and romantic tale, relating to the origin of the Bebbeh family. It must be premised that Darishmana is a small village in Pizhder, and was the ancient seat of the Bebbehs. The present inhabitants of the village are all of that family, or rather that family is from them, and they give themselves proportionable airs. Some of them now and then visit Sulimania; on which occasion old Abdurrahman Pasha used to humour his highland cousins,

and send them back with some present suitable to their wants and condition. In his presence they used to affect great familiarity, and even superiority, as the elder branch. A fellow who had perhaps come to Sulimania driving an ass would sit down with the Pasha before he was asked, draw forth an old short, dirty tobacco-pipe, fill it, strike himself a light, and, regaling himself with a few whiffs, ask the Pasha, "Well, cousin, and how are you?" But to my tale.

"There were two brothers in Darishmana, Fakih Ahmed and Khidder. They had suffered much from the hostility of the Bulbassis, who were the most powerful people of Pizhder. Fakih Ahmed, who was of a bold and proud spirit, quitted his village in disgust, and swore never to return to it unless he should be in a situation to avenge himself. He went to Constantinople and entered into the Turkish service. It so happened that the Sultan was at that time at war with the Franks. (The relation said, the English.) In those days battles were generally decided by single combat. A champion had come forth from the Frank host who had for five days kept the field against the flower of the Turkish chivalry, all of whom he had successively overthrown and slain. Fakih Ahmed volunteered to meet this redoubtable foe; upon which the Sultan sent for him, asked him concerning his country, and being satisfied with his appearance, allowed him to undertake the adventure, first supply-

ing him with a suitable horse and arms. He ran his course, and overthrew the Frank knight. Upon alighting to cut off his head, to his great astonishment he found that his fallen enemy was a young maiden, who besought him to spare her life and that she would marry him. He brought her back to the Turkish camp in triumph; and upon the Sultan's asking him what reward he should bestow on him, he claimed and obtained a firman, constituting him Bey, and bestowing on him the village and lands of Darishmana in perpetuity. He here displayed his modesty or his ignorance; had he claimed the whole of Koordistan he would have obtained it. Fully satisfied with his new acquisition, he returned in triumph to his native place with his new wife, by whom he had two children, Baba Suliman and Boodakh Keighan. I should have mentioned that the English maiden's name was Keighan. He had frequent contests with the Bulbassis, whom he reduced into considerable order. One day, when he was absent, a large party of them came down on a predatory excursion. Keighan sallied forth alone, and put the whole of them, amounting to four or five hundred horse, to flight, killing a great number. She then summoned the people of Darishmana together, and addressed them as follows:—'Men of Darishmana, Fakih Ahmed spared my life when I was in his power. I have this day requited the service, which was all I wanted or waited for. Now

tell Fakih Ahmed what you have seen, and also that I am gone where he shall see me no more. Tell him that I charge him not to follow me, for it will be vain, and I shall do him harm, which, God knows, I would not willingly be the cause of.' So saying, she turned her horse, and was out of sight in a moment.

"Fakih Ahmed on his return was, as might be supposed, astonished at what had happened, and deeply grieved at the loss of his beloved Keighan, whom he resolved to follow in spite of her prohibition. He came up with her in the valley of Khidheran, which is in Pizhder, and besought her to return with him. 'It is impossible,' she said; 'you are a Mahometan; I am a Frank: I go to the land of my fathers. Farewell. Come not near me, or I will harm you.' Still the enamoured Fakih Ahmed persisted, when she raised her spear, and thrust him through the shoulder. He fell, and she galloped off. But she had not gone far, when she bethought herself that she had made him but a poor requital for his mercy to her when her life was at his disposal, and that, though he was a Mahometan, he was yet the father of her children. She therefore relented, returned, found him yet breathing, and applied a powerful ointment to his wound, which placed him out of danger till he should receive succour, which was not far off. She then left him again. The ardent lover and husband, as soon as he had re-

covered from his wound, nothing abashed by the rough usage he had experienced at her hands, still persisted in his design of following and recovering her; and in pursuit of her he reached Frenghistan. At night-fall he came to a large city, where he heard the sound of revelry. The mehter khana or band was playing, the mashallahs or torches lighted, and all the other preparations making for a toey or nuptial-feast.

"Uncertain what he should do, or where he should take up his abode for the night, he resolved to submit himself to the guidance of chance, and remain where his horse stopped. He accordingly gave his horse the reins, and the animal stopped at the door of the house of an old woman, who, after making some difficulty, consented to receive him as her guest. He inquired from her the cause of the rejoicing. She informed him that the daughter of the King had gone to war with the Mahometans, that she was just returned, after having been missing for several years, and that she was then going to be married to her cousin. Fakih Ahmed entreated the old woman to procure him admission to the nuptial-feast as a spectator, which she at length agreed to do, provided he would disguise himself in woman's attire. He so managed as to be close at hand during the first interview between the fair Keighan and her proposed spouse. The lady came forth; and the ungracious bridegroom immediately

saluted her with a box on the ear, saying, 'Thou hast been a prisoner among the Mahometans; thou hast been dishonoured; and darest thou to show thyself before me?' The bride, in her anguish, exclaimed in Koordish, a language that had become familiar to her, 'Oh, Fakih Ahmed, that thou wert here!' Immediately the person invoked stepped forth, slew the bridegroom, and escaped with the bride to Constantinople, where the Sultan bestowed on him an addition to his former grant.

"Fakih Ahmed and his now willing bride returned to Pizhder, where he lived happily with her for the rest of his days. Before he died, he completely subjected the districts of Pizhder, Mergeh, and Mawutt. He was succeeded by his eldest son Baba Suliman, the ancestor of the present princes of Sulimania, who conquered the remaining districts of that portion of Koordistan now under their authority. The second son, Boodakh Keighan, died without issue."

I had before heard some fragments of this tale confusedly related by the Pasha, who boasted of his European descent from Keighan, and said he might possibly be my relation. But he referred the incident to the grandfather of Suliman Baba. The ladies of the family told nearly the same story to Mrs. Rich.

In this story, which I have told almost in the very words of the narrator, without adding or altering the slightest trait of character, there is much of the spirit of chivalry, with which the Orientals are totally un-

acquainted; at least at the present day. The incidents are quite foreign to the style and nature of their inventions, and look as if they were derived from some real occurrences, but of an age far anterior to that assigned them by the narrator. It would be curious if this were traceable to some chivalrous story at the time of the crusaders, of the age of Saladin, himself a Koordish prince, of which the tradition has been corrected by the ignorant Koordish narrator, who would naturally conceive no Sultan but the Sultan of Constantinople could be intended; and would refer a remarkable story to the immediate ancestor of their favourite hero Baba Suliman, whose own life is too well known to admit of such interpolations. I could adduce many instances of similar confusion of ages and dates by Oriental narrators.

The Pasha, observing how curious I am after Koordish history, has very kindly sent for Ahmed Bey, a venerable member of his own family, who is said to have attained the age of a hundred; and who is also celebrated for remembering a great number of traditions relating to the history of his family. These traditions are now gradually being forgotten, though many of them may be highly worth preserving. This Bebbeh patriarch usually resides on his estate in Shehrizoor.

CHAPTER XI.

The Pasha melancholy and depressed—His eldest Son sent a hostage to Kermanshah—Sickness of the youngest—Dissensions in his family—Ahmed Bey of Darishmana—Tribes of Rewandiz—Koordish funeral—Bebbeh family—Series of Bebbeh Princes—Death of Pasha's little Boy by Small-pox—Affliction of the Pasha—Suliman Bey—Commerce of Sulimania—Conversation with Osman Bey—The Pasha's desire to abdicate—Omar Aga—His intelligence and accuracy—Comparison between the Koords, the Turks, and the Persians—Lokman—Farewell visit to the Pasha—Religious conversation—Osman Bey ordered to his Government—Refuses to obey—Traits of Koordish character—Flight of the great Dervish Sheikh Khaled—Pasha's last visit to Mr. Rich—Interesting conversation—Pasha's grief for the loss of his Son—His character—Preparations for leaving Koordistan—Sorrow at bidding adieu to its interesting People.

October 7.—I WAS this morning with the Pasha. He appeared so very depressed, and so melancholy, that he made my heart ache. I grieved to see so worthy a man in distress. His eldest son Abdurahman Bey, a little boy seven years old, was sent off three days ago to Kermanshah as a hostage; his second son, a beautiful child, has just fallen ill of the small-pox, and there are great dissensions in his family. Osman Bey gives him a great deal of trouble. He forced himself to talk to me, but it was plain he was very heavy at heart. Ahmed Bey, the old Koord, whom the Pasha had sent for on my account, came to see me. He is not more than ninety-two

years of age; a fine-looking old man: but his recollection has become so confused, that it is very difficult to procure a direct answer from him; and it is only by watching his particular moments, when something strikes him, and he begins a conversation himself, that any thing can be collected from him. In this he resembles old Elspeth in the Antiquary. When it was explained to him who I was, he said at once, "Ah! we are relations; our forefathers were related;" alluding evidently to the romantic story of Keighan the English girl, and Fakih Ahmed the Koordish chief. But when I asked him about it, he relapsed again, and became confused. The Pasha told me, by watching his moments of recollection, he had obtained from him the following particulars. Baba Suliman was the youngest of twelve sons. His father's name was Mir Suliman*; and Baba Suliman was so denominated from being a posthumous child. He conquered all this country from the Turks and Persians. He did not effect this without hard struggles and various fortune; and at last the Turks and Persians uniting, drove him out of Lower Koordistan. He then took refuge in Rewandiz†, and

* Mir Suliman was the grandson of Mir Mahmood, or Mahmood Bey of Pishder, and Baba Suliman was consequently great-great grandson of Mir Mahmood, to whom some attribute the romantic adventure of Keighan. Most throw it much farther back than the father of Baba Suliman.

† Rewandiz, or Rewan-diz, is a castle belonging to an independent tribe of Koords, commanded by Mustafa Bey. It is

leaving his wife and family there, he himself went to Constantinople. This happened in the year of the Hejira 1111*, the memory or tarikh of the event being preserved in a verse connected with the great earthquake at Tabreez, which happened a few years before. At Constantinople he attracted the notice of the Sultan, and became a Vizir or Pasha of three tails. He either conquered or governed Baba Dagh, which was named from him, and he died in these parts. This part of Koordistan remained in the hands of the Turks, as a banner of the azalet of

situated on a very high mountain, a part of Zagros, cut down on one side by the Zab; on the other only approachable by narrow defiles, which are all well defended. They are excellent musketeers. A few years ago Abbas Mirza sent an army against them, which was obliged to retreat with the loss of its artillery, which is now in the castle of Rewan-diz. They are a very savage people; but caravans pass through their territory generally with safety, only paying a paj or duty. In their dress the tribes of Rewan-diz resemble the people of Amadia; but their language is more like the dialect used in Keuy Sanjiak.

* That is, A.D. 1700. In substituting a year of the Christian era for one of the Hejira, it is not only to be remembered that the latter era commenced on the 15th of July, A.D. 622, but that, while our year consists of three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours, and eleven minutes, the Mahometan or lunar year contains but three hundred and fifty-four days, eight hours, forty-eight minutes. Hence it follows that no year of the Hejira corresponds throughout to a given year of the Christian era; and of course that not even the year of the latter can be ascertained from a date expressed in the former era, unless the day of the year be also given. The commencement, however, of a year of the Hejira may be calculated by attending to these circumstances.—*Communicated by a Friend to the Ed.*

Shehrizoor, the capital of which azalet, or province, is Kerkook. It was long before the Bebbeh family resumed their ascendency over it.

All the above particulars were confirmed by the recollection of many other persons.

As I was going to the palace to-day, I saw at a distance three military standards moving along. I imagined a large body of troops was on the march; but, to my great surprise, I was informed it was a funeral. This custom is peculiar to Koordistan. In Kermanshah they accompany the body to the grave with music and singing.

In talking with the Pasha to-day about the history of Koordistan, I ventured to remark that I was surprised he was not better informed about the history of his own family. He said modestly that it was a history not worth recording, it was not that of a royal family, but of a petty clan. I told him his was an ancient and honourable family. He said not very ancient; that they had only been Pashas for little more than a century. I told him I reckoned the degradation of his family from that period. This compliment struck him instantly. His clannish and family pride was at once awakened, and his countenance brightened to a degree of animation not very usual with him. Even a man who has reduced himself to the state of religious indifference of the Pasha is not without a latent spark of pride or vanity on some subjects. He afterwards told me he had no

relish for history, except that of the saints and prophets, and as much as was necessary to establish their synchronisms. The only history that he would willingly read besides these was the Shahnameh.

October 9.—I was both surprised and pleased this evening by Omar Aga's bringing me a long scroll of paper, rolled up like a Hama-el, or Prayer, secured with a flap of leather, for being always worn in the pocket. This contained a series of the princes of the Bebbeh family, from Suliman down to the present day. By dint of inquiries, he found this in the possession of a Koord, whose ancestors had been in the habit of entering events on this scroll, with their dates, and he had followed their example. It was written in Persian. This was a real prize, and the more valuable, as it will form the continuation of the Tarikh al Akrad, should I be fortunate enough to procure a copy of that interesting work. I immediately sat down, and made a translation of this greasy muster-roll*.

October 10.—Omar Aga brought me to-day an old book containing scraps of religious poetry, accounts, remedies, in which the owner had also entered some dates and facts. I extracted some dates and synchronisms from it†.

October 12.—To my very great regret, poor little Ahmed Bey, the second son of the Pasha, died this morning of the small-pox. He was a delightful

* See Appendix. † See Appendix.

child and very fond of us. Mr. Bell offered his services, and saw the child twice; but he could not persuade the parents to give him medicine, or keep him sufficiently cool; though in this latter particular they at last attended a little to Mr. Bell's directions, and confessed themselves the almost instantaneous effects of it. The Pasha is in a dreadful state of affliction. All the Koords love their wives and children, and very fine children they have. A Turk does not care much about either*.

I had determined on an expedition into Shehrizoor, to survey that part of the country, which is the most interesting of all Koordistan in point of antiquities; but I deferred it on account of the sickness of the Pasha's son. This he took kindly. It is now too late to think of it, as we must prepare for our journey to Mousul.

October 14.—I went to pay my visit of condolence to the Pasha to-day. It was a hard task, but a necessary and a friendly one. It was evident that his heart was bursting, notwithstanding he made the most manly efforts to hide it. I could scarcely help

* As one proof among many, which might be given to the truth of this assertion, the following is taken from another of Mr. Rich's Journals:—"The Divan Effendi called on me the other day on business. In the course of conversation, he mentioned incidentally, with perfect composure, that he had that morning buried his son, an interesting infant of about a twelvemonth old: 'I went this morning and buried my son, and then I went to council,' said he, with unconcern."—*Ed.*

identifying myself with him, and feeling for the moment as if I had lost my own son. There never was a worthier or more feeling man than the Pasha in any country. He loves his wife and children as ardently as the best European could do. There was something quite frightful in a kind of levity which he once all on a sudden affected. I left him with a great weight on my spirits.

I afterwards went to Osman Bey. He was sitting in his unfinished kiosk, muttering prayers, and telling his beads. He was serious, and there was evidently something on his mind, but it was not pure sorrow. He talked to me about a violin I had made him a present of some time ago, and begged me not to forget to order strings for him. There is a great difference between him and the Pasha.

In the afternoon I went to pay my visit of condolence to Suliman Bey. He was evidently nearly as much affected as the Pasha himself, but he was calmer and more collected. I loved him the better for his feeling: indeed he is a very estimable young man, a little too serious for his age, and too much attached to priests and dervishes, but without any admixture of fierceness or fanaticism. In his countenance he resembles the late Abdurrahman Pasha more than either of his brothers, and he is stouter and taller than they are. His fine blue eyes give a pleasing expression of calm dignity to his countenance. Every time I see him, I get more attached

to him. I announced my intention of soon quitting Koordistan. Suliman Bey and all the Koords seemed really sorry, and were very anxious to make me give them a promise of coming again next year. I feel quite heavy at the idea of quitting this friendly people, and the probability of never seeing them more. It will be long ere I again live among people who treat me with so much real kindness and hospitality wherever I may go.

October 15.—The commerce of Sulimania is not extensive, and is principally carried on with the following places by the means of caravans:—

Tabreez.—To which place a caravan goes generally about once a month, but this is not regular. They bring raw silk, silk stuffs, &c. The raw silk is mostly exported to Bagdad; the stuffs are for the use of Koordistan. The returns from Sulimania are principally made in dates, coffee, and other articles from Bagdad.

Erzeroom.—At least once a year a caravan goes from Sulimania to Erzeroom. It carries dates, coffee, &c., and brings back iron, copper, and mules. Great purchases are made of these animals. All the best mules of these parts come from Erzeroom.

Hamadan and Sinna.—Once a month, at least, a small caravan comes from these places, bringing ghee, dried fruits, honey, and steel from Casbin.

Kerkook.—With this place there is continual intercourse. The articles imported are boots and

shoes, and some coarse cotton cloth. The returns are pulse, honey, gall-nuts, sumach, fruits, rice, ghee, cotton, sheep, and cattle. Kerkook is, in fact, the mart of all the productions of Koordistan.

Mousul.—With Mousul communications are also pretty frequent. The articles imported are boots and shoes, turban pieces, chintz, and printed cottons, Damascus and Diarbekir stuffs, &c. The returns are gall-nuts, &c.

Bagdad.—The communications between Sulimania and this place are constant. The imports from Bagdad are dates, coffee, Indian and European stuffs, and cloth. The exports are pulse, tobacco, cheese, ghee, sumach, gum Arabic, tallow, and common soap.

October 16.—Osman Bey came to see me this evening, and sat about two hours with me. He talked much upon the affairs of his country, and told me, in particular confidence, that the Pasha has now serious thoughts of abdicating, and that he is using all his endeavours to dissuade him. This is the more honourable in him, since there is no doubt that, in that event, he would be Pasha. Indeed the Shahzadeh of Kermanshah has already more than once offered him the post, to my certain knowledge. Osman Bey says he sat up with the Pasha till past midnight, last night, endeavouring to persuade him to summon resolution. He told him, that since God had called him to that situation, he was bound to fulfil its duties, and that he had no right to consult his own feelings

and inclinations. The Pasha's only wish is to live in peace and retirement with his wife and children. Osman Bey said, "While I have breath, my brother shall not abdicate if I can possibly prevent it."

In the afternoon the Pasha sent an apology to me for not having called on me lately. "But he sees," said the Pasha, "the state I am in. I loved that poor child better than Jacob loved Joseph."

October 18.—This evening I showed Omar Aga some of my field-plans*, which, to my great surprise and satisfaction, he comprehended perfectly. He told me the names of several spots and summits of hills, showed me where to fill up some places of which I was ignorant, from not having seen them, corrected some parts, and recognized even the smallest mound on our road. This is a great proof both of his intelligence and the accuracy of my sketches. I have met with people in Bagdad who had studied mathematics, as they called it, practically, but who could not form any notion of a map or plan.

Omar Aga, immediately on taking the field-book into his hands, turned each sketch in the direction of our road, and traced it with his finger, without hesitation. His natural intelligence has been improved by being a mountaineer, and accustomed to trace

* These were plans of the country between Sulimania, Sinna, and Banna, through which Mr. Rich had so lately been travelling in company with Omar Aga.—*Ed.*

chains of hills, and to look down into valleys. All inhabitants of mountainous countries readily comprehend a plan. The maker of the plans in relief of Mount Blanc and the neighbouring country is the barber of Chamouny; and the beautiful map of the Tyrol was drawn by peasants. I could engage, in a very few lessons, to teach Omar Aga the use of the sextant, and how to take a field-sketch. I am sorry this did not occur to me before. During my stay at Sulimania, before I went to Ahmed Kulwan, I had time enough for the undertaking, and on my subsequent journey I could have exercised him under my own eye. The advantages to science, from having so intelligent an observer, who is constantly going over such unknown and interesting countries, would be prodigious, and he might in his turn have instructed others, and propagated science and knowledge.

I observe in general the Koords are much more eager after information, much more diffident of themselves, and much easier to instruct than the Turks, and, I believe, than the Persians either; for there are certain things which a Persian will readily adopt, but others in literature and science in which he conceives himself to be highly superior to other nations. A Turk has a comfortable idea of his own superiority in everything, and has a thorough contempt for whatever he does not understand.

One swallow does not make a summer. One or two persons in a nation who thirst after knowledge

and improvement are only exceptions to the general character. Such is the natural energy and activity of the human mind, that it will sometimes pierce the veil which pride, prejudice, and fanaticism hold before it; and there are few, even of the most savage nations, who cannot show, at different periods of their history, some person who has outstripped his age and country. The Jehan Numa, or geography of Haji Khalfah, was for its time a very superior work, and contained all the geographical knowledge to be met with in European books at that time; and Haji Khalfah himself was, for a Turk, a very enlightened man. But Haji Khalfah has no successors, and what Turk now ever reads the Jehan Numa? or has the slightest notion of the relative positions of countries, even those belonging to his own nation? If he studies mathematics and geography, he invariably has recourse to Euclid, the Almagest, and the old story of the Seven Climates, the sea of darkness, the one habitable quarter of the globe, or Rub i Meskoon, never puzzling himself to think how these theories can be reconciled with modern improvements and discoveries.

The printing press of Constantinople has done nothing towards enlightening the nation. But few good books have been printed, and they are not much sought after, and never used when obtained. The only works which have issued from that press which are in any estimation are the dictionaries.

Abbas Mirza is establishing a press at Tabreez. We shall see if it will do more for the Persians than that of Constantinople has done for the Turks. A nation is not to be improved by force, or by the efforts of a single person, however rational or powerful he may be. However, the Persians have a much greater natural aptitude than the Turks; and had Constantinople been their capital, they would long before this have taken their place among the European nations. The Mahometan religion is a bar to all improvement. . A nation could not become civilized and remain Mahometan. Islamism is, without exception, the religion which is the most exclusive of all improvement, and the most favourable to the permanence of falsehood and error. Mahomet has meddled with everything, and poisoned everything he touched. He has made everything—science, art, history, manners—matters of religion, and placed a bar against all improvement, or new notions in any of them. A Turk blasphemes who believes any point of ancient history concerning which Mahomet has pronounced his opinion. I once mentioned Arrian's History of Alexander. Omar Aga was extremely desirous of learning some particulars from so ancient and authentic a source. In telling him the story, something that I said happened to be at variance with the Mahometan account. A Shinki Koord present said, that history may be as old as the time of Alexander himself, but it cannot be

authentic, since our Prophet has declared so and so. This suppressed Omar Aga's curiosity immediately. The Shinki afterwards said, "The Jews and Christians in the time of our Prophet used to ask him all sorts of questions concerning points of their ancient history, in order to try whether he would answer correctly or no, and thus prove his divine mission. He answered all by the word of God, which is preserved in the Koran and Hadees *."

Some of the Mahometans believe Alexander the Great to have been a prophet, others that he was merely a hero. Of Lokman, in like manner, some say he was a prophet, others a sage †.

* Tradition.

† The following account of Lokman is from the Bibliothèque Orientale of D'Herbelot. "The 31st Chapter of the Koran is called Sourat Lokman, and Mahomet supposes God to say, 'We have given wisdom to Lokman." Some of the Mahometan authors maintain that he was a nephew of Job's on the sister's side, and that consequently he had an hereditary right to prophecy, and was a prophet. One author calls him a son of Beor, the son of Nakor, the son of Terah, and consequently a grand-nephew of Abraham. Another author informs us he was born in the time of David, and that he lived to the time of Jonah; but in this case he must have lived many centuries. Some authors indeed do say he lived three hundred years. However, most of the Mahometan doctors are agreed that Lokman did not rank among the prophets. He was born in a low condition, and was by trade a carpenter or a tailor—some say a shepherd. All are agreed that he was a native of Nubia or Abyssinia, of the race of the black slaves with thick lips, who are brought out of that country and sold. Lokman was carried off and sold to the Israelites, under the reigns of David and Solomon. One day while he was taking his mid-day sleep, called by the Arabs cailoulat, some angels entered his chamber and

October 19.—I called upon the Pasha to-day to pay my last visit. He was more composed than the last time; but he was yet melancholy, and often

saluted him, without allowing him to see them. Lokman hearing a voice and seeing no one, made no answer to their salutation. The angels continued:—'We are the messengers of God, thy Creator and ours, who has sent us to you to declare to you his intention of making you a king, and his vicegerent on the earth.' Lokman answered, 'If it is by an absolute command of God that I am to become what you declare, his will be done in all things. I hope he will give me grace to fulfil faithfully his commands; but if he gives me the liberty of choosing a condition of life, I should rather desire to be left in the one I am now in; and that he will be pleased to preserve me from offending him, without which all the greatness of the world would be a burden to me.' This answer of Lokman's was so pleasing to the Almighty, that he immediately conferred upon him the gift of wisdom to such a degree of perfection, that he became capable of instructing all mankind by upwards of ten thousand parables and sayings, each of which is more precious than the whole world. Lokman was one day seated in the midst of a large company of people who were listening to him, when a great man among the Jews, who saw him surrounded with listeners, inquired of him if he was not the black slave who formerly had had charge of such a one's sheep. Lokman answered, that he was. How, then, said the Jew, have you attained to such a high degree of wisdom and virtue? Lokman replied, 'By faithfully attending to three things—always to speak the truth, keeping inviolably my word, and never meddling with what did not concern me.' One author mentions that David having one day inquired of Lokman how he had risen that morning, Lokman answered, 'I rose from the midst of my dust.' This answer gave David a high esteem for Lokman, whose wisdom and humility he greatly admired. Another writer informs us that his sepulchre was to be seen at Ramah, a small town not far from Jerusalem; that he was an Abyssinian by birth, a Jew in religion, and that he was buried near the seventy prophets, who lost their lives in one day near Jerusalem."

sighed deeply. He talked mostly upon religious subjects in his usual way, asked me how many gospels there were; whether they were sent down immediately from God, or merely written by man from divine inspiration; whether Christ was again to descend and govern the world, or merely to appear at the day of judgment. He told me about Dejjal or Antichrist *, Gog and Magog, &c. He was as kind as ever, and told me that he must see me once more before we parted, and that he would come out to my camp to-morrow.

I afterwards went to Osman Bey. He looked serious, as before; but had a kind of determination and fierceness, like a man *who has set his back against the wall.* It appears that Mahmood Pasha has, at the recommendation of the Pasha of Bagdad, positively insisted on his brother's going to his government of Keuy Sanjiak. This Osman Bey refuses to do, as he is afraid that affairs will fall into the hands of the Turks, as soon as he is out of the way, to the utter ruin of his country. The Pasha of

* Dejjal signifies liar or impostor; it means also a person who has only one eye and one eyebrow, such as the Mahometans describe Antichrist. They likewise call him Al Massih al Dejjal, or the false Messiah. As Jesus Christ, who is acknowledged by the Mahometans to be the Messiah, rode into Jerusalem mounted on an ass, they maintain that Antichrist will do the same. The Mahometans believe that Antichrist is to come at the end of the world; that Jesus Christ, who never died according to them, is to come and encounter him at his second coming; and that, after overcoming him, he will then die.

Bagdad cannot bear that the family should be united. He it was who, as I always suspected, and have since learnt to a certainty, succeeded in bringing Abdullah Pasha into trouble; and he is now endeavouring to remove Osman Bey, and stir up a quarrel between him and his brother. Osman Bey's conduct, throughout the whole of the late transactions, has been that of an honourable man, and one who has the interests of his country at heart. The Pasha's great fault is his weakness and unaccountable reverence for the Turks; which proceeds, however, from a religious feeling. I am sometimes surprised at the Pasha's want of spirit in this particular. It is melancholy to see how he is deceived by the Pasha of Bagdad, whom he habitually calls "Effendimiz," or "My Master." If he knew his own strength and interests, he might make the Pasha of Bagdad do what he chose and treat him with proper consideration. Osman Bey never calls him anything else than "The Vizir." When I had been some time with Osman Bey, the Masraf came in. Osman Bey said in a very decided tone to him, "It is useless to talk upon that affair. The Pasha is both my elder brother and my superior; he may punish me, or deprive me of my estates, but I will not go to Keuy Sanjiak."

I soon after left him. In the afternoon I heard that the Pasha had sent him peremptory orders to go to Keuy Sanjiak, otherwise he would take his

lands from him, and forbid any persons visiting him. At the same time he publicly lamented the weakness which had, for the seven years of his reign, rendered him too ready to listen to Osman Bey's suggestions.

Whatever may be Osman Bey's faults, he certainly has behaved most honourably in all the late affairs. He persuaded his brother not to abdicate, and refused the Prince of Kermanshah's invitation to come to him. In either case he well knew he would undoubtedly be Pasha. It grieves me to see such creatures as the Turks able to sow dissensions among the members of so respectable a family.

I was resolved, before I left this place, to speak a good word for my old friend Abdullah Pasha. Osman Bey said that all had been brought about by Turkish intrigue, and that Abdullah Pasha was undoubtedly innocent of much that had been laid to his charge. He told me, moreover, that the Pasha had lately relented, and applied to the Pasha of Bagdad for permission to release his uncle, but that Daoud Pasha would not allow it. I told him I trusted there would be nothing worse to be apprehended for him than a little personal restraint for a short time. "Certainly not," said Osman Bey. "We are not like the Turks; none of us would touch a hair of him for the whole world."

We have a curious savage attending us, Mohammed Tchaoush. He is a man of Omar Aga's, and his father served Omar Aga's family in the same capa-

city. The other evening we were walking out. I wanted to say something to Omar Aga, who was at some distance before us. Mahommed Tchaoush, by way of calling his master, whistled after him, and Omar Aga, who seemingly well understood this kind of summons, immediately turned round to see who called him. Mrs. Rich wished to make a present of a rough goat-skin jacket to one of the servants who was ill, and asked Mahommed Tchaoush what might be the price of one. "Why the price," said the fellow, who speaks a little Turkish, "is from five to ten piastres; but if you want it for yourself I would advise you rather to get a felt jacket cut out!" These felt jackets are made of the common thick packing-felt, or nimmud, and literally stand alone. They are worn by shepherds and other common Koords who are much exposed to the weather; probably also Mrs. Mahommed Tchaoush wears one.

The Koords are not noisy or boisterous among themselves when talking, like the Persians; but they are given to strange sudden shouts and shrieks. When one Koord wants to call another, or to attract his attention, he roars out, "Ho, Hamaka *!" "Ho (long protracted) Hamaka, ho, ho, ho; wurra wurra!" The other always answers by a similar shout. The Jafs shout in this manner, and talk to one another from hill to hill. The Koords seldom go along a road straight and quietly for any length

* A Koordish edition of Mahommed, Ahmed or Mahmood.

of time. Without any motive, they will on a sudden give a shriek, dash their horses out at full gallop, and return again, when going a march or journey. Omar Aga one night, when on service in Persian Koordistan, dispatched two of his men to a village not far from the road to buy bread, as the march had been a long one. The night was quite dark. After waiting a long time, he suddenly heard his horsemen coming towards him full speed over the stones. As the country was not in a very good state, or rather was not very friendly to the Bebbehs, Omar Aga immediately imagined that his men were pursued by some enemy. He and the men with him consequently got ready their arms. On a sudden the noise ceased. After some delay, not conceiving what could have happened, he advanced cautiously in the direction from whence the noise had come, and found to his great surprise a horse without a rider, a man extended on the ground, and a horseman standing beside him. It now turned out that these were his men, who had, on leaving the village with the bread they had been ordered to purchase, matched their horses together for a small sum, and ran their race immediately, though the country was unknown to them, the ground broken and stony, and the night pitch dark. The consequence was that one of them was thrown and had his thigh broken.

The Koords are bold but unscientific horsemen. They push over any ground at speed, and twist and

turn their horses about without any mercy. It is all done by roughness and force and mere sticking on, and they are not good judges of the breed of a horse. Almost all their horses, even of the Arab breed, become vicious, startlish, and restless. A Koord prefers a hot-tempered horse with some vice; he thinks it shows skill and boldness in the rider. The Arabs, on the contrary, are fine, temperate horsemen. You may always ride a horse with pleasure after an Arab; sometimes after a Turk; but never after a Koord. They, however, take great care of their horses, and there are many Koordish gentlemen who groom their horses with their own hands. Perhaps they feed them too well and keep them too warm, which renders them less hardy than one might imagine they would be among such a people. A fancy has now got among them for becoming possessed of Arab horses; and they give immense sums often for very indifferent animals, of a very equivocal breed. This fashion has greatly discouraged the breed of the real Koordish horse, which was an excellent, hardy animal, well adapted for the service of light cavalry. This has now almost entirely disappeared, and has been supplanted by weak half-bred horses imported from Bagdad and the low country. The Arab horses rarely breed well in Koordistan. All the colts are indifferent, and have very little of the Arab character.

The Koords are excellent scouts and gainers of

intelligence from a hostile camp, into the very heart of which they will insinuate themselves, nay, even into the tent of the commander. When acting against the Pasha of Bagdad, the enterprise is greatly facilitated by there being always a considerable body of auxiliary Koords of the deposed party in the Turkish army. Abdullah Pasha told me that, on one occasion, when his brother Abdurrahman Pasha * sent a Koord into the camp of the Pasha of Bagdad, the fellow, not being able to learn all he wanted, actually seized and brought off a man out of the camp, and conducted him into Abdurrahman's presence, to be examined at leisure. The Koords are greatly given to music; all their music is of the melancholy cast. Some of the airs, such as "Mulki Jan," "Ben Kuzha Benaz," and "Az de Naledem," are wild and pretty. Many of them are in alternate chorus. The tune of the reapers, singing "Ferhad and Shireen," reminded me of the gondoliers' chaunt of Tasso at Venice.

I have in no place seen so many fine hale old people of both sexes as in Koordistan; and notwithstanding the apparent disadvantages of the climate, the Koords are in general a very stout healthy-look-

* When old Abdurrahman Pasha was expiring, his family and relations had great difficulty in calming his feelings of mortification, which sometimes burst forth even with violence, at the idea that he was dying quietly and ignobly in his bed; and that it had not rather been his fate to be laid low in the field of honour. This is a most uncommon feeling for an Oriental.

ing people. The children too are clean-skinned, rosy-looking children. A Bagdad child has a perfectly unwholesome appearance, with swelled belly, yellow morbid flesh, and moving as if it had the rickets; it is quite disagreeable to touch him. A Koordish child is a hardy, light, active little creature; and they are all remarkably well behaved.

The difference of physiognomy between the clansman and peasant Koord is perfectly distinguishable. The latter has a much softer and more regular countenance; the features are sometimes quite Grecian. The tribesman is more what is called a hard-featured man, with a thick prominent forehead, abrupt lines, and eyes sunk in his head, which are usually fixed in a kind of stare. Light grey, and even blue, is a common colour for the eye. The clansmen too may be easily known by their firm step and open, determined manner. At the first glance you can tell that they are the lords of the country.

October 20.—This morning the great Sheikh Khaled ran away. Notwithstanding his escape was sudden and secret, he managed to carry his four wives along with him. It is not yet known what direction he has taken. The other day the Koords placed him even above Abdul Kader, and the Pasha used to stand before him and fill his pipe for him; to-day they say he was a Kafir or Infidel, and tell numbers of stories of his arrogance and blasphemy.

He lost his consideration on the death of the Pasha's son. He said he would save his life, and that he had inspected God's registers concerning him, &c. The cause of his flight is variously reported. Some say he had been making mischief between the Pasha and his brothers, who had desired that he should be confronted with them. Others say that he had formed a design of establishing a new sect, and making himself temporal as well as spiritual lord of the country. Of course a great deal more is laid to his charge than he was really guilty of. All the regular Ulema and Seyds, with Sheikh Maaroof * at their head, hated Sheikh Khaled, who, as long as his power lasted, threw them into the background.

Yusuf Bey, the brother of Khaled Bey, and governor of Pizhder, has also run away and taken refuge with Abbas Mirza, who it is said has given

* Shortly before leaving Sulimania, Mr. Rich received the following curious note from this chief of the Koordish Ulema:—

"To the Chief of his Nation, Balyoz Bey.

"Peace on whomsoever follows the Divine direction. For him I supplicate grace, and the guidance of God to the right path.

"In my body is a cutaneous eruption for some months. I hope you will write me a prescription; by the use of which I may possibly derive a cure; and for your welfare I will pray.

"I have also an intimate friend who is now labouring under great physical weakness. If there be a remedy for this complaint, I hope you will specify the particulars of it, that haply he may be restored to his former state. May you not cease to be guided to the service of God, and to the full possession of happiness.

"The Suppliant,

"MAROOF."

him the government of Serdesht, in addition to that of Pizhder, which he is to continue to hold under the protection of Abbas Mirza.

The Pasha has come to an open rupture with Osman Bey, and deprived him of all his governments and lands. This is no doubt the effect of a Turkish intrigue. It is thus that this unfortunate family ruins itself by dissensions, and exposes itself to the machinations of neighbouring powers, none of whom would ever be able to effect any thing against Koordistan by actual force.

The Pasha came to see me this evening for the last time. He remarked, on entering the tent, that it seemed like yesterday that he had paid me his first visit in the same place, time, and manner. I told him that, in the interval, however short it might appear to him, he had contrived to do what I never should forget for the whole remaining period of my life. He appeared more roused than the other day; probably the effort he had lately made in his quarrel with a brother who had so much power over him had stirred up his blood, and made him in some measure forget his grief. The discourse gradually fell on the state of his country and the unhappy dissensions in his family. I tried to rouse his national and family pride, but it was in vain. Sometimes there were glimmerings of enthusiasm in him, while I was touching on his ancient history and the rank which his nation might hold among the independent na-

tions, but these were but momentary flashes. He has a great natural softness and humility of character, with something of melancholy and despondence: he has carefully cultivated the passive submission inculcated by his degrading superstition, which I cannot bear to call religion; and I found that he had an inherent diffidence with respect to himself and his country, and an inveterate disposition to be subservient to some one. He opposed difficulties to all my arguments. At last I told him, laughing, that if he was resolved to task his ingenuity with finding out every obstacle to the improvement of his country, nothing of course was to be done; that nevertheless I prayed God for the prosperity and strength of his family and country. He said neither could ever be strong, while so many powerful members of the family existed. I insisted it might be. "Yes," said he, "if God sent a plague among us and only left one alive." I told him, without that, I hoped it would still be, and that God might do any thing. "No doubt," said he, "God might extinguish hell fire, and yet it is certain he will not." He afterwards mentioned his wish to abdicate. I told him he was bound to fulfil the duties of the station to which God had called him. "No doubt," said he; "yet I cannot help wondering how God was pleased to make me a governor." "For the benefit of so many thousands of people," said I. "Alas," he

replied, "then what an account shall I have to give at the last day!" I disagreed with him, and said, what was really very true, that his disposition was always kind and beneficent towards every one; and that it was inseparable from the nature of all human affairs that some abuses might exist in his government, which he either was unacquainted with or could not prevent. "Listen, Bey," said he very solemnly; "man is judged by his actions, and not by his intentions. For all the abuses that have taken place in my government I alone shall have to answer before the judgment seat." Daoud Pasha has acted towards this Pasha with repeated ingratitude, treachery, and rapacity; yet he has now, by a few kind words, so completely gained him over, that he has really attached him; and Mahmood Pasha assured me that he would serve him as long as he lived. These, on the part of Mahmood Pasha, are not mere professions.

After a very interesting conversation of an hour and a half, the Pasha rose to take his leave. When he bade me adieu, his voice faltered, and his hand trembled as it pressed mine. I was equally grieved to part with him. He hopes to see me again: I fear we shall meet no more. It is hard to part even with an indifferent person for the last time, but to separate from one you esteem is bitter.

Mahmood Pasha is indeed a very estimable man,

and I shall always think of him with affection. His very countenance is indicative of purity, of candour, and simplicity. I never expected to meet with such a man in the East. I fear many such are not to be met with in better climes. There is a melancholy and a tenderness in his character, which render him quite interesting. He is all feeling. The death of his son he will not readily get over, and I will confidently assert that no native of the East ever loved his wife and children as he does. Yesterday evening he went into his haram, for the first time since the late unhappy event. A child of his brother's met him and called him father. That name, and the infantine voice with which it was pronounced, were too much for him; he shrieked and fell senseless to the ground. It must be recollected that all grief is reprobated by the Mahometan religion; and excess of feeling for a woman or a child is universally despised by the followers of Islam, which preaches only apathy and sternness. The Pasha has become more really religious than any Oriental I ever knew; yet it has not made him fanatic or unfeeling. His better nature has risen above the degrading doctrines of Mahomedanism. Yet a worse man would make a better prince; and Mahmood Pasha is by no means the chief that Koordistan requires; his virtues are all those of private life. He is too mild, too confiding, and has too mean an idea

of himself. Personally brave in the field, he wants the indispensable quality of civil courage. Religion and reflection have made him insensible to danger, but he has no resolution. Any one may guide him, and he is always ready to repose on any person who offers to assist him, even against his better judgment. All truth and honour himself, he has no notion of the ways of artful men, who may easily wash over their worst designs with a colour pleasing to him, and though often deceived he persists in confiding. He has the simplicity and credulity of a little child. Daoud Pasha has lately seduced his brother from him, and endeavoured to ruin him. He now finds it his interest to gain him over, which he has done by assuring him of his esteem and good intentions, and Mahmood Pasha has forgotten all that had passed.

At night Suliman Bey came to take leave of me. He is a very fine young man, and has rather more spirit and resolution than his brother. He did not talk so despondingly of Koordistan. I told him the story of the Seven years' war, to which he listened with intense interest.

This volume of my journal commenced with my arrival at Sulimania, and shall close with my departure from it. To-morrow I set out for Mousul, by the way of Altoon Kiupri, and Arbil.

I quit Koordistan with unfeigned regret. I, most unexpectedly, found in it the best people that I have

ever met with in the East. I have formed friendships, and been uniformly treated with a degree of sincerity, kindness, and unbounded hospitality, which I fear I must not again look for in the course of my weary pilgrimage; and the remembrance of which will last as long as life itself endures.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

Fragment of a Journal from Bagdad to Sulimania, by Mrs. Rich. (Referred to in p. 3.)

April 16, 1820.—After being detained by numerous visitors till twelve o'clock, I at last bade adieu to the residency, and set off to pay some farewell visits. I first went to my Koordish friend Salkha Khanum, the wife of Suliman Pasha, and she seemed not a little to envy me my excursion to her native mountains. She described to me a retreat worthy of the Ten Thousand, that, in company with her husband, she had made from Keuysanjiak to Kermanshah over the Revend mountains, through the country of the Bulbassi Koords, a most savage independent tribe, who had been urged by the Pasha of Bagdad to attack and cut off her husband. During nearly forty days they were in the midst of one continued fight.

"Often," to use her own words, "have I mounted my horse with balls flying about me in every direction, and whichever way I turned my head, dead and wounded lay strewed about me." They, however, had the happiness to escape, owing to the bravery of their followers and the timely assistance of some friends. She is remarkably handsome, very feminine, and delicately made, and she formed a striking contrast to the singular adventure she was relating in so calm, modest, and unaffected a manner. I took leave of her, and proceeded to the Kiahya's haram, to bid adieu to my constant and intimate friend Hanifa Khatoon,

who was very angry at our fancy, as she called it, of flying off to such a solitary savage place as Koordistan, and leaving all the comforts and amusements of Bagdad. At sunset I parted from her with real regret, and went out to the garden of Saleh Bey, about five minutes' walk from the town, to pass the night with his mother and some other Turkish lady friends who had assembled there to take leave of me.

Mr. Rich was already gone on to the garden of Hajee Abdullah Bey, about three miles from Bagdad, where he had been invited to pass the last night; and from thence our journey fairly begins. The night was very stormy and rainy. All of us were much astonished about ten at night to see Hajee Abdullah Bey's wife walk in. She had mounted her horse, and, in the midst of all the bad weather, had come three miles in the dark purposely to pass the last evening with me.

April 17.—After getting a couple of hours' sleep, I rose by day-light, and, with unfeigned sorrow on both parts, took leave of my kind friends. Zabit Khatoon, the wife of Hajee Abdullah Bey, insisted upon accompanying me as far as the garden-house. I therefore placed her and her delightful little niece, Fatma Khanum, in my takht-revan, and, mounting my servant Taqui on a donkey, I, with Minas's mother, who accompanies me on this journey, got into the mohaffas, and we proceeded on to the Bey's garden, surrounded with my attendants on horseback. We were not, however, allowed to pass the house of our friends without dismounting and taking some refreshment. As Mr. Rich was just mounting when we arrived, and as eastern etiquette makes it indecorous for a man to appear to care anything more about his wife than the *rest of his baggage*, or to allow her to form part of his more stately procession,

I the more readily accepted the invitation, and had the advantage of eating a very good breakfast ere I commenced my journey, and in the mean time Mr. Rich and his party got well on their road.

About ten I fairly commenced my journey, with the prayers and kind wishes of our hospitable friends and all their household. I travel in a takht-revan, or litter, to give an idea of which I merely add, that it very much resembles a palanquin swung between two shafts before and two behind, to which are harnessed two mules. Over it is a covering of scarlet cloth, and it is ornamented at the four corners with gilt balls. My female attendants were in mohaffas, or a kind of cages, two of which are swung on one mule, and balance each other; but as Minas's mother is very stout, and poor Taqui very slender, it was a difficult and nice operation to make the balance equal by throwing in a quantity of stones on Taqui's side. It is by no means a comfortable conveyance, owing to the constrained posture the person is obliged to sit in.

We were escorted by six horsemen, besides servants and muleteers.

We arrived at our camp, near the village of Dokhala, about five o'clock. The country through which we passed was in general flat and uninteresting, but tolerably well cultivated. I observed great quantities of date-trees in every direction. The night was very stormy.

April 18.—Up at half past four in the morning, but owing to the difficulty of loading the baggage, we were not off till six. The mud was very heavy all the way, and in many places the country was quite under water. At half past eleven we pitched our camp in the bed of an old dry canal. The comfort of our journey is considerably diminished by the constant succession of heavy thunder-storms,

wind, and rain which we experience. The whole afternoon was stormy and rainy. In the evening again there was a heavy squall of rain, with thunder and lightning. Our whole camp was under water. The night, however, cleared up, the moon shone bright, and everything promised fine weather, when, about midnight, we were awakened by a violent storm of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning, which lasted until morning, and completely drenched the tents and everything they contained, which was a very great trial to my patience.

April 19.—The whole country was in such a state, and our tents and baggage so heavy and unmanageable from the wet, that we were obliged to remain stationary. The day was very stormy, and the wind variable. To add to our luxuries, the ground on which we were encamped was full of scorpions; and let it be remembered, the ground is our only seat. Every body seemed out of humour at this succession of stormy weather, it being so very unusual in this climate. The afternoon cleared up; but the night was again very pitiless, the heavy violent rain and incessant thunder and lightning seemed as if altogether they would crush us under our tents. I sat up most of the night in considerable alarm, and at length lay down on my bed without undressing.

April 20.—Our situation is really very melancholy. The whole country, as far as the eye can reach, is one sheet of water, and there is no village to which we can retreat within three hours of our camp; besides which, there is a scarcity of provisions; our people are exposed to all the fury of the storm; and we ourselves are not much better off. We can neither go backwards nor forwards, and here we must remain.

The morning seemed inclined to clear up; but soon after

mid-day the black clouds again began to gather, the distant thunder to roll, and at length it once more burst over our heads, and we were again drenched with rain. I never felt more exhausted and disheartened than at this time, and every body looked so worn out, that, with the exception of Mr. Rich, all seemed to have lost every grain of power to bear up under this determined persevering, crushing, storm. Again it held out hopes of clearing up; but about two the storm began to gather more frightfully than ever from the north-west. The horizon became awfully black; one continued roll of thunder, with vivid and incessant lightning, high wind, all gradually coming nearer and nearer, and louder and louder, seemed to portend really something very terrific. The wind increased, the whole sky was covered over, and apparently surcharged with tempests: the thunder increased all around us, and we seemed shut up as it were in universal destruction, when all at once mercy was shown us, and with a few smart showers this overwhelming mass burst and spent its violence somewhere to the west of us; after which the weather cleared up most beautifully, and though the wind continued in the north-east, or stormy quarter, we entertained hopes of being able to march to-morrow.

In the evening, which was remarkably clear and very pleasant, we strolled out along the bed of an old canal, in which our tents stood.

April 21.—A fine morning, of which we were very glad to avail ourselves to move from our dismal quarters. We were up by half past four; and after eating our breakfast, we went and stood upon a little mount in the neighbourhood of our camp, to look on while the people were loading. At six all was ready, and I got into my takht-revan not without some fears for our progress through the mud and morass that lay before us. We got on, however, pretty well, owing

to the extreme care of the Pasha's Oda Bashi, or head tent-pitcher, and his experienced and attentive people. Some canals, over which were bad bridges, rendered slippery by the mud, gave us a good deal of trouble, for the mud was certainly worse than anything I had imagined, and it seemed at times as if it were impossible for the people and animals to get through it. To add to our discouragements, as we set off it began to rain; but after a while, a strong south-east breeze drove away the rain, and pretty well cleared the heavens. Poor Minas's mother was in dreadful alarm the whole way, and yet, much as I pitied her, I could not refrain at times from laughing; there was something so irresistibly comic in her countenance and expressions of deep despair, in the prospect of her poor beast, and uncomfortable conveyance, rolling with her in the mud.

We reached Tchubook at ten, where our tents were pitched for the day. After taking some refreshment I lay down to rest for an hour, and on awakening was sorry to hear distant thunder, and to see heavy clouds collecting in the west. We are yet in suspense whether or not it will burst over us, or pass away to the south. We have heard here that at Bagdad it has rained for three days and three nights. After continued and incessant lightning from all quarters of the heavens, and black masses of clouds collecting in every direction, had kept us in alarm for the space of nearly three hours, for we watched every sign with as much anxiety as those in the ark could have done, one moment pronouncing it had passed to the west, another hoping we should only get the end of it,—all our hopes and fears were put to an end about half past ten, when a most violent thunder-storm; accompanied with a storm of wind from the south-east, burst over our heads most pitilessly. I really lay trembling till near morning, every moment not knowing what might happen;

and, at least, expecting to be drenched, or to have the tent down upon us. It was indeed a most *Byronic* night.

April 22.—The appearance at day-light was that of a decided settled winter's rain, which of course put an end to all hope of moving one step on our journey to-day. Such a season has never either been witnessed, or even heard of in these climates. At this time of the year, summer is generally considered as begun; and many people at Bagdad are by this time moved up to their terraces to sleep.

Continued heavy rain all day, not unlike a bleak dismal rainy day in England. Were we but near a town of any description, we might make an effort to get under dry covering; but alas! there is none within ten or fifteen hours of our encampment.

April 23.—A fine clear night, which put everybody into good spirits, though distant lightning to the north-east was occasionally still visible. The morning, however, had again assumed her *leaden mantle* and threatened rain. A north-west wind gave us hopes of its clearing away; which however had not strength, and the south-easter got the better of it. The light horsemen of our party hurried off as speedily as possible to avoid the menacing rain; and about half past six I set off in the takht-revan, followed by the heavy baggage. We passed many ruins on the road between Tchubook and Delli Abbas, chiefly consisting of rather considerable mounds. We were obliged to go out of our road, and to keep towards the Diala, on account of the water which had lodged in the low grounds all about. The Koordish mountains were visible, extending to a great distance to the east of us.

At ten we arrived at Delli Abbas, on the Khalis canal; it is now only the remains of a village. Villages were visible in every direction about us, but none exactly in our road.

Some peasants belonging to the neighbouring village of Adana Keuy tell us they have had eight days' incessant rain; that the whole country is under water. They were much alarmed on Tuesday night by the passage of three fire-balls, or meteors, coming rapidly from the west, and going towards the Hamreen mountains.

We pitched our camp on a dry spit of sand, near the bridge over the canal. Our general direction to-day has been northerly. The day very cloudy and threatening, blowing very hard from the south-east until mid-day, after which we had light west airs. The evening was cloudy, with lightning to the south-west; but, upon the whole, the weather seems improving.

April 24.—As we had an unusually long stage before us to-day, we were all up by four. The gentlemen mounted at half past five; but the heavy part of the establishment, the takht-revan, the baggage, and tents, did not get off before six. It was a fine clear morning, with a north-west wind. We reached the foot of the hills, dignified by the natives with the name of the Hamreen mountains, a little after seven, by which time Minas's mother was in a perfect agony, and seemed really to believe that her last hour was come. No adventurer on Chimborazo, Mont Blanc, or Himalaya could have a higher idea of his own prowess and courage than she, when she found herself safe over this low ridge of rocks. I mounted my horse in order to relieve the mules in the takht-revan, and by way of variety to myself; my suite kept at a little distance behind me, that I might ride with my veil up, and thus, escorted by Minas only, I began ascending the hills.

Wherever we have crossed this curious and interminable range, whether at the pass in the direct road from Delli Abbas to Kara Tepeh, which at this season of the year is

impassable, on account of the marshes in its neighbourhood, at this pass which we were now going through, or at another which is made by the Tigris near Mousul, we have observed that all the southern face is composed of sandstone in a recumbent posture, inclining towards the north, the northern face being composed of sand and pebbles.

The view from the summit of the hills, though not rivalling that from the top of the Jura, was still very agreeable to one who loves anything at all approaching to the picturesque, and who has so long been deprived of every thing of the kind. The green fields, the distant villages, the fertilizing Diala winding through the plain, and above all, the distant mountains, were a most grateful novelty, and humble as this landscape was, it quite affected me. After descending the hill on horseback, and resting for a little, I again got into *my carriage* a little before ten.

At twenty minutes after ten, we crossed the bed of a little pebbly trout stream, now almost dry, which delighted me as being the first of the kind I have seen for many a year.

At half past twelve we arrived at the bridge of the Nareen river, where we found Gabriel the Kahvajee or coffee-maker waiting for us, left behind by Mr. Rich, to prepare us a cup of coffee, which we found most refreshing, for we were all rather wearied, and flagged from the heat of the sun, added to which Minas's mother was quite exhausted by terror.

After a few minutes' halt, we again set off for the village of Kara Tepeh, which, though only reckoned an hour and a half from the bridge, we did not reach until half past two, owing to the late rains having rendered a swampy, nitrous soil almost impassable. On my arrival I joined Claude and Mr. Bellino in a garden, where I found them stretched on the ground under an orange tree, and regaling themselves with sour milk.

Kara Tepeh is peopled by Turcomans. There is a Tekia or Convent of Kaderi dervishes at this place, which is probably very ancient, a celebrated Sultan of Bokhara being buried here, who retired to this spot in the time of the Abasside Caliphs.

In the evening while dinner was preparing, and I was resting, the gentlemen went out to take a walk, and Mr. Rich accidentally made rather a curious discovery. To the left of the village, he had remarked a mount or hill on which he had wished to have pitched our tent, but had been restrained by observing it was a burying place. It had every appearance of being artificial, but the circumstance of the Mahometans burying their dead here, and still more, performing the Friday prayer here, rendered the conjecture improbable. However, upon digging, to the great surprise of every one, urns with bones were discovered in every direction, and fully proved it to be an artificial mount and an ancient burying place, similar to those which we had observed at Babylon and Seleucia.

At the opposite end of the village is another mount, which appears to have been a castle.

The people hereabouts are much afflicted with bad eyes, in the same way as at Bagdad, and the women were continually coming to my women-servants and beseeching them to ask me for Frenk Sheker, or European sugar, (by which they mean lump sugar,) a sovereign remedy for the eyes all over the east.

At two P.M. thermometer 90° in the takht-revan.

April 25.—Up as usual a little after four. It was a fine clear fresh morning, with a gentle north-west air. While sitting on my carpet under a tree, waiting to be summoned to my takht-revan, and as soon as the gentlemen moved off, many of the ladies of the village collected about me. One

poor woman was in very great distress owing to a most barbarous and horrible transaction that had just taken place in her family. Her only daughter had been married some time ago to her cousin, and lately, by common consent, a divorce took place, as is very common amongst the lower class of Mahometans. The man soon after married another person, and the girl followed his example; when, dreadful to relate, her former husband murdered her without assigning any reason. The wretched mother wishes to go to Bagdad, and to throw herself at the feet of the Pasha, but dares not, as the monster has vowed to pursue and murder her also, if she stirs a step. She has no husband, nor any other relations to assist her, except an only son, a boy, who however endeavours to console her, promising, as soon as he is grown up, to revenge his sister.

At six we set off from Kara Tepeh; the country was generally barren, and composed of ranges of low hills, running parallel to each other, and crossing our road, occasionally intersected with broad beds of torrents now mostly dry; the soil was stony and gravelly.

At twenty minutes after eight we reached a small rivulet meandering through a marshy plain, and the course of which was only to be distinguished by the great mass of reeds growing to a great height, that quite choked the stream. We crossed it by rather a pretty little bridge, and continued our journey through a low pasture country, over which were spread Arab tents, and sheep and cattle were grazing.

A little before ten we came to a shallow muddy stream, the banks of which were very high, and much cut up by the rain, and over which there was no bridge, so that we encountered considerable difficulty and even danger in getting through it. The takht-revan was very nearly dashed down the bank into the mud; I was much shaken, and not a little alarmed. I

heard a scream from Annai Khatoon (Minas's mother) who expected to see me dashed to pieces, but owing to the strength and activity of the muleteers, I was extricated without any accident.

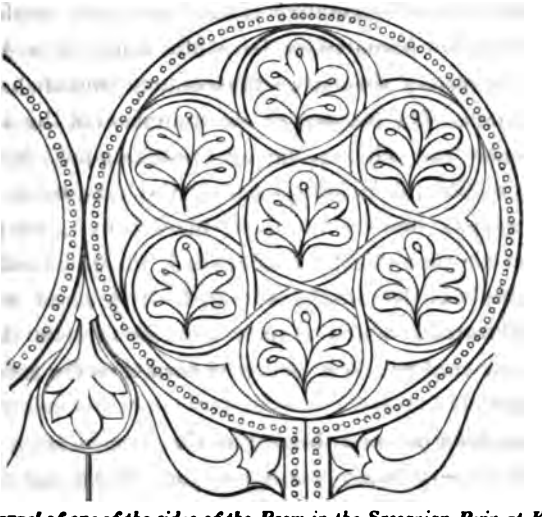
We arrived at Kifri at twelve, and found very comfortable accommodation prepared for us at the house of a Turkish gentleman farmer, formerly a man of great wealth, but now educed almost to beggary by the oppression of the Turkish government. Not long before we left Bagdad, Mr. Rich got him out of prison and persuaded the Pasha to forgive him a debt of a thousand piastres which he owed government.

Not fifteen years ago, the village of Kara Tepeh contained seven hundred houses, and now consists of about seventy-five. Most of the inhabitants have been forced to take refuge in Bagdad, from the oppression of their governors. The same may be said of all the villages in this and in every other Pashalik of the Turkish empire.

April 26.—A day of rest for the people and mules. After breakfast we set off on horseback to examine some curious ruins which had been discovered by Mr. Rich yesterday in his evening walk, about ten minutes from the village and in the bed of the torrent.

We found the shemsia (a small tent) pitched, our carpets spread, and Mahmood already diligently employed in digging. We dispatched Mr. Bellino to examine some other ruins at a little distance, and to report if they were worth the trouble of going to see. We soon laid open a small chamber, the walls of which were composed of loose stones laid together very coarsely, but faced with plaster covered with ornaments, in compartments, some of them really in very good taste. (See the following cut.) The floor seemed to have been plain stucco, as well as the ceiling, which was painted in fresco with ornaments of flowers, or arabesques, the out-

lines being black, and filled up with a bright red. This latter circumstance rather puzzled us, as we did not recollect ever hearing of any ancient Persian building with this Grecian ornament.



A Pannel of one of the sides of the Room in the Sassanian Ruin at Kifri.

We laid open this chamber, with its door, very perfect, and part of another, in a less perfect condition. From the appearance of the ground, these appear to form part of a range of very small rooms—or they may be almost called cells—extending a short way W. S. W. and E. N. E., of which there seem to be traces of five or six. The north side seems supported or strengthened by small round buttresses. In the first and by far the most curious chamber, we dug up some pieces of a black substance, like charcoal, but we looked in vain for an inscription, or even a coin.

We afterwards walked towards the banks of the torrent, and came to a very high mound, which has evidently been eaten into by the water, and at first sight almost deceives the eye with the idea that it is the natural bank: however,

upon a little careful inspection, we soon perceived it to be artificial, and of a square figure. Upon digging, the peasants continually discover bones and earthen jars, some of which we saw. They were very coarse, varnished black in the inside, and resembling those discovered at Seleucia and Babylon. Some coins have also been dug out here; but unfortunately they were immediately melted down by the peasants. On the top of the mound and, indeed, all along under the hills, as far as opposite to Kifri, traces of very considerable buildings are visible. The torrent must have changed, and never could have run in its present course at the time this town flourished, the principal ruins being exactly in the middle of its bed. It is more probable that the torrent, which is now allowed to take its own course, was confined to a bed, and turned to the service of agriculture.

. On the other or west bank are also considerable ruins, which have very much the appearance of having formed part of the city walls. It seems probable that these are Persian and, most likely, Sassanian remains. But what place this may have been it would be very difficult to determine, owing to the little information we possess, *out of the Roman line,* of the Sassanian monarchy, which, from all we have observed in various directions, seems to have been most flourishing, and to have contained great cities within a few miles of each other, and an immense population. Farther up the torrent are some excavations in the rock, called Ghiaour houses, or the houses of the infidels; as indeed all ruins are called by the natives; by which they mean, all who preceded Mahometans.

Mr. Bellino discovered, at about twenty minutes' ride from the southern extremity of the ruins, and in the hills, some excavated sepulchral chambers, with very small doors,

and inside of which were places of very small dimensions, for laying out bodies. They much resembled the excavations at Nakshi Rustum, but there was no inscription or carving of any description. Still farther on, at about three miles from the ruins, on the top of a hill, are vestiges of a building, which is called Kiz Kalassi, or the Girl's Castle. There also bones and urns are discovered.

A man from the Pasha of Sulimania, who met us at this place, sent by his master to know at what part of his frontier he was to send a mehmandar to meet us, and welcome us into Koordistan, set off to-day to inform the Pasha that we had decided upon taking the Kara Hassan road, and not that of Ibrahim Khanjee, on account of the former being the easiest, and not making above a couple of days' difference in our journey.

April 27.—I was too unwell to admit either of our continuing our journey to-day, or of my accompanying the gentlemen on another *ruin-hunting* expedition, at a place called Eski Kifri, about two hours off, and where they really had the good fortune to discover even more interesting and extensive remains than those of yesterday, though much in the same style. Wherever they dug, bones and ruins appeared. What a population must this now thinly inhabited country formerly have possessed!

Some Arsacian, Sassanian, and Cufic coins, with a Roman intaglio and a Sassanian one, on which was a most perfect inscription, were brought us by the natives. The latter may throw some light upon these ruins.

The day was very hot and oppressive, the wind being south-east. The mother of Mahmood, Pasha of Sulimania, is expected here to-morrow, on her way to Bagdad, where, it is said, she is going to negotiate a peace with Daoud Pasha. She is accompanied to the Turkish frontier by her

youngest son Osman Bey. They are coming by the segerma or straight road, over the mountain, by Ibrahim Khanjee; but we understand they have been obliged to keep about a thousand peasants employed in clearing the way before them, which would otherwise have been impassable. We have no reason therefore to regret our determination of taking an easier, even though it be a longer, road in entering Koordistan.

April 28.—We left Kifri at six, the children of the village following, and smothering us with roses. We crossed a range of gravelly hills, proceeding from those of Kifri, and joining the hills we had crossed on coming from Bagdad, the only interruption being the Kifri torrent, which has opened for itself a passage into the valley of Tchemen, through which passage, a wide and gradual one, Mr. Rich rode yesterday to Eski Kifri.

Soon after eight we quitted the hills, and came into the large and finely cultivated plain occupied by the Beiats, a tribe of Turcomans who emigrated thus far from Khorassan.

About half-past eight we crossed a small stream, and were much pleased with the scene around us. The whole country in every direction was covered with corn; some still green—some half ripe—some actually reaping. Men and women were thus employed, but seemed to work in a very lazy manner: and they were cutting down the corn with a little crooked knife, such as a gardener in England uses for pruning his garden.

At half-past eleven we arrived at the principal encampment of the Beiats, near which was a ruined village. Here we expected to halt for the day, and to find the rest of the party waiting for us; but, to our great astonishment, there were no signs of them, which puzzled us a good deal, it having been agreed in the morning, before starting, that

it would be best to make two days' journey between Kifri and Toozkhoormattee, and to stop at this encampment. However, I quickly comprehended that Claude had, on coming to the camp, which was situated on low marshy ground, and seeing the weather very unsettled, thought it more prudent to push on at once for Toozkhoormattee, where he knew the comfortable house of his friend Omar Bey was prepared for us, and which was much more agreeable than passing the night under tents.

I stated my conviction to Minas, who made it known to the rest of the party, and it was unanimously agreed I was likely to be in the right, and that we had nothing to do but to make the best of our way on to Toozhkoormattee. I rejoiced at the step our fore-runners had taken, as I believe did most of our people, with the exception of the Oda Bashi, or head of the tent-pitchers, and his muleteers, who grumbled much all the rest of the stage.

At two we came to the torrent that passes by the village of Toozkhoormattee, called the Ak Soo, coming down from the Koordish mountains at Ibrahim Khanjee. Owing to the late rains it was very full; but the peasants pointing out to us a good ford, we passed it very easily; and, after winding for some time through very beautiful lanes, formed by the gardens, the olive, apricot, and orange-trees hanging over our heads, loaded with fruit and flowers, and inhabited by thousands of doves, murmuring in their soft melancholy tone of voice, we reached Omar Bey's very nice new house at half-past two, with very considerable pleasure; for I felt very much tired, and I did indeed enjoy the comfortable sofa and fine fruit which Claude had busied himself in preparing for me.

We came in sight again to-day of the Hamreen hills, for the first time since crossing them at Delli Abbas.

April 29.—As we intend remaining here for a day or two, to rest the animals, the gentlemen set off this morning to visit some naphtha-springs which lie in the opening made by the torrent, through the hills, to the south-east of the village.

We were surprised to hear that about midnight an officer of the Pasha of Sulimania had arrived, with a most polite letter from his master to Mr. Rich; but he had had so long a ride in pursuit of us that he reached Toozkhoormattee quite exhausted, and he was still asleep when Minas reported his arrival, nor did he awake till near noon. He proved to be the Pasha's Master of the Ceremonies. He came from Ibrahim Khanjee, expecting to find us at Kifri; from thence he pursued us to the Beiat emcampment; and from the tents he came on here, without taking any rest; in consequence of which, he and his horse were completely exhausted, having performed a journey of eighteen hours: nine from Ibrahim Khanjee to Kifri; nine from Kifri here; and as three miles to an hour is the common reckoning throughout the East, he had ridden his poor horse fifty-four miles.

Sevaral Tartars from Constantinople are reported to be approaching; and we hope they may arrive before we turn out of the Bagdad road.

We hear from Bagdad that the two fugitive rebels, Jossem and Sadok Beys, it is expected, will accept their pardon and return. The latter, however, insists upon Mr. Rich becoming his security. He can trust nobody else, he says; but that if the Balios Bey (Mr. Rich) will pledge his word for his safety, he will return immediately to his allegiance without doubt or fear. This, however, is quite out of the question, as the government will of course require Mr. Rich to be answerable for the good conduct of this young man, who offers, it is true, to bind himself by any

oath Mr. Rich shall require; but as the poor young man cannot trust the word of his own countrymen, neither can Mr. Rich trust him, however solemn an oath he may bind himself by. We had melancholy experience in this respect, in the case of this very young man's elder brother, the late Saed Pasha, for whom Mr. Rich was obliged to become security to save his life. He swore on the Koran, in the presence of the Pasha, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rich, and others, that he would never attempt to run away from Bagdad; and yet very shortly after, he actually did run away, escaped, set himself up in rebellion, became Pasha, and murdered the very man who had spared his life and property at the intercession of Mr. Rich.

In the afternoon there was a very heavy squall of thunder and lightning, accompanied with rain and wind from the south-east. The thermometer, which at mid-day was 71°, fell suddenly to 64°; and it became extremely cold. The evening was stormy and cold.

April 30. — Claude very poorly from a violent bilious attack, and obliged to keep quiet.

The morning was bright and clear, with a pleasant north-west wind; but in the afternoon clouds again collected, and there was a slight shower of rain and distant thunder. The weather at Bagdad seems to have been just as unsettled and stormy as with us. It poured with rain for one whole day and night, and rendered the streets quite impassable.

Claude continued ill all day, and towards evening he became so much worse, that I begged he would give up all idea of moving to-morrow.

May 1. — Mr. Rich had a pretty tranquil night, and the day being remarkably fine, and he anxious to get us all across the torrent of Taook, before any more rain falls,

which may render it impassable, he thought it more advisable for us to quit Toozkhoormattee.

As usual, I and my party did not set off until half an hour after the gentlemen, who mounted at six, with a most beautiful morning, which helped to revive my dear husband.

I rather suspect the village of Toozkhoormattee, though so extremely pretty, is very unhealthy, owing perhaps to the great quantity of rice grown. It was not till our arrrival here that Claude was taken so very seriously ill. I felt myself very far from well, and all our people complained.

Soon after we had bid adieu to deceitful Toozkhoormattee, we overtook a party of delli domans, or Turkish strolling buffoons and singers. They were a most ludicrous group, and by their appearance alone excited the general mirth of our party. There were seven or eight of them, all mounted on very small half-starved looking donkeys; they were very ragged and lean themselves, and one, who seemed the chief merry Andrew, had on his head an old kaouk*, with the cotton sticking out of it, and was mounted on so very small an animal, that he all but walked, his legs being not much more than a couple of inches from the ground. Ali Aga and the Oda Bashi dashed out and challenged him to play the spear or jereed with them, made his animal run away with him, knocked off his kaouk, and played every kind of gambol with him, to the great diversion of the lookers on.

About half past seven we were obliged to halt to change the mules in my takht-revan, which had become so very restless and disagreeable, that there was no bearing them any longer. A little before nine we crossed one torrent, the bed of which was dry; and about nine we passed

* A cap quilted with cotton, and worn by all gentlemen and officers belonging to government in Turkey.

another, with a little stream of water in it, clear as crystal, and running over a bed of pebbles. The Kifri and Toozkhoormattee, very ugly hills, were on our right, but being at a great distance, were less offensive to the eye than hitherto. The Hamreen hills were again visible on our left.

As we advanced, the country became less cultivated, but abounded in fine pasturage. The road was more diversified with travellers, both men, women, and children, than we have seen since we left Bagdad.

At length, about noon, to the horror and dismay of Minas's mother, who neither ate nor slept last night from fear of it, we reached the formidable Taook Tchai, or torrent, which rises in Koordistan, a little to the right of our proposed journey. In the summer it is chiefly used for irrigation; in the autumn there is not above a foot and a half of water, as we know by experience, having passed it in Oct. 1813, on our journey to Constantinople. The time of its fury and danger is in winter and spring, after the sudden and heavy rains in the mountains, when it must indeed be appalling, filling its whole bed, which is more than half a mile broad, rushing with the greatest vehemence, and bringing down with it large stones. The rise is sometimes so sudden as to surprise travellers half-way over, so that altogether poor Annai Khatoon's fears were not groundless. We found it much less formidable than we expected; and accompanied by the zabit of the village, and a party of the villagers going before us with a band of music to show us the way over the best ford, we crossed without any accident. The water had fallen much since yesterday, when its rise had been so sudden as to overtake a shepherd and his flock, who were rescued with some difficulty. In the bed of the torrent were two streams; the first was about two and a half feet deep, and ten yards broad; the second was about

three and a half feet deep, and between twenty and thirty yards broad,—very rapid and very difficult to cross, owing to the bad footing for the animals on the large round loose stones. At five minutes past twelve we had safely cleared this long dreaded torrent, called the Taook Tchai by the natives, the Gorgus of Ptolemy, the Physcus of Xenophon, and the Odorneh of D'Anville.

At half past two we reached Taook, and were very comfortably lodged,—much to my surprise, for the village itself had a miserable appearance. It is situated in a fertile, well watered plain; and, from the vast ruins scattered about in every direction, must formerly have been a very considerable city. The remains, however, are all of the age of the Caliphs, who, by-the-by, seem to have been just as enlightened and humane governors as any of their predecessors, and the country to have been as well peopled and flourishing as in the days of the Semiramises, the Chosroes, &c. Taook, or Dakouk, in the thirteenth century, was the seat of a Chaldean bishopric, which implies a considerable Christian population. The remains of what they call a church are still to be seen.

May 2.—I passed a restless uncomfortable night, sleep only bringing frightful dreams, which rendered wakefulness itself preferable. About daylight I fell asleep; and on awaking, I was surprised to hear no sounds of preparation for setting off. The people seemed much inclined to be lazy, and to pass the day here, saying it was cloudy, and might rain: but we were inexorable. The season is advancing, and by much delay, we might find ourselves overtaken by the heat before we get out of the plains. In the immediate neighbourhood of *burnt up* Bagdad, travelling after eight in the morning would at this season be quite out of the question.

I am sorry to say we now leave the post-road, as you will understand, if you remember anything of our former journey to Constantinople. We now lose our last chance of meeting the Tartars, said to be near at hand with an express packet for us. Mr. Rich wished to leave orders with the postmaster at Taook, to send the Tartar straight from hence to Sulimania, but found that, without express orders from the government at Bagdad, no horses would be furnished by the villages. Besides which, our suspicious, timid governor, Daoud Pasha, might choose to combine the arrival of the Tartar from Constantinople with our journey into Koordistan, which, even as it is, he does not much like. No Turk ever takes a journey for amusement or health; he may make these excuses, but he has always some secret unacknowledged purpose in view, and he cannot believe any one who professes to travel only for pleasure; and as Daoud Pasha piques himself on his power of deceiving others, he is made uneasy at any step taken by another person, which if he does not believe the alleged reason for, he thinks may conceal something under it inimical to him. He is suspicious of everybody, and believes nobody; and I am sorry to be obliged to say he is suspected by everybody, and believed by no one.

Thus am I obliged, I own with a very ill grace, to wait many days ere I shall see the beloved Mardocks post-mark; and in what a place shall I receive letters written by the most amiable, accomplished, and beloved inhabitants of that pleasant retirement in the most refined and happiest country in the world! Oh that I could convey to you an idea of the barbarous, burning land we are in! Love your dear England!

We set off at twenty minutes after six, travelling for some time through very heavy mud and fine corn-fields, till eight

o'clock, when we reached a village at the foot of a long range of low hills, called at this place Matara, but a continuation, I believe, of those at Kifri. We wound through a defile paved with sandstone, a pretty stream running through it, and immense blocks lying scattered about in every direction. There was considerable difficulty in dragging the takht-revan through some very narrow and slippery passes. The poor mules were slipping and sliding about most disagreeably, and sometimes seemed kept from falling only by main force. After scrambling up through the pass, there lay before us one sea of hideous bare sandstone hills, as far as the eye could reach, without any other verdure than here and there patches of corn.

We continued ascending and descending over this mass of crumbling stone and gravel for nearly two hours, and reached the plain of Leilan at ten. As far as the eye could reach in every direction nothing but fields of barley were to be seen, some yet green, others almost ripe. This sight excited the raptures of the poor *Bagdadees* among our party, who would hardly have believed the world could have contained such a sight. Such an expanse of green they had never before beheld!

A little after eleven we reached the village of Leilan (which is about five hours from Kerkook), where we found a hut already cleared of its inhabitants and made ready for our reception. This village belongs to Abdulla Effendi, formerly Muttawelli of Imaum Aazem, with whose family at Bagdad I am well acquainted. He is at present himself here, and sent us a present of five fine fresh cheeses, some admirable butter, and sour milk or yoghourt, or rather clotted sour cream, for I do not know exactly how to describe it; but it is one of the very best milk preparations I know, and I can assure you we made a very luxurious tiffin,

or, as I suppose you all by this time call it, luncheon, upon this present of the hospitable Effendi. Our lodging, it must be owned, was very miserable, but it was the best that the village afforded, the poor inhabitants of which complained bitterly of want of protection against the border marauders, by whom they are continually attacked and plundered, this being so very near the Koordish frontier.

They are only just beginning to recover from the effects of an inroad made last year by the Persian army, who took away everything they could carry, and burnt the rest.

The whole country are praying that our visit to Koordistan may be of good augury and keep everything tranquil. I heartily hope it may: it is pleasant to usher in peace, and to be forerunners of good.

May 3.—We were very glad to escape from our dirty lodgings, and I to get into my takht-revan from the midst of a crowd of very troublesome masculine-looking women, who surrounded me the moment my dear husband mounted his horse and left me. They dare not come near me as long he was there, though they were dying of curiosity to get a peep at me.

We set off at about half-past five, and had one of the pleasantest day's journeys I have known for a long time, over green hills and through fertile valleys, the pretty mountain stream of the Leilan meeting us every now and then: its pure waters gurgled over its pebbly bed, its banks were bedecked with trees and flowers of all descriptions, and enlivened by the sweet notes of hundreds of birds, among which the lark and the thrush, those well-known sweet voices of another and a better land, affected me very powerfully. Added to all this, the freshness of the air, the novelty of the lovely scene, and the amazement of our people, altogether assured us we really had at length reached another region,

and were quitting the dreary, parched up, melancholy plains of Bagdad, where the very sight of extensive green is unwelcome to the traveller, as it can only be produced by the overflowings of the river Tigris, or the canals which intersect the country, and is consequently marshy, wet, and unwholesome.

For the first hour of our stage we proceeded up the banks of the pretty Leilan, covered with mulberry, pomegranate, a kind of dwarf poplar, willow, and other trees; besides that in many places the ground looked dyed with the quantities of roses, that perfumed the air.

Soon after nine we arrived at the tents of Yusuf Aga, in the valley of Leilan, a Georgian slave of the Pasha of Bagdad and governor of this district, called Kara Hassan. He is an old friend of Mr. Rich's, and most hospitably insisted upon entertaining the whole of our not very small party.

A tent for us was pitched on a little elevation above my favorite river, which winding and meandering over its pebbly bed, through little *bosquets* of fig trees, mulberry trees, and rose bushes, together with the gentle green swelling bank on the opposite side, the extremely fresh appearance of everything around us, altogether made me very *pathetic*, as Claude called it, while he tried, though very unsuccessfully, to conceal how very, very much he sympathized with me. But from our very long privation of such a prospect it appeared like enchantment, and affected us more than the many celebrated spots we had visited in either England, Switzerland, or Italy. We rambled about the valley and through the beautiful grove, gathering roses and wild flowers, till suddenly we came to a *wild rose bush*, for which everything else was abandoned, and we almost worshipped the solitary exile, as it seemed, from England.

In the afternoon *Mrs. Yusuf Aga* paid me a visit most carefully veiled, and she came creeping to my tent from under the wall of the tent, that no one might see her. She has learned this *scrupulosity* since her marriage to a Turk, I suppose, for she herself is an Arab, to whom it is not usual. As soon as I got rid of my visitor, we set off wandering about again, and were quite sorry when want of light and strength obliged us to retreat to our tent.

May 4.—The morning was bitterly cold and very trying to our poor Bagdadees. We set off at six, our road still continuing in the valley and along the banks of the Leilan water, which we occasionally crossed. The valley became narrower and grew more beautiful, the river at times hid by the thick wood through which it found its way. At times we were embosomed in trees, and often rode through coppices of mulberry, fig, pomegranate, poplar, willow, and other trees, and in the midst of quantities of flowers, so that altogether the scene had the appearance of the approach to a gentleman's country-house. After passing over green hills and crossing little rills almost at every step, we at length reached a plain, beyond which the mountains of Koordistan lay before us. On our right hand was a little ziyaret, or place of pilgrimage, called Kidder Elias, for a considerable space round which it is forbidden to hunt, and the game is under the special protection of the saint.

Soon after eleven we arrived at the end of our stage for this day at Tchemtchemal, an artificial mount of at least 200 feet high, situated in the midst of a fine extensive green plain, surrounded by the mountains of Koordistan, from Keuysanjiak to Seghirmeh, the high and still snowy summit of Pir Omar Goodroon towering above all the rest, just in front of us.

We scrambled up the mount, which is very steep and of

extent sufficient to have held another such camp as ours. It is a most remarkable object; and perhaps from hence some of the most ancient Persian kings, Cyrus or Xerxes, may have surveyed their armies in the plain below; while at the moment I am writing, a company of Indians, in the English uniform, with drums and fifes, are parading on the very same spot, and marching to a Scotch tune!

May 5.—As a relief to the mules, and to escape the shaking of the takht-revan over what is reckoned a troublesome road, I, nothing loth, mounted my horse about half-past five. We soon left the takht-revan, baggage, and kajavahs far behind us, and proceeded at a very pleasant pace, when not hindered by the heavy mud, which we met with every now and then in the deep ravines, formed by innumerable rills, coming in every direction over a thick red soil of almost a crimson colour.

We had a fine view of a part of the chain of Zagros to the north, covered with snow, called the Kandeel Dagh, and apparently very near us, though, in fact, ten days' journey off, in the country of the Bulbassis, on the frontiers of Persia. A little before nine we dismounted to wait for the baggage, and sat down by the side of a little brook. We waited here near an hour, and then mounted again much refreshed. After crossing some low rocky hills, we arrived through heavy mud at the pass of Derbend, a narrow opening through a high precipitous bare ridge of rock. This pass was fortified by the late Abdurrahman, the father to the present Pasha of Sulimania, who indeed fortified all the passes from Koordistan into Turkey and Persia, under a favorite idea of his of gradually freeing his dominions from subjection to either of these powers, which might be easily accomplished under a man of talent, who could succeed in uniting all his dependent chiefs and the members of his

clan. In the year 1808, the Pasha of Bagdad attacked this fort, but in vain, nor could he have succeeded in forcing his way into Koordistan, had not a Koordish chief, one of Abdurrahman's own family, who was hostile to his tribe and had taken refuge with the Turks, led the party over a pass considered unattackable, which thus came unexpectedly upon Abdurrahman's army, defeated it and obliged him to fly, and marched upon and took the capital. Abdurrahman, upon this most unexpected defeat, tore his beard, wept, and foamed at the mouth with rage and disappointment, exclaiming, "While I am doing my utmost to liberate my country, one of my own family betrays it!" He was carried off the field of battle by main force.

A little after eleven we arrived at the village of Derghezeen, lying at the entrance of a very fine plain, which is said to be infested with serpents, and as our tent was pitched in a field of long grass, this was very unpleasant news to us.

We remarked here another mound exactly similar to the one on which we encamped yesterday: it is called Gopara.

I was a good deal startled in the evening by the sight of a large centipede which ran rapidly over the carpet on which we were sitting. Had my bed been on the ground I should not have been able to rest after such a sight, but thanks to my comfortable little English travelling bedstead, and being very tired, I slept most soundly, and was disturbed neither by serpents nor centipedes.

May 6.—We were up by four o'clock, and again I had the enjoyment of riding my pleasant pony. We mounted at half-past five, a very heavy dew falling. We rode through very heavy mud over a fine plain, bounded on all sides by low bare hills, with here and there villages and patches of cultivation: the plain itself seems to consist chiefly of pasturage.

We have now fairly entered Koordistan, are surrounded

on all sides by its mountains, no other language than Koordish is understood. We already observe a very marked difference of countenance between the tribe and peasant Koords; the characteristic of the former being eyes far apart, nose aquiline, and forehead broad: their persons are large and well proportioned, and they have a very military air. The peasant has a most regular Grecian countenance, with a softer, more agreeable eye and expression than the tribesmen; but he is neither so tall, nor has he so open and independent a deportment as the other: this latter circumstance, however, may easily be accounted for—the one being lord, and the other the slave.

After winding round a range of hills that divide this plain, and riding for some time through a marshy bad road, we came close under the mountains and hills that lay between us and the plain of Sulimania, and continued our way along a fine dry road, crossing, at almost every quarter of an hour, rills of clear, cold, beautiful water. The peasants were ploughing up, in many directions, a stubborn, stony soil on the sides of the mountains, while the well-watered, fertile, and easily to be cultivated plain was left in the quiet possession of every kind of weed.

At eight we halted for a little while on the side of a hill. The ground before us was enamelled with every kind of flower, and there was an agreeable aromatic odour from quantities of wild sage, thyme, &c. Opposite to us, on the other side of the plain, in the hills, were some prettily-situated villages, with a few scattered trees, which were a pleasant sight to us, the great defect of these mountains and plains being their bareness of wood. Not far from us was the tent of the Master of the Horse of Abdulla Pasha, whose horses were scattered about grazing.

After refreshing poor Annai Khatoon with a cup of

coffee, we again mounted at forty-five minutes past eight, and went on very pleasantly till we approached a steep, stony hill, when the mud had become quite intolerable from the large stones in it, over and against which our poor horses were tumbling and sinking between, so as to make one doubt they ever could get through. But even this was better than the road we found ourselves in, upon ascending the hills; sometimes over rocks and large loose stones, sometimes thick heavy mud; at other times dried mud, which was as bad as the wet; now up, now down; altogether, I think, it was by far the worst and most fatiguing road that even I was ever over. I only kept myself on the back of my poor labouring horse by the help of his mane, of which I was obliged to keep fast hold.

On reaching the summit of this rocky ridge, we had a view of the extensive plain of Sulimania, green as an emerald, with the city visible at a great distance. On one hand was mount Goodroon; on the other, at a great distance, a range of very high snow-capped mountains. We reached our station at eleven, which was again near one of the artificial mounts so frequent in this part of the country. They evidently mark the progress of some celebrated sovereign of ancient times; perhaps Darius Hystaspes, perhaps Xerxes! I forget the direction of the road from Sardis to Susa, but I suppose it could not run so far up to the north, or one might say these remarkable mounts marked the royal road. There were vestiges of buildings visible on a hill on our left hand.

May 7.—We mounted at six, and directed our course across the plain. We passed over a succession of undulating country, which was divided into rich pastures and cultivation, but very bare of wood; and a fine northerly air rendered the ride most cool and delightful.

At half-past eight, after crossing the bed of a pretty broad

torrent, called Tchaktchak, with little water in it, and passing an old deserted village and a burying-ground shaded by four fine spreading oaks, we reached Sertchinar, and were extremely struck with the singularity and beauty of the spot which was to be our resting-place for the day. On the road-side upwards of fifty springs of water burst out of the earth at various distances from each other, and run murmuring over pebbles, here and there impeded by quantities of water-cresses and other aquatic plants, the banks being covered with low brushwood and wild mint. They all meet, and very soon become one considerable stream, which running through the plain, where it waters fields of rice, finds its way to the Diala, and may even be said to be one of the chief streams that form that most useful river. At the head of the sources of the river, on the side of a very picturesque little knoll or hill covered with a soft green down, we remarked two pretty mulberry trees, which are said to mark the site of a battle fought in very ancient times. The Koords pretend that Ali defeated the infidels on this spot, and that the mulberry trees sprang up miraculously when he planted his spear.

On reaching our encampment, I found that though we were only about an hour's journey from the town, we were, at the particular request of the Pasha, to remain here to-day. As the weather was fine, our place of encampment beautiful, and as we did not wish to interfere with any arrangements the Pasha might choose to make, his proposal was agreed to immediately. Two or three of his gentlemen were sent out by him, to be in attendance; several mules, loaded with provisions and fruit for ourselves and people, were speedily dispatched to our camp, and every mark of attention and hospitality displayed; altogether giving us a very favourable impression of at least the governor of Koordistan.

May 8.—As it did not yet suit our Carduchian friend's arrangements that we should enter the town to-day, we encamped in a garden belonging to the Pasha, which was almost one with the town. I was consequently obliged to give up riding, and to consent to be closely shut up in my takht-revan, as it was expected great crowds would assemble to stare at perhaps the first Europeans they had ever seen, at least in their own dress; and, above all, the sepoys would attract their attention, both from their love of everything connected with war, and the singularity of seeing soldiers who seemed at once Mahometans, Indians, and Europeans.

After a ride of an hour and a half over an undulating country, we arrived at our camp, which was pitched in a very beautiful situation, and the tent intended for me was just within the garden itself, which had no other defence round it than a row of thickly-planted poplar trees, which were, however, sufficiently apart to leave open the view of the surrounding hills, and the plain on which were scattered our white tents. On the one hand lay the town, on the other mount Goodroon, which from thence looked most picturesque, and immediately about us were poplars, very graceful willows, and other trees, with innumerable rose bushes of great height, and most profusely covered with sweeter smelling flowers than I ever remember to have seen. To complete the beauty of the scene, thousands of birds, and among the rest linnets and nightingales, were heard in every direction. The day was most lovely, and even in the sun the heat was not oppressive.

On alighting from the takht-revan, I was quite surprised to see no strangers whatever about our camp, which looked as quiet as ever our encampment on the banks of the Tigris had done. All the principal gentlemen of the town had been out to welcome Claude. They took their coffee, sat a

short time, without either staring or being any otherwise than perfectly well bred, and soon went away.

Strict orders have been issued by the Pasha, under pain of severe punishment, that nobody whatever is to approach our camp, except sent by him, which accounts for our present tranquillity; as otherwise, they say, and indeed I think very naturally, the whole town, men, women, and children, would have encircled us, from morning until night, to stare at such a perfectly new sight.

Soon after our arrival, a Tartar or courier from Constantinople arrived from Bagdad, whither he had gone, not knowing of our having set out on our journey. The packet of which he was the bearer contained the news of the King's death on the 29th of January, and that of the Duke of Kent on the 24th of the same month. With my usual mixed feelings of delight and dread did I tremblingly open the dispatches, but I was much disappointed in seeing none of the beloved hand-writing. Not a single line even from Mardocks, which made us very unhappy, until in a newspaper of the middle of February I saw my father's name, which re-assured us a little.

In consequence of the news of the King's death, the Tartar must be dispatched immediately, and we must deprive ourselves of the pleasure of reading the newspapers. We however glanced rapidly over the Evening Mails down to the 14th of February, which is rather a late date, considering that the packet had been to Bagdad, and from thence was sent here. The Tartar came in four days from Bagdad, by the Seghirmeh or short road. In a wild and almost unknown country did we read my dear father's admirable speeches on the Libel Act and the Stamp Act, which, if anything could stop the tyrannical career of our present un-English ministers, must have succeeded in carry-

ing these important points. The murder of the Duc de Berri seems to argue a dreadful state of feeling in France, and one more hostile than ever to the unfortunate Bourbon family, which, notwithstanding their crimes, it is impossible not to pity. What virtue can we expect from the continent of Europe, when even England, to whom all nations were accustomed to look up with so much reverence, has so degenerated and fallen.

By this packet we received an abundant supply of reading, Journaux des Savans, Journaux des Dames, Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and they are come at the very right time to refresh us after our long journey. I am afraid Xenophon and his Greeks, during their march through Carduchia, never tasted the luxury of receiving letters from Greece with the Morning Chronicles from Sparta and the last Athens Review!

In the midst of our interesting occupation, which had made us quite forget where we were and all about us, we were recalled to a recollection of our situation by a message from Mahmood Pasha, the present governor of Sulimania, informing Claude that at Ikindi, or after his afternoon prayer, he intended doing himself the pleasure of waiting upon him. Mr. Rich remonstrated, saying that he felt it would be more becoming him to pay his respects first to the Pasha, and that he had hoped to have had that honour to-morrow. It was all in vain; the Pasha returned for answer, that Mr. Rich and his family were his guests, that his coming was an honour to him and his country, and that he, the Pasha, could not possibly do less than come himself and bid his noble guest welcome to Koordistan.

Our preparations for receiving the Pasha were soon made; the people dressed themselves; the troops were paraded and drawn up to receive him. Accordingly, about half-past four we perceived him coming out of the town,

himself only on horseback, with upwards of two hundred very well-dressed men walking before and behind, and on each side of his horse. Those immediately about his person had all Cashmere shawls on their heads, and wore dresses of rich Guzerat gold stuffs.

The costume of the Koords is much the same as that of the Turks, with the exception of the shawl on the head, which in general is a gay-coloured silk, not unlike the Mackintosh tartan, with deep fringe hanging negligently down the back.

It is very picturesque, and far from being unbecoming, particularly in a great crowd. The Koords appear to be extremely fond of gaudy colours, such as bright red, crimson, and yellow, which added much to the barbaric beauty of the Pasha's procession. On the sepoys saluting the Pasha, he seemed to understand the honour paid him, and very gracefully returned the salute by laying his hand on his breast. The moment he perceived Mr. Rich coming out of the tent to meet him, he dismounted from his horse (upon which, by the bye, up leapt instantly his Imrahor, or Master of the Horse), and advancing on foot, he shook Mr. Rich by the hand most cordially. As well as I could perceive him at a considerable distance, peeping through the wall of my tent, he appeared a small, short man, without anything striking or distinguished in his appearance. He formed indeed a curious contrast to his attendants, all of whom were large, military-looking men. He is the eldest of five sons of the late celebrated Abdurrahman Pasha, and about thirty-five years of age, of a mild and humane disposition, but wanting firmness and decision, and very religious; consequently he is much under the guidance of the priests and Ulema, not the most enlightened body in any part of the Mahometan empire, and said to be here remarkably fanatic and gloomy. The Pasha is of too tender and gentle a

nature to be much under the influence of their fanaticism; but he is of a very melancholy disposition, and naturally inclined to take a gloomy view of things around him.

He remained some time with Mr. Rich, talking very freely and confidentially of the state of his own affairs, which are at present rather embarrassed both with Persia and Turkey. He said he hoped Mr. Rich might be of service to him; that it was true he had never had the pleasure of seeing him, but that his fame was great, and that he could not show too much honour to such a guest, with many more compliments in the same style. He has appointed the day after to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, for Mr. Rich's public entry into the town, evidently a *calculated lucky hour*, by the importance he attached to our party being very punctual. His second brother, Osman Bey, is to be the mehmandar.

In the evening we took a stroll through the beautiful garden, and the air was quite scented with the smell of roses. I feel very unwilling to leave this delightful spot for the town, which does not look at all inviting, and the houses are all said to be very wretched. I would fain remain where I am; but if the good-natured, kind Pasha shows any eagerness for our going into the town, I would rather sacrifice my own wishes and oblige him.

May 9.—We rose as usual about five, and wandered for some time about the garden, amidst the opening roses still wet with dew, enjoying the delicious freshness of the morning air. In the afternoon Abdulla Pasha, an uncle of the present Pasha's, and an old friend of Mr. Rich's, paid him a visit, and expressed great delight at seeing him in Koordistan.

May 10.—We breakfasted early, in order to be in readiness for Osman Bey, the Pasha's brother, and the person appointed by him to escort Mr. Rich into the town. He

arrived about eight o'clock, accompanied by all the muhsahibjees, or councillors, who are allowed to sit in the Pasha's presence, with a great crowd of followers on foot. The Bey is a year or two younger than the Pasha, but very different in his appearance, being remarkably handsome, of a very striking figure, and magnificently dressed. He is reported, however, not to be of so amiable a character as his brother; and from his great love of splendour and show, he is said often to have recourse to cruelty and injustice, in order to procure the means of gratifying his inclinations. He is brave and intelligent, anxious for information, and devoted to his country, the interest of which he evidently thinks it is rather to cultivate the friendship of Persia than that of Turkey. His patriotism gets the better even of religious prejudice, which would naturally make a Koord and a Persian bitter enemies, the former being all bigoted Sunnites, and the latter Shiites.

During his visit he was constantly looking at his watch, seemed very anxious, every now and then questioning his people about the time. At last he started up, and begged Mr. Rich to mount immediately, this being evidently the favourable moment calculated for this important event. The Koords, as may be supposed from their state of barbarism, are extremely superstitious: more so, I believe, if possible, even than the Turks.

The procession into town made a very fine show, from its numbers and variety of costumes. It was composed of Europeans, Koords in their gay attire, sepoys with their drums and fifes, Russian hussars with their bugle, the Turkish, Christian, and even Jewish officers and servants of the residency, and altogether presented a medley of barbaric magnificence and European regularity that was very striking, and not an uncharacteristic emblem of Europe and Asia. The party had been gone some time, and I was

beginning to watch for their return, when, to my surprise and disappointment, Aga Minas* arrived alone, with a request that I would go into town. I was the less prepared for this, as last night, from the very bad report that had been given us of the Carduchian habitations, we had determined upon remaining in tents in the garden, in spite of the violent squalls of wind, which we were told would in a moment lay our tents flat.

However, it appears the Pasha expressed so great a desire that we should reside in the town, and seemed to think that Mr. Rich's going back to his camp would be so unlucky an omen, that he at last yielded, thinking it better to put up with an inconvenience than to hurt the feelings and prejudices of those who are so kind and hospitable. We accordingly packed up, and I once more got into my takhtrevan, the scarlet cloth over which was closely fastened all round it, that no one might have even a glimpse of me; besides which, I was closely enveloped in my tcharshaf† and veil. But on an occasion like the present, when the haram of a great man was to pass publicly as it were through a crowd, not even the corner of her veil must be seen, so that I arrived at our place of abode, for house I can scarcely call it, without seeing anything of Sulimania or its inhabitants; the low continued sound of voices around me, as I passed through thus closely shut up, being the only evidence I had of my having entered a town.

But all my curiosity about the capital, the country, and its inhabitants, was converted into disgust at them all, on be-

* The chief dragoman, or interpreter, of the residency.

† A large sheet made of black and blue checked silk, round which is a border of gold; it completely envelopes the whole person, except the face, over which is worn a black horsehair veil, that very effectually hides the wearer, who, however, can see clearly through it.

holding the place destined for my residence. It required considerable courage to venture in through the mass of ruins it presented from the outer court; however, at last I made a desperate effort, and rushed in, followed by Mr. Bellino and the little Italian doctor, the former very judiciously endeavouring to puff the dust off, the other holding up his hands and shrugging up his shoulders most theatrically. But I must try if possible to describe it.

I first passed through the court of the Divan Khaneh, to come to the gate of the haram; on first entering the court of which I was agreeably surprised and struck with the beauty of my retreat, as before me was a very pretty assemblage of trees, shrubs, and grass (remember I am an inhabitant of a parched, burnt-up desert land), round which, in wild confusion, were rose-bushes of great height and variety of form, and quite dyed with the quantity of flowers in all stages; and here and there creeping in amongst them, and climbing the neighbouring tree, a fine vine was visible with its vivid green, and just beginning to flower. Graceful poplars, willows, and pomegranate trees completed the beauty of the scene, and made me forget to turn to the right, where stood the rustic dwelling of this little paradise; on entering which, alas! the whole enchantment vanished! I was reminded of the time I travelled in Italy with my dear father. As long as we were on the road, we were delighted with everything we saw; but the moment we entered an inn the scene was sadly changed. Thus it was with me now, on beholding this my destined place of abode for at least one month.

The building is composed of bricks baked in the sun, with a facing inside of mud and chopped straw. The roof, which is of mud, and flat, is supported on bamboos by large beams, laid crossways, that have no other painting or colouring than that produced by the smoke of the winter fires;

which, to judge by the colour of the ceilings of all the rooms, must be pretty considerable; and perhaps the smoke is encouraged by the Koords on the same principle as old Eleanor's, the Irish peasant in Ennui, because *it kept her warm!* The building is raised on a platform about three feet from the ground, upon which are disposed all the different apartments, there being no upper story. The entry is by a portico, in which the natives sleep during summer. On the right is a small room, and in front a long, dark dismal-looking gallery, with mud floor and walls, and in which was a very damp unwholesome smell. Here the delicate Koords pass the heat of the summer days, as being a cool retreat, though I should prefer being subjected to the burning heat of our Bagdad deserts.

On the left is a passage, with another door, into the court—a large room, with three windows looking into the garden, and the same number towards the gallery. It had once been whitewashed, but was now in such a state that a plain mud wall would have been infinitely preferable.

The passage is terminated by another similar room, within which are two smaller ones. Returning from these into the passage, and on the left hand, were one or two doors leading, I believe, into some kind of rooms, but I had not courage to explore them. Much rather would I have entered with Emily into the east turret.

The Haram and Divan Khaneh are one building, which stands on a slightly raised platform, the two divisions of the house being placed as it were back to back. One wall runs round the whole, leaving a very large inclosure; and on each side of the house, where the haram and divan khâneh join, are two walls running across the large inclosure, and dividing it into two courts. A gate in one of these walls is the only mode of communication between the two parts of the building.

With the divan khaneh I have nothing to do—never even being likely to see it. The disposition is very similar to that of the haram, and the condition of it, if possible, even worse. I pity Mr. Bellino and our people, who are to inhabit it.

We pitched upon the largest room, with plenty of windows, as the best sleeping place, intending to make the portico, or talar, our dining-room; but alas! the heat, smell, and little active animals soon obliged us at night to have our beds removed out into the dining-room: and even here we did not fare much better.

May 20.—There has been a long interval in my journal; but I have led so retired a life since we entered Sulimania, that I have had few things worth recording: besides which, I have had much writing, in the way of letters. I have only passed the gate of the haram once since I entered it, to go to the bath, which, in so miserable a town, I was surprised to find really very handsome. The entrance was not very promising: it was by so low a door that I was obliged to stoop to pass through it. The reason of making the door so very low is to secure the bath from being suddenly entered in times of confusion and war.

As soon as we had passed the door, we found ourselves in a very large vaulted room, well lighted from above, and a broad kind of platform, elevated three or four feet above the ground, running all round this spacious room, and spread with carpets, for the accommodation of dressing and undressing.

In the middle of the apartment was a large circular marble basin, full of clear water, bubbling up most agreeably through a small stone pipe. Beyond this public room was a more private one leading into the bath itself, which was clean, well heated, and abundantly supplied with clear hot and cold water.

June 6.—To-day I engaged to spend with the Pasha's haram, and, as in the east they expect their visiters literally to spend the day, I was ready by ten o'clock, when a woman from the palace came to show us the way to the haram. I was accompanied by Aga Minas's mother and my female servants, and closely veiled we sallied forth. We had not far to walk, as our house was very near the palace. The entrance to the haram was not through the outer court of the palace, but at the back of the haram itself, through so small a door that I was obliged to bend double to pass through.

The keywannis, or duennas, followed by a crowd of slave girls, met me here, and one taking me under each arm led me upstairs. At the door of a large room I was received by the Pasha's wife herself, followed by a sister of the Pasha's, and a great number of the ladies of the family. Coffee, sweetmeats, sherbet, and caleoons were served as usual, and I was overpowered with a profusion of compliments, which continued for some time on their part and mine, but as soon as this necessary piece of etiquette was over, they laid aside all ceremony, though perfectly well-bred, easy, and unaffected, and seemed only anxious to make me comfortable.

The Pasha's wife, Adela Khanum, is the daughter of Osman Pasha, and consequently nearly related to her husband; indeed, all the members of this very numerous family are thus doubly related, they never intermarrying with strangers. Adela Khanum is about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age, rather taller than the rest of the family; she is a brunette, with fine soft black eyes, a clear and fine complexion, and a very mild and touching expression of countenance. She looked as if she had known sorrow, there was a dignified resignation and a stillness in her deportment that quite affected me. She is the only

wife of the Pasha, and they are much attached to each other, and have been endeared to one another by their common sorrow for the death of many children by the small-pox. They have one little boy* only now living, and though tenderly attached to him, she seemed almost afraid to speak of him as likely to remain with them. Her eyes filled with tears as she most tenderly looked at him, and added, "he is not mine, but God's. His will be done." I spoke to her of having him vaccinated. She listened most attentively to what I told her of its virtues, and yet seemed fearful of indulging too sanguine expectations from it. She encouraged me to hope she would use, if I could procure, the vaccine matter; but concluded with saying, "God's will be done. He knows best—we must trust God." I purpose writing to Bagdad immediately for the matter to be sent up by an express courier, and I shall be made very happy if I succeed in preserving this precious little one from that cruel and fatal disorder, which destroys thousands in Koordistan. Perhaps too when they hear their Pasha has consented to try the vaccine on his only child, the common people may be induced to allow us to vaccinate their children. Our journey to Koordistan will then indeed not have been in vain, if we succeed in diminishing the violence of that scourge the small-pox, even if we should not be permitted to succeed in extinguishing the disease altogether.

My interesting hostess had passed many years in Bagdad during her childhood, and had then learnt Turkish, but from long want of practice, she now speaks it with difficulty;

* In this I was mistaken. There were two sons. The eldest was then a hostage at Kermanshah, but he probably had had the small-pox, and his mother no longer felt the same anxiety about him as she did for the little one, over whose head it was still threatening, and of whom therefore she alone spoke.

however she exerted herself to the utmost to converse with me, and I really spent a very agreeable day with her and her numerous company, and returned home about five in the afternoon, much less tired than I had expected.

II.

Information, collected from Natives, concerning Jezira and the adjacent Country. (Referred to at p. 105.)

There are two descriptions of Koords under the government of Jezira. The Bohtans, or Boattans, and the Ashitees. These latter are principally situated in the plains towards Nisibis and Tchillaga, and have of late, from the laxness of the government, become very powerful and unruly.

Tchemishkezek—A Koordish principality, twelve hours from Argana, near the lake in Mount Taurus, called Ghiolbashi.

Tchernek—Another Koordish principality, eight hours from Argana, under Mount Taurus.

The Bayazid family are of the Sibki tribe.

Finik is a castle four hours above Jezira, on the east bank of the Tigris*.

Is—Four hours east of the Tigris and Finik.

Beshiro—belongs to Diarbekir, six hours on the Rodwan road, where are the Barrazee Koords.

Zerki is between Bitlis, Sert, and Moosh. A district, the capital of which is Derzeni, four hours from Sert.

The Rozheki is a great tribe about Betlis.

One stage from Sillugh is a great Christian place of pilgrimage called Tchengedeh, or Tchengelli. Here is the convent of Surp Karabied, or St. John the Baptist. It is

* Ammianus, lib. xx., pp. 15, 18, 26, mentions Bezabde and *Phœnica*.

six hours from Moosh, near the Meagha Kiat, a river which falls into the Euphrates. This convent is the most celebrated place of pilgrimage among the Armenians after Etchmiazin. They first go to Kaiseria, where is a famous convent supposed to possess the head of St. John, and thence they come to Tchengedeh, after which they proceed on to Etchmiazin. There are several convents about Tchengedeh. Of the principal one they tell many superstitious stories. The saint there is celebrated for teaching arts and trades—all except music—and he will allow of no women to come near him for the sake of Herodias. There is a deep well there, from which sounds are heard, proceeding, as the Armenians pretend, from imprisoned demons, and *poor* (light or glory) is said frequently to be seen about that spot, especially after a little rain. This may therefore be a very natural appearance.

Belghean, four hours from Finik, east of the Tigris.

Arzen, now vulgarly called Herzin, a place between Diarbekir and Sert, but near the mountains.

Batman is a ruined bridge over the Sert river, three hours above the town. There are ruins of a town there, now uninhabited. Batman Tchai is the Sert river, *or true Tigris.*

There is said to be the remains of a bridge over the Tigris at Jezira.

Hassan, a mountain forming part of Taurus and Zagros, between Diarbekir, Palo, and Moosh. It is no thoroughfare, and the people are entirely independent. The Koords who inhabit all that part are called Zaza, which seems to be a nickname, and means stuttering, mouthing, or speaking unintelligibly.

From Rodwan to Hazo is eight hours. The family of Hazo is very ancient and much respected.

Kufra, a town, six hours from Sert, on the Bitlis road, in the district of Shirwan. The castle of Shirwan is only an hour from Kufra. The Bey is powerful and independent, and is a younger branch of the Hassan Keif family, and consequently is *an Eyubite or descendant of Saladin.* There is a gold mine in Shirwan.

Iroon adjoins Se-gueiza and Tchukoor, three hours from Kufra. Chestnuts are brought to Bagdad from these places.

From Sert to Shirwan is six hours; to Maden six; to Heizan six.

Kerni is two hours from Heizan, and four or five hours from Shirwan. It is a very wild and mountainous district.

Among the Koords hereabouts are the Ambarlu and Tchigeni tribes, one chief of whom pretends to be of Sassanian origin.

Koor Keat is a river which you pass eight hours from Toprak Kalaa, on the road from Toprak Kalaa to Bayazid. It comes from the Kaghzman mountains near Kars, and falls into the Euphrates. It is frequently swollen to a great size, but even when there is but little water in it, the passage is dangerous, as it is full of large holes, and the current is extremely rapid. On this account guides are always necessary.

The Avi Masi, or fish river, said to be as big as the Zab, runs between Shoshik and Khamoor. It rises near Arjisrh on the lake Van, and falls into the Euphrates near Malazkerd. It abounds with fine trout.

Khamoor is a place which gives name to a district of Bayazid, and is half way between Bayazid and Moosh. Shooshik is eight hours from Khamoor.

No rivers enter the lake Van, which seems the highest part of the plateau of Armenia.

There are great ruins at Akhlat, which is now almost

deserted. The same at Aljawaz, part of which has been carried away by the lake, on the shores of which are still the remains of a town as large as Bagdad. Binghieul is a lake, with a rock in the centre, totally inaccessible. The Arras or Araxes issues from it.

Four hours from Bayazid runs a subterranean river, which discharges itself into the Araxes. It is visible at no part of its course, but the noise of rushing waters is every where audible, and the whirlpool and discoloured state of the waters at the place of its junction is quite marked. Fruitless attempts have been made to dig into its bed, which appears to be at a great depth.

On the rock on which the castle of Bayazid is built are sculptures representing three men with staves in their hands and books under their arms.

The castle of Miks, where the eastern Tigris rises, is 11 hours beyond Julamerk. It bursts at once from a cavern in the mountain, and is in its earliest course a much more considerable river than the Diarbekir branch. It passes by Sert, where it is a difficult ford even at its lowest. It is joined by the Diarbekir river at Tela Navrua, between Diarbekir and Jezira. The road to Miks from Sert is as follows :—

Sert to	Hours.
Kormas, a castle belonging to the Shirwan Bey	4
Dergen	4
Berwaree	6
This is a tribe belonging to Jezira. It is large and respectable. All the wax and honey of these parts come from among this tribe.	
Miks	6
	20

Miks now belongs to Hakkari, and is governed by a relation of Mustafa Khan's of Julamerk.

From Sert to Diarbekir is 34 hours, by the following places :—	Hours.
Tela Navrua	5
Rodwan*	5
Rajir Kharab	4
Sinagari	6
A wandering Koordish tribe.	
Belaidun	8
Diarbekir	6
	34

The Diarbekir branch of the Tigris passes by Rodwan and Hassan Keif, before it joins the proper Tigris. The Mahallemi Koords live in caverns hereabouts, cut in the cliffs of the Tigris. There is a prodigious number of these caves, which are said to be very ancient, and cut into different apartments.

The Khabour, which passes through Zakho, rises in the mountains of Amadia, on this side of the town of Amadia, and has four sources. Macdonald Kinneir unaccountably confounds it with the Sert river. The Pishabour is the name of the united streams of the Heizel and Khabour. The Heizel is one hour farther on between Zakho and Solopia. They unite below Zakho. They also receive the Shakh river†.

Route from Mousul to Jezira :—	Hours.
Telescof	6
Nemir	6
A Yezid village, where a Yezid chief resides.	—
Carried over .	12

* Rodwan is four hours from Hassan Keif, on the north bank of the Tigris or Diarbekir river. Rodwan is on the Diarbekir, and Hassan Keif on the Mardin side of the river.

† There is another river of this name near Miks, in the territory of Hakkari.

	Hours.
Brought over	12
Then ford the Heizel.	
Telkeshan	6
Zakho	3
Solopia	5
In the district in which is Mount Judi.	
Jezira	5
	31

From Jezira to Sert.

Finik	4
A very ancient and celebrated castle, mentioned in the Tarikh Al Akrad.	
Tchevlik	8
Tela Navrua	3
Junction of the two branches of the Tigris.	
Sert	5
	20

Sert to Bitlis.

Se-guiez, or the three Walnut Trees	6
Bitlis	6
	12

From Bitlis to Erzeroom.

Tchakur	6
Khas Keuy	8
Tchevirmeh	3
Sullugh	5
A wooden bridge over the Euphrates.	
Tchargor	5
Aroossch	7
To the Aras	8
Delli Baba	5
Kizzeljeh	4
Over a mountain to	
Erzeroom	5
	56

III.

A Series of the Princes of the Bebbeh Family from Suliman Baba or Bebbeh, down to the present Pasha of Sulimania.— (Referred to at p. 302, Vol. i.)

		A. H.	Time reigned. Yrs.	Months.
1	Suliman Bey Ghazi (*i. e.* Baba Suliman), son of Mir Suliman, began to reign .	1088	4	
2	Temir Khan Beg	1110	4	
3	Bekir Beg	1115	13	
	There was now an interregnum, during which Koordistan was governed by Turkish Mussellims . . .	1128	4	
4	After four years, Khana Pasha reigned three years in Koordistan, and seven years in Sinna, which he conquered, and built a mosque there, which was pulled down a year or two ago by Aman ullah Khan .	1132	3	
5	Nawaub Khaled Pasha, son of Bekir Beg.	1135	4	
6	Ferhad Pasha	1139	2	
7	Khaled Pasha again	1141	15	
8	Nuwaub Selim Pasha . . .	1156	4	
9	Nuwaub Suliman Pasha . . .	1160	3	
10	Selim Pasha again	1163	14	
11	Suliman Pasha again, by whose machinations Selim had been strangled at Bagdad. Suliman built the mosque and bath at Zengabad. In his time Zengabad Mendilli, and Bedira Jessan, formed part of Koordistan	1164	10	
	The Great Plague happened in his time	1171		
12	Mahommed Pasha, son of Khana Pasha. He was killed in battle by Suliman Pasha	1174		5
13	Suliman Pasha again . . .	1175	1	

		A. H.	Time reigned. Yrs.	Months.
14	Ahmed Pasha, son of Khaled Pasha .	1176	1	
15	Suliman Pasha again . . .	1177		2
16	Ahmed Pasha again . . .	1177		5
17	Suliman Pasha again. Assassinated by Fakih Ibrahim . . .	1177	1	
18	Mahommed Pasha, son of Khaled Pasha, and father of Khaled Bey . .	1178	8	
19	Ahmed Pasha again . . . N. B.—He was the father of Ibrahim Pasha and the present Khaled Pasha, and elder brother of Mahommed Pasha.	1186	1	3
20	Mahommed Pasha took Ahmed Pasha prisoner * at Ahmed Kulwan, and reigned again. A slight plague in his time .	1187	2	
21	Ahmed Pasha again defeated Mahommed Pasha, who was assisted by Ali Murad Khan, at Surseer and Tchuarta. Ali Murad Khan was taken prisoner .	1189	1	3
22	Mahommed Pasha came again from Persia, assisted by Shefi Khan, the Zend general, and was again driven out . .	1190		9
23	He came again with Mahommed Ali Serdar. Battle between Mahommed Pasha and Khosru, Khan of Sinna, near Zeribar, in which the latter was totally defeated	1191	1	
24	Kelb Ali Khan, a Zend general, came to the assistance of Ahmed Pasha, and re-seated him on the throne. Mahommed Pasha fled to Keuy Sanjiak . . .	1191		

* Ahmed Pasha, after having been taken prisoner by his brother Mahommed Pasha, made his escape, and returned with the aid of Turkish forces, and reigned six months. Mahommed Pasha, in his turn, fled to Persia, and returned with Ali Murad Khan. They were defeated at Surseer.

		A. H.	Time reigned. Yrs.	Months.
25	Mahommed Pasha returned with Temir, Pasha of Keuy Sanjiak. They fought with Ahmed Pasha below Gilleh Zerdeh. The battle was desperate. They were more than an hour hand to hand with sabres and daggers, and the slaughter was very great. Temir Pasha was killed, and Mahommed Pasha taken prisoner. His eyes were put out immediately by his brother Ahmed Pasha, who himself died a natural death seventeen days afterwards, in the Karadagh, on his return to Karatcholan . . .	1192		
26	Nuwaub Mahommed Pasha, father of Abdurrahman Pasha. He was killed in battle at Yeltimar, between Sakiz and Saouk Boulak, by Boodakh Khan, the Prince of Saouk Boulak, against whom he was fighting . . .	1193	5	
27	Nuwaub Ibrahim Pasha, the founder of Sulimania	1198	3	
	He seized Hassan Khan Bey and Hussein Bey, two princes of his own family, and sent them prisoners to Bagdad, where they were first banished to Hilla, and then strangled .	1200		
28	Osman Pasha, the elder brother of Abdurrahman Pasha . . .	1201	2	
29	Ibrahim Pasha again . .	1203	1	
30	Nuwaub Abdurrahman Pasha . .	1204	8	
31	Ibrahim Pasha again . . .	1212	5	
	What is called the Little Plague happened.			

	A. H.	Time reigned. Yrs.	Months.
32 Abdurrahman Pasha again . .	1217	2	
Ibrahim Pasha died at Mousul during Ali Pasha's, of Bagdad, expedition to Sinjar. Ali Pasha had deposed him. His death happened . .	1217		
Abdurrahman Pasha revolted from Ali Pasha, stabbed Mahommed Pasha of Keuy Sanjiak with his own hand, on his retreat from Bagdad, and immediately after defeated Khaled Pasha at Altoon Kiupri. The Pasha of Bagdad came in person, and established Khaled Pasha at Sulimania. Abdurrahman Pasha fled to Persia . .	1218		
33 Khaled Pasha	1219	1	
34 Adurrahman Pasha returned from Persia, defeated the auxiliary Turks and Koords at Zeribar, and took Suliman Kiahya of Bagdad prisoner . . .	1221		
35 Abdurrahman Pasha was again forced to fly from Sulimania; and the Turks under Suliman Kiahya, now become Pasha of Bagdad, placed on the throne Suliman Pasha, son of Ibrahim Pasha * .	1223		3
36 Abdurrahman Pasha again made himself master of Koordistan. The Shahzadeh of Kermanshah leagued against him with the Turks, and forced him to retreat to Keuy Sanjiak, which was besieged by the Persians, who raised the siege after it had lasted one month and four days.			

* This was the year (1808) in which I came to Bagdad.

		A. H.	Time reigned.
	This was in 1224. Abdurrahman Pasha returned to Sulimania . .	1226	2 years
	Death of Abdurrahman Pasha .	1228	
37	Nuwaub Mahmood Pasha, the eldest son of Abdurrahman Pasha, succeeded his father, and is the present prince .	1228	

Dates and Facts connected with the History of Koordistan.

(Referred to in p. 302, Vol. I.)

Suliman Bey, that is, Baba Suliman, defeated by the united forces of Turkey and Persia, and forced to fly from Koordistan. He then went to Constantinople . . .	1110
Bekir Beg defeated . . .	1120
The siege of Bagdad . .	1130
Hamadan taken by the Turks . .	1135
Khana Pasha of Koordistan killed .	1145
Topal Osman Pasha's battle . .	1144
Siege of Mousul . . .	1154
Khaled, Pasha of Koordistan, fled to Orfa	1155
He died there . . .	1156
Yeghan Pasha, the Turkish General, defeated	1156
Nadir Shah killed . . .	1158
Death of Adel Shah . .	1161
Death of Ibrahim Shah . .	1162
Suliman, Pasha of Bagdad, began to reign	1164
Osman, Pasha of Keuy Sanjiak, put to death by Suliman, Pasha of Bagdad .	1164

	A. H. Time reigned.
Selim, Pasha of Karatcholan, put to death at Bagdad . . .	1171
The great plague . . .	1171
Mahommed Pasha, the Bebbeh, defeated on the Nareen by the Pasha of Bagdad	1176
Suliman Pasha assassinated . .	1178
Second Plague . . .	1187
Suliman, Pasha of Bagdad, killed .	1171
Ahmed Pasha taken prisoner at Ahmed Kulwan . . .	1187
Ali Mourad Khan taken prisoner by Ahmed Pasha . . .	1188
Shefi Khan came to the assistance of Mahommed Pasha . .	1188
Kelb Ali Khan came—Defeat of Khosroo Khan by Mahommed Pasha .	1191
Great earthquake at Tabreez . .	1194
Mahommed and Ahmed Pashas went to Kerkook . . .	1191
Mahommed Pasha defeated by Ahmed Pasha	1191
Death of Ahmed Pasha . .	1192
Death of Kerim Khan, King of Persia .	1192
Death of Abdulla Pasha of Zehav .	1193
Mahmood Pasha, the grandfather of the present Pasha, began to reign .	1192
Reza Kouli Khan killed .	1197
Mahommed Pasha, who had been banished, fled to Persia. He returned afterwards, and was, with Omar Pasha, another chief, put to death by Mahmood Pasha under the great tree at Karatcholan .	1194
Ibrahim Pasha began his reign .	1197

	A. H.	Time reigned.
Second building of Sulimania . .	1199	
Mahmood Pasha killed . .	1198	
Osman Pasha began to reign . .	1201	
Death of Osman Pasha . .	1203	
Earthquake at Sulimania . .	1217	
Suliman, Pasha of Bagdad, died, and was succeeded by Ali Pasha . .	1217	
Ibrahim Pasha died . . .	1218	
Feth Ali Shah, the present King of Persia, began to reign . .	1211	
Abdurrahman Pasha revolted from Ali Pasha — killed Mahmood Pasha of Keuy Sanjiak, and defeated Khaled Pasha at Altoon Kiupri—Ali Pasha immediately marched from Bagdad, and defeated Abdurrahman Pasha at Derbent	1220	
Khaled Pasha came to Sulimania and reigned . . .		1 year
Second affair of Derbent under little Suliman Pasha of Bagdad * . .	1223	
Battle of Kifri . . .	1226	
Suliman, Pasha of Bagdad, killed .	1225	
Abdurrahman Pasha finally returned to Sulimania . . .	1226	

* This year, 1808, I came to Bagdad.

IV.

ROUTES PROCURED AT DIFFERENT PLACES.

AT AHMED KULWAN.

From Ahmed Kulwan, in the district of Kizzeljee, to Zehav.

	Hours.	Observations.
Surajoo, in Shehrizoor, called in Koordish, Sharazoor	6½	Hilly — no high mountains to cross.
Banikhilan . . .	6½	The first part of the road in the plain of Shehrizoor. On approaching Banikhilan, you cross a mountain, and arrive at Banikhilan, where the Diala receives several streams from Koordistan.
Zehav	10	The plain of Bajilan.
	23	

Ahmed Kulwan to Kermanshah, by the Shamian road.

N.B. This road is the shortest and most level of all those which lead from Koordistan to Kermanshah. It runs almost the whole way through a defile between two mountains.

	Hours.	Observations.
Saoulaowa . . .	6	In the territory of Sinna, a valley all the way.
Palingan	5	Continuation of the valley.
Kermanshah . . .	10	Level.
	21	

This road is described by the Koords as being the most convenient for the passage of tribes, with their families, baggage, flocks, &c.

ROUTES COLLECTED AT SINNA.

SINNA TO HAMADAN.

	Farsakhs.
Dehkelan	6
Korweh	6
Hamakesi	6
Hamadan	6
	24

TO KERMANSHAH.

Koruk	5
Kamyareh	5
Kermanshah	7
	17

TO TABREEZ.

Baklabad	6
Kilekebood	6
Sakiz	9
Gul Tepeh	6
Meiandoav	8
Lukler	9
Ak Tepeh	11
Tabreez	12
	67

TO MARAGHA.

Haladereh	5
Diwanvereh	5
Kaplan To	5
Sefakhaneh	4
Saeen Kalaa	7
Deezeh	6
Maragha	4
	36

ROUTE FROM SINNA TO HAMADAN, CORRECTED FROM MR. BELINO'S JOURNAL.

	Called.	Really.
Dekkilan .	. 7 farsakhs	9 hours 55 minutes
Koourba .	. 5 —	7 — 15 —
Hamakesi .	. 5 —	6 — 20 —
Hamadan .	. 5 —	7 — 30 —
	22 farsakhs	31 hours 0 minutes.

V.

Particulars relating to the Topography of Koordistan; collected from the best authorities at Sulimania, and carefully compared with the accounts of various Persons.

From Ahmed Kulwan to Nilpareez, through a pass in the Tariler, 3 hours.

Tchiftan, over hills, 2 hours.

Khulambar, the capital of Shehrizoor, 8 hours; level road.

Khulambar is at the foot of the Avroman mountains.

Khulambar to Khuajall, 2 hours. In a valley in the Avroman mountains.

From Khulambar in a westerly direction, to Hallebjee, 2 hours; under the mountains also; separated from Juanroo by the Diala, there called the Sirwan water; and from Banikhilan, the pass of the Diala, by the mountain or line which forms the W. boundary of the plain of Sulimania.

The Diala separates Avroman from Shahoo. The Avroman mountains are nevertheless esteemed a part of the true Shahoo.

ITINERARIES OF SHEHRIZOOR.

Sulimania to		
Arbet . .	4 hours.	Great ruins here. The ruin
Girezeh . .	4 —	called Kiz Kalaasi is be-
Hassar . .	2 —	tween Girezeh and Arbet.
Khulambar .	2 —	Destanzoor and Yareen Tepeh are near it.
	12 hours from Sulimania to Khulambar, the capital of Shehrizoor.	

Khulambar is close by the Mount Azmir or Giozeh.

The Khulambar river joins the Tanjeroo, and both together fall into the Diala.

Sulimania to Banikhilan.

Sulimania to Derbent Fakhera .	5 hours, crossing the Tanjeroo.	
Gura Kalau, where there are ruins .	4 —	
Banikhilan	3 —	
	12 hours.	

Hallebjee to Banikhilan, five hours, through a valley or pass, called Derbent i Khan.

Hallebjee to Derbent i Fakhera, six or seven hours.

From Banikhilan two roads branch off: one to Zehav; another to Zengabad, through Dizziairesh, Khani Tchapal, Zengabad, along the banks of the Diala.

Banikhilan to Zehav.

Herskel	1 hour.
Hoorun	2 —
Serkalaa	4 —
Zehav	3 —
	10 hours.

Zehav to Kermanshah.

Zehav to Pisheou . . .	3 hours.
Sooradzæ	3 —
Kerrind	3 —

Thence to Kermanshah.

From Sulimania to Kermanshah, by Hallebjee.

	Hours.	
Hallebjee to Khana Shoor . .	7 or 8	Hallebjee is near a mountain which is a branch of Shahoo; and is separated from Juanroo by the Diala, which runs between the Hallebjee hills and Juanroo. There is a passage over the Diala to Juanroo, by a rope extended from cliff to cliff.
Deshteh-oor . .	3 or 4	
Deshteh-leil .	3	
Deshteh-Mordeh .	2	
Zimkan . .	3	

Thence, through a pass or valley, to the plain of Mahidesht. From Zimkan to Kermanshah, fourteen hours.

This road is called the middle road. Zehav is the lower road; and the upper road is as follows, through Avroman and Juanroo:—

Khuajaee to Tevileh . . .	2 hours.
Nowsood	1½ —
Disheh	6 —
Pawah	2½ —
Kalai Juanroo . . .	8 or 9
Then by Mahidesht to Kermanshah .	12 —

There is yet another road to Kermanshah. It turns off from the lower road, two hours and a half this side of Zehav, to Deshteh Mordeh, through Bizmirava.

Bizmirava is the yailak, or summer quarters of Zehav.

Bizmirava is in Shahoo; after it comes Rezhau, then the Tauk. All are in Shahoo or Zagros.

Shahoo is that part of Zagros that divides the Pashalik of Karatcholan, in Turkish Koordistan, from Persian Koordistan.

There is another road still to Kermanshah, through Kizzeljee to Saoulawa, called the Shamian road, mentioned in No. 2 of the roads procured at Kizzeljee.

The Karadagh, after passing Derbent, goes on to form the Khalkhalan mountains at Keuy Sanjiak.

The passes of Zagros between *Bebbeh* Koordistan and Persia:—

1. Garran; the road to Sinna. This is the southernmost of the passes in this list.
2. Soorkeoul. The road to Soorkeoul branches off the Garran road, at the bridge of Asrabad.
3. Kelliba.
4. Naoukhuan.
5. Peachau. From Beestan to Banna.
6. Kelli Balin. From Banna to Bayandereh.
7. Kelli Khan.

Thence the Zagros winds on E. of Serdesht, and W. of Saook Boulak, and then to Sikeneh.

VI.

SPECIMENS OF THE KOORDISH LANGUAGE,

IN VARIOUS DIALECTS.

	Koordistan Proper.	Bulbassi.	Loristan.	Felleh.
Father	Bab	Bab, Peder	Baouk	
Father-in-Law	Khazoo		Khasseer	
Mother	Dayik, Daya	Dak	Dalik	Dayeh
Paternal Uncle	Maam		Mummoo	Ammoo
Maternal ditto	Khal		Khaloo	Tata
Son	Kur	Kur	Rula	
Daughter, Girl	Kitch	Kitch	Dyet, or date	
Brother		Bera		
Sister	Khoshk	Khushk	Khoeeshk	Khowar
Husband		Merd	Shu	
Woman, Wife	Zhin	Zhin		Zoona
Boy	Kur	Kur	Rula	
Paternal Aunt	Poor		Mimek	Ketchi
Maternal ditto	Poor			Hala
Child		Mindal	Mina	
Man		Piaou		
People		Khalk		
Head		Ser		
Face		Tchurutchav		
That is to say, face and eyes, an idiom.				
Face		Tchur		
Eyes	Tchaoo	Tchav	Tcheoo	
Nose		Kuppoo		
Ear	Ghiu	Gheh		
Forehead		Natchawa		
Hair	Mi	Jakatani		
Mouth		Zar		
Teeth		Didan		
Tongue	Zuwan	Ziman		
Beard		Rudain		
Whiskers		Simeir		

	Koordistan Proper.	Bulbassi.	Loristan.	Feileh.
Breast	Seng		Sineg	
Neck		Gerdan, Ugtoo		
Shoulders	Shan	Shan		
Back		Pisht		
Arm	Bask			
Hand	Des	Dest	Des	
Fingers		Angoost		
Nails		Nanyok		
Foot, Leg	Peo	Peh	Pa	
Knees	Hashnoo	Eshnoo		
Thighs		Ran		
Skin	Piest	Peest		
Flesh		Ghosht		
Bone	Jesk, Esk	Estik	Sokang	
Blood	Khiun	Khoon		
Heart		Serdul		
Navel	Nauk	Naouk	Naock	
Belly	Zek	Zug		
Milk		Sheer		
Sleep	Khow	Nooslia		
To sleep	Nusten			
To awake, or to rouse		Halista		
Pain	Esh	Derd	Zhan	
Death	Murdoo	Mird		
Life	Zeendoo			
Spirit	Noos			
Cold	Feanik, Zokkom	Sermaya		
Heat		Germaya		
Sun	Hetaoo	Hatava	Khor	
Moon	Mang	Mahang, Maang		
Star	Asterra	Astefra	Asara	
Rain	Barish	Baran	Waran	
Lightning		Burusuk, Buruska		
Air		Ba		
Snow	Befer	Bufir	Yekh	
Ice	Soher	Bestelek		
Day	Roozh	Ruzh		
Night	Shev	Show		

	Koordistan Proper.	Bulbassi.	Lodstan.	Feileh.
Morning	Sebeini			
Evening	Khorrava	Ewareh		
Summer		Hawin		
Spring		Buhar		
Autumn		Paiz		
Winter		Zistan		
Year		Sal		
Earth	Hhard	Khol		
Water (From the Arabic)		Aw		
River		Rubar		
A Fountain	Kani		Kehni	
Sand		Rummil		
Clay		Kor		
Wood	Dar		Tcheleg	Heimeh
Mountain	Kew	Tchia	Kiu	
Ascent, height, or cape of a mountain	Shakh		Kowr	Keuwr
Fire	Aghir	Aghir	Aghir	Teak
Stone	Berd	Bird	Kutchuk	
Gold	Altun	Zer	Tela	
Silver	Zioo	Ziuv	Nokreh	
Copper		Pakur		
Iron		Asin		
Salt	Khu	Khueh	Nimek	
Grass		Ghiyah		
Tree		Dar		
Word		Kussa		
Strength		Kawat		
Storm	Tufan	Furtuna		
Wind, or air	Baia	Wa		
A great wind		Baiakigawra		
Hail	Terz		Teghir	
Sea		Bahra		
Mount		Ghird		
Valley	Nesheoo	Dereh	Khir	
Plain, or Desert	Desht	Tchola	Sahhra	
Forest	Besheh	Orman	Zor	
A Hare	Kervesh	Kerishk	Kergheh	
A Hog		Beraz		
A Fox		Riwi		

	Koordistan Proper.	Bulbassi.	Loristan.	Feileh.
A Weasel	. .	Dullek		
Eggs	Heleka	. . .	Khaia, or Kha	Khaia
A Fowl	Mershk	. . .	Mamir	
Mare	Ma-iu	. . .	Mohan	
Colt	Juwanoo	. . .	Kurreh	
Cock	Kelleybab	. . .	Kelleyshir	
Hornet, or Bee	Heng	. . .	Seiramuz	
Sheep	Mer	. . .	Pes	
Lamb	Barkh	. . .	Kaour	
Goat	Biziu, Siawun	. . .	Biz	
Camel	Wushter	. . .	Ushter	
Flea	Ketch	. . .	Keik	
Francolin	Por	. . .	Durraj	
Pigeon	Kotir	. . .	Kemootir	
Hawk	Sakkar	. . .	Tcherkh	
Bear	Woortch	. . .	Khers	
Lion	Sheir			
Antelope	Ask	. . .	Asi	
Fish	Masi	. . .	Musi	
Partridge	Keow			
Black	Resh	. . .	Sieh	
White	Spi	. . .	Tchermuk	
Red	Soor	. . .	Suer	
Yellow	Zerd			
Blue	Kew	. . .	Shin	
Green	Sowz, Tchinai			
I am come	Hatem			
I will come	Demoua	. . .	Tiam	
Go	Burroo	. . .	Betchoo	
Come	Wurra	. . .	Boo	Buja
Speak, or say	Bilea	. . .	Beesh	
I will speak	Deleam	. . .	Ishim	
I will bring	Deanim	. . .	Tigarim	
Now	{Henooka, Howeistan}	. . .	Irenga	
Take	Biba	. . .	Boua	
Why	Botchi	. . .	Erratcha	
When	Kenghi	. . .	Kei	
Welcome	Bekheirhateh	. . .	Khoshhateh	
I will go	Derrom	. . .	Detchim	

	Koordistan Proper.	Bulbassi.	Loristan.	Feileh.
I won't go	Narrom	. . .	Neitchim	
Lentils	Neeshk	. . .	Addes	
A vest	Kowa	. . .	Kava	
Garden	Rex	. . .	Bakh	
Grapes	Terea	. . .	Engheer	
Water Melon	Shooti	. . .	Shami	
Melon	Kalak	. . .	Khablizeh	
Shoes	Sole	. . .	Tchemeesh	
Sword	Shir	. . .	Sheer	
Shield	Metal	. . .	Khalkhan	
Spear	Rum	. . .	Nei	
Bow	Kawan	. . .	Kawan	
Arrow	Teer			
Cotton	Loka	. . .	Pemmek	
Felt	Libad	. . .	Neoo	
House	Khanoo, Yana	. . .	Mal	
Taste	Tiem	. . .	Taon	
Sight	Dighin			
Hearing	Beestin	. . .	Axhnaftin	
Smell	Bien	. . .	Bu	
Feeling	Dusta Pelmas			
Sound, or Voice	Dank			

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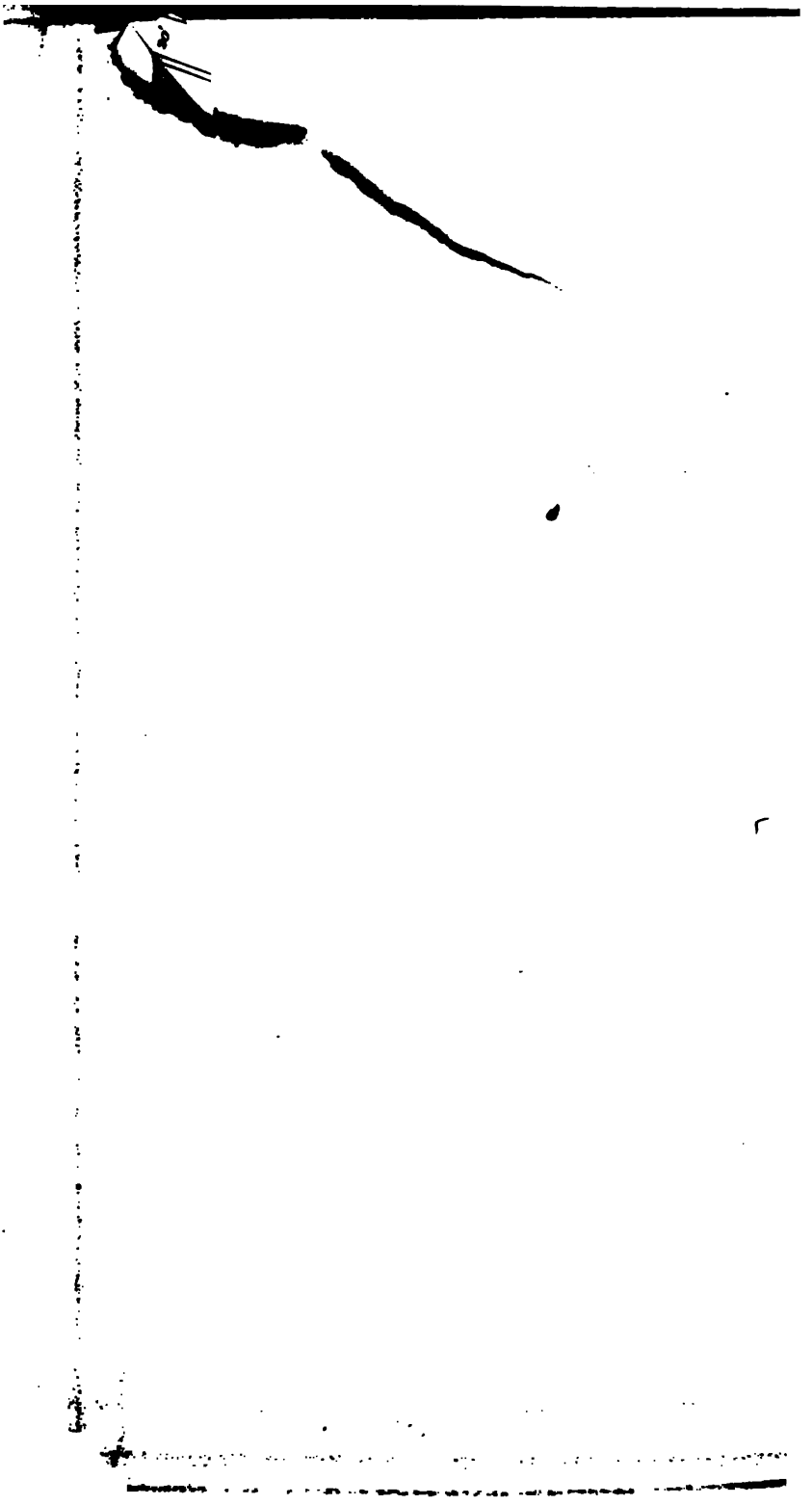

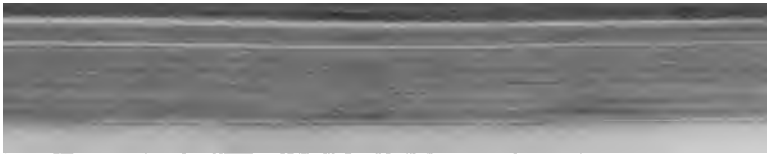

NARRATIVE

OF A

RESIDENCE IN KOORDISTAN,

AND ON THE

SITE OF ANCIENT NINEVEH;

WITH JOURNAL OF

A VOYAGE DOWN THE TIGRIS TO BAGDAD

AND AN ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO

SHIRAUZ AND PERSEPOLIS.

BY THE LATE

CLAUDIUS JAMES RICH, ESQRE

THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RESIDENT AT BAGDAD,

Author of "An Account of Ancient Babylon."

EDITED BY HIS WIDOW.

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October 21.—We bade farewell with unfeigned sorrow to many friends, and mounting our horses at about half-past six in the morning, we quitted the garden of our estimable and kind friend the Pasha, and proceeded over an undulating country across the plain of Sulimania, passing on our left hand the large village of Ak Boolak. The whole plain is higher on this than on the western side, and slopes down more than half way to the opposite hills. At about a mile and a half from Sulimania we reached the Tanjeroo or Sertchinar river, which we had passed on our journey from Bagdad, and which was now a mere brook, though its bed is not less than a hundred yards over. On its right bank was the

village of Eliaseh. After passing the large village of Bavun Mirdeh, or Father-is-dead, at twenty-five minutes past nine we came to that of Kelespee or Teperesh, which is situated a little below the mount near which we encamped on our road to Sulimania from Bagdad. Here we halted for the day, notwithstanding the village is but an indifferent one. The peasants were all busy getting in the cotton harvest, which contributed to enliven the scene. The lands hereabouts are watered by a little stream, which, running south and a little east, falls into the Tanjeroo river. Goodroon was at this spot, just opposite to us, forming a wall of rock, and inclining about north-west and south-east. The western range of hills was visible about a mile or a mile and a half off, crowned generally by a crest or line of rock, which grows higher as it proceeds southward. The rock shows itself also from the sides of the hills in some craggy fragments, as if the hills were in a state of decay. Northward, at the distance of two or three miles, these hills send forth a low range which joins Goodroon, and seems to close the vale of Sulimania in that direction. On this low range is the mount and remains of Kerwanan *. Farther on behind Goodroon appear the huge bare rocks of Koorkoor.

Thermometer—2 P.M. 85°; 10 P.M. 59°.

* One of the roads from Sulimania to Keuy Sanjiak passes by Kerwanan, and keeps through Soordash along Goodroon. Distance fourteen hours.

October 22.—We mounted at twenty minutes past six this morning, and were obliged to go a good deal to the north-west, in order to avoid a morass. The air about sunrise was very sharp. Soon after seven we came to the Mount of Taslujee, the place where the line of hills is broadest and lowest, and has not the stony crest which appears at intervals along the summit of the rest of the range, whose increase in height above the plain to the south-east is probably from the sinking of the plain in that direction towards the river Diala. The same is the case with the plain of Bazian, into which we descended after a very gentle ascent about eight o'clock. This plain is divided in the centre by a line of lower hills than Karadagh, which appeared to terminate a little to the south of our road, and the composition of which was sandstone, the layers rising to the east and inclining down to the west. We met hereabouts some men leading a colt for sale to Sulimania from Kerkook. I took a fancy to it, and struck a bargain and purchased it for one hundred and fifty Eyn piastres *. This transaction did not detain us, as the men turned back and bargained with us as we jogged on †.

* The value of the Eyn piastre was at that time from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*—*Ed.*

† The perpendicular rock, of which I observed the azimuth at Sulimania, and which is put down in my astronomical journal as Ardalan, was on our right in a north-west direction. It is a crest,

At twenty-five minutes past ten we turned south-west to the village of Derghezeen, the hills which divided the plain making a similar bend, and soon gradually terminating. Derghezeen lies under a little range of hills which come from near Derbend and runs towards those which divide the plain; though it terminates before it reaches them, leaving an opening in the western division of the plain of Bazian. We arrived at the village at ten minutes before eleven, and occupied our old encamping ground.

The inhabitants of all the villages we passed were out gathering cotton, which was a very pleasant, cheerful, and even novel sight, as, except on occasions like the present, the roads are very still and solitary throughout the East. The people of Derghezeen are of Turcoman origin, and still retain their language, and their appearance is sufficiently distinguishable from that of the Koordish peasantry. Our excellent friend Omar Aga, I am happy to say, is still our mehmandar. I applied to the government at Sulimania to restore to him some villages, of which he had been deprived in a most shameful way. They have promised to oblige me, and he has remained behind to secure them, but he has sent most of his men with me. Nearly two hundred persons depend on him and look to him for support.

on the top of the hills which form the west boundary of the plain or vale of Sulimania.

The family of a person like him in Koordistan soon becomes quite a tribe. Two of his men, Faki Kader and Awraman, have taken a great liking to me: they stick to me wherever I go, and follow all my motions. If I stop, they are both by me in an instant; if I look at any thing, they prick up their ears, look in my face, and then in the direction I am looking at. They are quite my shadows.

Avla, Omar Aga's youngest son, a boy of seven years old, arrived at our camp to-night from Sulimania, with only a lad about his own age. He had just got his father to say he might go with us, when in a moment he took him at his word, and while he was engaged at breakfast very quietly packed up his little baggage, saddled his horse and made a journey at one ride which we had been two in performing.

Thermometer—6 A.M. 56°; 2 P.M. 84°; 10 P.M. 64°.

October 23.—We were off by half past six this morning, and proceeded up the valley formed by a small line of hills just behind Derghezeen, and another similar one opposite, also coming north-west from Derbend and running to Bazian. At twenty minutes past seven we passed through Derbend. The layers of the mountain are bent down on each side as if on purpose to form the pass. Just outside the pass rises a layer of rock parallel with the mountain as if it were part of its ruin; and outside of all, at the foot of the mountain, which is a prolongation of

the Karadagh *, the strata are very curiously bent and undulating. In the mouth of the pass is a little square ruin like a fort, and in it a well lined with very large stones has lately been discovered.

From the Pass of Derbend we proceeded in a south-west direction. Before us rose the little furrowed line of hills of Gheshee Khan and Kara Hassan, running north-west and south-east. On our right hand the level of the country sunk at once in an abrupt and ruinous manner, as if it had fallen in to the depth of more than a hundred feet, and was curiously marked by parallel ribs of sandstone at equal intervals, all running from north-west to south-east, and like all the strata we have just passed, rising to the east and falling to the west, with a very considerable dip. The bottom of this *Cauldron* was again furrowed and cut up by watercourses, in many of which nitre was discoverable. The soil was generally of a very dark red colour. We descended into it at half past seven, and kept through it for the remainder of our day's journey.

* The Karadagh runs up to Derbend i Bazian, and thence, after running a little way straight like a wall, it runs a little west and forms the hill of Tchermala; thence it turns more west and forms that of Khalkhalan. The Karadagh diminishes in height all the way from the Seghirmeh, which is very high, and towers above all the other mountains in the distance. Tchermala and Khalkhalan are inconsiderable. They seem of earth, and their sides are much furrowed. Soon after this line of hills terminates or loses itself. Aghjalar is a district beyond Tchermala, reaching to the Keuy Sanjiak river, and contains ten villages.

We soon after came to the little village of Sheikh Weisi in the district of Shuan, and here we found we had come a little out of our way, and we turned S. 45 W. in order to regain our right road.

We observed great quantities of oleander growing by the sides of the little streams. We reached our true road at a quarter to nine. The country round us had a most strange appearance, and looked as if it had been *ruled off* into parallel oblique lines by layers of crumbling sandstone just rising above the soil.

At half past ten we came to the large village of Ghezalan, where we saw some Jews. The people of this part of the country seem to be Tcheragh Sonderans, or light-extinguishers*. Soon after leaving this village, the level began to rise again, and our road was very broken and hilly. We arrived at our resting-place for the day at the village of Ghulumkowa, in the district of Shuan, at ten minutes past twelve; having been five hours and forty minutes on our march, and having had a very unpleasant day's journey over very troublesome roads, and through a hideous country. The Kerkook hills appeared from hence like a flat plateau, descending by a step broken and furrowed, into the tract of country between them and Derbend.

Thermometer—6 A.M. 62°; 2 P.M. 84°; 10 P.M. 64°.

October 24.—Mounted as usual about a quarter

* See note, Vol. I., p. 26.

after six, and ascended out of the narrow ravine in which the village of Ghulumkowa is situated. The soil of the country was now all of earth and pebbles, which seemingly cover the ribs of sandstone, seen in the very hollow part we came through yesterday, and the colour of the earth was not so red.

The whole tract, however, is still thrown up into little hills, as I believe all such gravelly tracts are, and scooped out into deep, abrupt ravines, sometimes cut down by water-courses to the depth of sixty feet, and in such places the soil alone was apparent; that is, even at that depth, no sandstone was to be seen. The pebbles that I chiefly recognized were sandstone, marble, or gypsum, and limestone. We passed two very deep and somewhat difficult ravines, the ascents of which were more considerable than the descents, and soon after reached the village of Ghiulkowa. We were still in the district of Shuan, which is regulated by a kind of territorial canon which I do not thoroughly comprehend: the soil belongs to Kerkook, but the peasantry to Koordistan. This district sometimes depends on Sulimania, and sometimes on Keuy Sanjiak.

From Ghiulkowa our road wound along the tops of this furrowed and hillocky country, which resembles and is indeed a continuation of Kara Hassan; but it is now of a very burnt and bare appearance, and except a few fruit-trees seen here and there in the hollows, nothing green is visible in

any direction. We often thought of the pleasant vales of Koordistan, beautiful even in their autumnal decay. Old Goodroon still reared his head in the distance.

All the waters, yesterday and to-day, ran to our left hand. At half past seven, a road branched off a little to the south of ours to Kerkook. Soon after eight we were obliged to halt, to replace a shoe which my horse had cast. Khalkhalan and Keuy Sanjiak were hence due north of us. We mounted again at half past eight. The country now was rather less cut up, or at least not to that great depth; and at ten minutes before ten we arrived at the village of Kafar, our place of rest for to-day. The peasants are mostly in tents about the village. Here both lands and people belong to Kerkook, and we have fairly bid adieu to Koordistan. We were three hours and thirty-five minutes performing our journey of to-day.

Omar Aga joined us last night from Sulimania. He tells us that Osman Bey has at length consented to go to Keuy Sanjiak. Poor Omar Aga has failed in his application for the restoration of his villages, and has brought with him all his men and family, except the women. I will yet do what I can for him.

Thermometer—6 A.M. 50°; 2 P.M. 88°.

October 25.—We were off by six this morning; our road N. 30 W. We descended into a valley,

watered by a stream, which supplies many villages, and a great number of mills with little square towers, each in a cluster of trees, looking at a distance like village churches. The valley gradually widened down into the plain, I believe of Gieuk Dereh. The stream runs into the Kiupri Soo. We passed many villages, and, among the rest, one large one of the name of Omar Bey Keuy. We had now entered a fine wide plain, still covered with pebbles, but much cultivated. It was all corn land. Large villages were seen scattered about in every direction. There was one at the entrance of the valley into the plain, with a small artificial mount close to it, the name of which I could not learn. The Kizbeer hills were before us, stretching from our left, and the plain extended to the foot of them; and on our right was a continuation of the broken, hilly country we have just left.

At half past ten we passed Gieuk Tepeh, a village, and a very large artificial mount, on our left. It was due west and less than a mile from the road. The mount was like a truncated pyramid, and had a lower one projecting from it on the north-west, the whole looking very *Babylonian*. About half an hour afterwards, we passed another lesser mount, close to our road; and at mid-day arrived at Altoon Kiupri. The day was extremely hot, and the stage much longer than I had expected. We occupied six hours and a half in performing it.

We descended to the river* over immense beds of pebbles, the bed and rocks of the river being concretions of pebbles also. The town is not seen till you descend upon it. On the south bank a large party of horse-artillery and bombardiers were encamped, who were just arrived from Constantinople for the Pasha of Bagdad's service. There were four troops; one company of bombardiers, fifteen pieces of artillery, five hundred camel-loads of stores. We passed over the very sharp high bridge which has been lately repaired, and then through the town and over the other bridge, and encamped on the flat space near the north-west or right quarter.

The Tigris is eighteen hours' travelling from Altoon Kiupri, and when the river is very full a kellek or raft will go in a day, but at this season of the year it takes three days. The artillery abovementioned forded it, and found not more than three or four feet water along a bank which sloped across the stream †. Keuy Sanjiak, which lies N. 35 E., is twelve hours' fast walk of a horse from hence, and eighteen caravan hours. There are two roads, one of which lies along the right bank of the river, which it quits about six hours from Keuy Sanjiak. It is broken and hilly all the way, but there is no mountain to pass.

* The Altoon Soo, or the Caprus of antiquity; called the Lesser Zab by Abulfeda.

† They also forded the Zab.

A little below Kiupri, on the right bank, are some wharfs and store-houses for grain, &c. Here the kelleks or rafts from Keuy Sanjiak unload, and those for Bagdad are made up. The river is *floatable* for kelleks from Keuy Sanjiak to the Tigris. The river just above the town is about a mile broad, but runs off into two arms, which join below, both equally considerable, and leaving the town on an island. Many houses are commonly carried away in the spring. The town then is completely washed by the river, both arms joining round it. On the side of the great bridge the river is confined by a strong bank of concrete pebbles till about the height of the bridge, where the high bank retreats about a quarter of a mile and slopes up gently. On the north side is a low plain, sandy and pebbly, confined by broken hills at about the distance of a mile. This space has evidently at times been filled by the river up to the hills. The Kybeer hills, with flat tops and broken sides, run round our left, and are said to terminate in the Koordish province of Shemamik; and behind these hills, in the direction where the river passes through them, is Karatchuk.

Thermometer—6 A.M. 59°; 2 P.M. 90°; 10 P.M. 62°.

October 26.—We marched at six in a north-west direction, through the area left between the river and the broken hills, or higher country, which begins above Kiupri, and running off from the hilly country we have left, comes round again at Kybeer. At

twenty minutes past six the road to Shemamik broke off on our left, and soon after we came to the termination of the area. We then passed over detached sand-hills; after which the level of the country rose considerably, and on our left was furrowed and sloping up to the Kybeer hills. On our right, at a greater distance, was a continuation of the broken hilly country we had left, and which is here called Hallejo Bistana, being a province of Keuy Sanjiak. Behind this again was the prolongation of the Azmir mountain, higher mountains peeping out still farther back.

We passed the village of Makhsuma on our left, and a little river running into the Altoon Soo*.

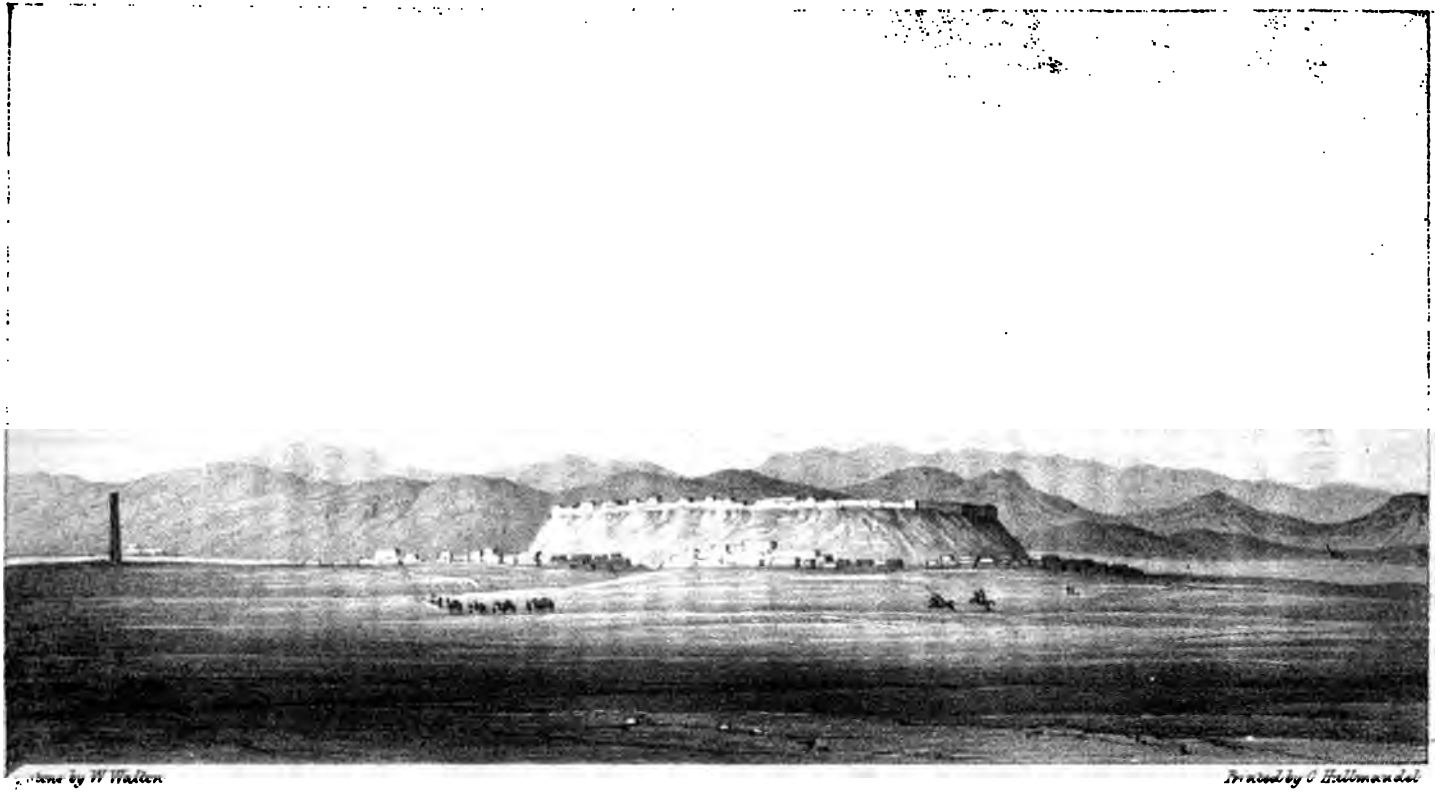
The road along which we were travelling appears at some former period to have been marked by little artificial mounts, at the distance of an hour or an hour and a half from each other, several of which we have observed. The country, although a little pebbly, was a very fine plain, extending to Kybeer and Hallejo Bistana. Several villages were observable on our right and left, and the country was well cultivated. The peasants were ploughing.

At ten we reached the camp of Faris Aga, the Dizzei chief, at the village of Koosh Tepeh, which takes its name from one of the little mounts before-

* I believe it is wrong to call the river Altoon, an epithet only belonging to the bridge, from what it cost—Altoon meaning gold or money.

mentioned. The Dizzei are a tribe of Koords, formerly belonging to Keuy Sanjiak; but the Pasha of Bagdad has lately taken them from under the command both of Keuy Sanjiak and Arbil, and keeps them under his own authority. In consequence of this, they care for no one. Faris Aga dismissed our quarter-master, saying that he was the servant neither of the Vizir of Bagdad, the Pasha of Koordistan, nor the King of Persia; that he was his own master, lived in his own country, and would receive no visitors; that therefore the best thing we could do would be to go on to Arbil. There was no help, and indeed I was rather better satisfied to go on, and thus gain a day: so we marched again after a few minutes' halt. At half past eleven we alighted at a little water-course, to take a cup of coffee, and to allow the baggage to get well on before us. We mounted again at twelve, and travelling in a north direction, at half past one came in sight of Arbil, bearing N. 10 E.; soon after which I took a sketch of it*, the view of the high flat mount, probably the burial-place of the Arsacidæ, crowned by a castle, and backed by the Carduchian mountains, being really very impressive. Near the town we were met by the lieutenant-governor, at the head of about thirty or forty Turkish horsemen, with tchaoushes and kettle-drums. I could well have dis-

* See Plate.



THE CITY OF ARBELA.

pensed with this honour, as we were almost suffocated with dust before we came to our ground, where we arrived at half past three. The time of our march had been eight hours and forty minutes.

We encamped near a kahreez, or water-course, belonging to Hajee Cossim Bey, a little south-west of the town. Near us was encamped a small party of Arabs of the Harb tribe. The Arabs, now I have not seen them for a long time, look a squalid, yellow-skinned, ill-favoured people. The people of Arbil are Koords and Turks.

On the road to-day we met a caravan going to Bagdad, loaded with onions and onion-seed.

I found awaiting me at Arbil my old mehmandar Hussein Aga, sent by the Pasha of Mousul to escort me on; but I intend halting here for a day or two, in order to rest the people, to procure fresh mules, and to take leave of Omar Aga*.

Thermometer—5 A.M. 58°; half past 2, 94°; 10, 59°.

October 27.—I was up by peep of day, and began my operations immediately †. I first went to the old minaret, which is the most conspicuous object in this neighbourhood. The mosque to which it belonged is quite in ruins, and bricks are dug up on its site all

* There is no further mention of this noble character. He and Mr. Rich parted at Arbela, and it was too affecting a scene to say much about. This accounts for its being passed over in silence in the Journal.

† See Appendix,

around. The minaret is by measurement one hundred and twenty-one feet high. The circumference of the shaft is fifty-one feet. It stands on an octagonal base, each face of which is nine feet eleven inches, and the height of the base is between thirty and forty feet. Two stairs wind, without communicating, up to the gallery, which is destroyed, as well as all above it, except two small fragments of brick-work, the remains of the shaft which once rose above the gallery. It is in the style of the minaret at Taouk, and is apparently of the age of the Caliphs, or rather perhaps of the Sahibs of Arbil. All around are ruins, or rather heaps of rubbish, like those in the ruins of Old Bagdad. Remains of the wall and ditch are also traceable, especially on the side where our camp is situated, which is pitched close to it. The town was once evidently very large, probably about the size of modern Bagdad. Arbil is situated at the foot of the artificial mount, principally on the south side, and contains a bath, caravanserais, and bazaars. Some portion of the town is situated on the mount, or what is called the Castle. On the east, or a little north of the town, is a hollow, called the Valley of Tchekunem, where it is said Tamerlane's tent was pitched when he besieged Arbil. A holy Sheikh of Arbil struck a panic into his army, which began to disperse; and Tamerlane is reported to have cried out in Persian, "Tchekunem?" that is, "What shall I do?" and this gave name to the valley or hollow.

Thermometer — 5 A.M. 52°; half past 2, 90°; 10, 64°.

October 28.—I continued my observations at intervals during the day, among a crowd of Arbil people, who squatted down in a semicircle at a respectful distance, and speculated among themselves, over their pipes, about the nature of my operations. None offered the least molestation; and I could not help smiling when I reflected on the different treatment Délambre (*si licet parvis*) experienced in the neighbourhood of Paris, from that which I met with in this savage out-of-the-way place. I had no guard or attendants with me.

The artificial mount on which the castle of Arbil stands is, I conjecture, about one hundred and fifty feet high, and three or four hundred yards in diameter. It was once doubtless much higher, and it is probable the summit of it was ruined by Caracalla. Some time ago, when Hajee Abdulla Bey was building on this mount, he dug up a sepulchre, in which was a body laid in state, quite perfect, the features fully recognizable; but it fell to dust shortly after it had been exposed to the air. If, as I believe, this was the burial-place of the Arsacidæ, may not this have been the body of a Parthian king? Hajee Cossim Bey informed me that the interior of the mount is divided into compartments by brick-work, composed of large bricks, with no inscriptions on them, as he ascertained by digging into it from a

sirdaub or cellar in his house which stands in the castle. The perpendicular height of the mount he estimates at forty large cubits.

There is a local tradition, peculiar to the place, that Arbil was built by Darius *, which is the more curious, as there is no connexion in any oriental tale or history between Darius and Arbela; and the easterns are totally ignorant of the battle of Arbela or Gaugamela.

Hares and antelopes abound in this plain, and the ground is covered with immense flights of kattas, or desert partridges. Hawks of the Balaban species are also caught in this plain, and exported chiefly to Koordistan.

Thermometer—6 A.M. 67°; half past 2 P.M. 84°; 10 P.M. 74°; wind S.E.; cloudy.

October 29.—We had a most disagreeable day yesterday—true Gherara weather †—the wind blowing in squalls from the east and south-east, and the air charged with dust, which defiled every thing, and filled our eyes, noses, and mouths. We marched

* Darius, or Darah, was, like Pharaoh and Cæsar, rather a title than a name; and the tradition therefore may perhaps mean no more than that the city was founded by one of the kings of that dynasty.

† Gherara was the name of a reach of the river Tigris, a few miles south of Bagdad, where Mr. Rich and his family were in the habit of encamping, after the great heat of the summer was over, in October until the beginning of January, during which period the south-east wind often prevailed which is here referred to, and the effects of which were peculiarly disagreeable in tents.—*Ed.*

at half past five this morning in a north-east direction, and about an hour after we passed the village of Reshki, on the left hand of the road. Here another road branches off to the left, and joins the main one again at the village of Girdasheer. The whole of the country seems very well cultivated, and is rather more undulating than that to the south of Arbil. The peasants were all ploughing. They did but just scratch the ground. In one plough we saw a small bullock and an ass yoked together. The mountains seem here to retire and form a bay eastward; they then advance again about the Zab to the westward. I now can distinguish several chains; 1st, the broken country, which is a continuation of Shuan; 2d, hills, a little higher; then one or two other higher and more rocky chains before Zagros, which peeped over all, and seemed higher and more broken into points, than any part of it we had yet seen. The lines of hills seem, I think, rather closer together than they are in Koordistan. Before us Mount Makloube; still farther to the left of it, Karatchuk, a mountain which is said to extend to Jezira and Mardin. To the right of Makloube are two wall-like ranges of hills, which run through Akra, and which, together with Makloube, form the district of Naokor *, a very rich province of Amadia.

* Naokor is descriptive of the situation of the province—a plain between two ranges of hills. The hills, or chain, on the east of Naokor is a prolongation of Azmir, and is called the Akra moun-

The country still continued increasing in undulations as we advanced, but was not very considerably indented, and was without any particular feature. At some intervals we perceived one or two little mounts, as if the road had been traced in the same manner as I remarked on the other side of Arbil. About half-past eight we passed Girdasheer, a little fort on a mount, with a village at the foot of it: this is called half-way to the Zab. Soon after we passed Little Girdasheer on the right of our road. The level of the country now began to descend: the Zab was on our right, with the village of Elbesheer on its banks. At eleven o'clock we reached the village of Kellek on the pebbly banks of the Zab*. The bank opposite to us retires; below it advances, and the bank on our side retires, leaving a plain of about one mile to one and a half mile's extent, in which the Zab divides itself into two or three streams. We descended into this plain, and passing two branches not above a few inches deep, at half-past eleven we arrived at the main stream under the right bank, which is a pebbly cliff. We went over on a kellek or raft, and our horses and attendants forded a little

tain, then Naokor, Zaaferania, *Zakho*. This, consequently, was the first mountain Xenophon and the Ten Thousand ascended. The Koordish, like the languages of all mountains, is very fertile in terms descriptive of natural objects and situations.

* All the Koords and people of these parts call the Zab, Zerb. The *Zab* seems the Arabic name taken from the Chaldean. Bochart's etymology is ingenious and plausible.

below, where the water was scarcely above four feet deep, the river in that place spreading itself over a wide surface. At the place where we crossed it, the stream was, at its narrowest, not above four hundred feet over, but about two or three fathoms and a half deep. The current was very rapid, running at the rate of about two or three knots; the water beautifully transparent, and of a sky-blue colour. In spring it often spreads itself over the whole plain. On the cliff at the passage is the Yezid village of Eski Kellek, where we halted for the night, and where I recognised many old acquaintances among the Yezidis*, who had escorted us to Mousul on our former journey.

Our travelling to-day was slow for the first hour, then very excellent going for the rest of the way. The stage is called seven hours for a caravan, but we did it in five hours and fifty-five minutes.

There are many fords in the river between this village and the mouth of the Zab at Kushaff, on the Tigris, which is about five hours off†. The junction

* Called by the Bebbeh Koords, Dassinee.

† The following are the fords of the Zab:—1. At Ssitteihh, an Arab village above Kushaff; a very bad ford, deep, the bottom large slippery stones. 2. At Shumeisat—Arabs—a bad ford; above Ssitteihh, nearer Eurdek. 3. A ford above Eurdek. 4. At Eski Kellek; the best ford of all. 5. At New Kellek. There are three fords above New Kellek, between it and the mountain. None of these fords are now passable: they disappear at the first rains.

of the Ghazir or Bumadus with the Zab takes place about three hours below this place. The Bumadus rises out of the rock about five hours beyond Akra. Both the Zab and the Bumadus wind much. Just below their junction, on the west bank of the Zab, is the village of Eurdek, and I have satisfactorily ascertained that there is no ravine, tract, or discharge of water whatever in or near the Zab after the junction of the Bumadus.

Thermometer—6 A.M. 68°; half-past 2 P.M. 88°; 10 P.M. 68°.

October 30.—We marched at twenty-five minutes past six. The country rose by two steps to its general level from the river. The first rise was from the water to the village on the pebbly cliff; then came a level space, and then again a second rise about the height of the cliffs, that is, about fifteen feet, looking as if it had been the bank of the river at some very ancient period. We marched from the village to the second step; then having ascended to the level of the country, we proceeded at seven in a westerly direction. The country between the two rivers, the Zab and the Bumadus, is of an undulating surface, but not broken nor abrupt. The peasants were ploughing in many places. At ten minutes before eight we reached the Bumadus or Ghazir Soo, which very much resembles the Zab, and, like it, has a high pebbly bank alternately retiring and leaving a plain between it and the ordinary bed of the river.

We still kept west through the plain, (the village of Minkoube was above us on the banks,) with the river on our right, which we forded at ten minutes after eight. The depth was nearly the same all through; that is, about two and a half or three feet, just up to my stirrups. The breadth was about three hundred feet. It is now at its lowest, and is more rapid than the Zab. In spring it sometimes swells so as to cover the plain up to the banks, and is then unfordable; but it never remains at that extreme height above a couple of days. It is said to rise a short distance from Akra. The west bank, which we came to after fording, is not so high as the east, and the country gradually *subsides*—if I may be allowed the expression—into an immense plain, level as far as we could see, and for the most part under cultivation. The village of Zara Khatoon is at a little distance below the ford*. From the river we proceeded in a north-west direction, and at half-past eight (N. 68 W.) we brought Karatchuk in one with Makloube, which it covered. Before we lost sight of Makloube, we saw on its steep side, about half-way up, the convent of Mar Mattei, or St. Matthew, a very celebrated place among the Christians of these parts. We observed likewise, on the top of Karatchuk, the remains of a church. From the Bumadus we advanced even more rapidly than before.

* The Ghazir joins the Zab three caravans or two horsemen's hours below Old Kellek. Just before its junction, on its west bank, is the village of Eurdek.

Hajee Jirjees Aga*, my old friend and mehmandar, now Kaftan Agassi, met me beyond the ford of the Bumadus, with a party of Kaouklees †, sent by the Pasha of Mousul to escort me and welcome me into his dominions; and we marched together to Kermalis, a miserable Chaldean village, where we arrived at twenty minutes to ten, after travelling at a very good rate all day. The march is called two hours and a half to the Bumadus, and the same from thence to Kermalis, for a caravan. Kermalis was once a considerable town, which was ruined by Nadir Shah, and is now a very poor village, extremely dirty, like all Christian villages in the East. There is a large and very ancient church here, which from a date appears to have been repaired one hundred and thirty years ago, but it is now in a very ruinous condition. There is also a smaller church, built not long ago, and a very wretched-looking building it is. Behind the village, about half a mile (N. 80 W.) from our tents, is a high artificial mount of ancient date. I ascended it to take some sights with the compass of some of the surrounding objects. I succeeded but indifferently, as the evening was dusky and squally, and distant objects were but imperfectly visible and the needle not very steady. Villages were visible in every direction in the plain, level, like the sea, all around us.

* An officer of the Pasha of Mousul.

† Or government officers; so called from the peculiar turban they wear.

Major Rennell supposes Kermalis to be Gaugamela*; but Gaugamela appears, both from Arrian and Quintus Curtius, to have been on the Bumadus, which Kermalis can in no respect be said to be. Indeed it is not possible, among the great number of villages scattered over this plain and all along the Bumadus, to decide which is Gaugamela. We know well that Gaugamela was, even in Alexander's day, a village of no consequence, which was the reason why the Greeks called the victory by the name of Arbela, the nearest remarkable place to the field of battle. Gaugamela was sought after merely to establish the locality of the battle; but we have now no occasion for this, and, in fact, if we want to find Gaugamela, we must seek it from our knowledge of the field; but this would be useless, if not impossible. There can be no reason for selecting Kermalis for Gaugamela, more than any other of the villages by which it is surrounded. Ignorance of its situation, or a fancied analogy in the name, may possibly have led to its selection. It is about the centre of the plain, and not very remarkable for its situation †.

* See "Major Rennell's Illustrations of the History of the Expedition of Cyrus," pp. 153, 154.

† A little stream rises at Terjilla, and passing by Shah Kouli, comes to Kermalis, at which village it is used for cultivating cotton; and when it is not entirely drawn off at Kermalis by the cultivation, it runs by Karakoosh, where there is a little bridge of one arch over it, and finds its way to the Tigris.

Thermometer—6 A.M. 58°; half-past 2 P.M. 80°; 10 P.M. 64°.

October 31.—We mounted at a quarter past six: the road from hence to Mousul was N. 75 W. We rode over the level plain till eight, when the country became again pebbly and unequal, the level country still continuing at a distance on our right. At half-past eight we came to still higher ground, and lost sight of the plain in every direction. We soon after descended into a ravine called Shor Dereh, or the nitrous valley, which was dry, but which, in winter and spring, is sometimes impassable for two or three days together from the water and deep mire. We met here a large caravan of camels going to Bagdad, laden with gall-nuts and copper.

At twenty minutes to ten we came to a large rampart, then to a hollow like a ditch, and then to another rampart, which my Mousul Turks called the beginning of Nineveh; and shortly after we reached another ditch and wall, which seemed to indicate that Nineveh had a double wall. Under or in this second wall is a spring or well covered over with an arch of very ancient masonry, composed of large stones. The well is called Damlamajeh, and the inhabitants believe its water is efficacious in many complaints, not from its medical qualities, but from some superstition connected with it. They all believe it to be haunted by genii, and nobody durst approach it after nightfall. Hussein Aga told me that one

night, as he was passing by the spot after dark, he heard a tremendous drumming and turmoil in the well, and that he put out his horse at full speed to escape, as the man that, however involuntarily, becomes a spectator of their rites, either dies soon after or loses his senses. I tasted the water, and found it good, and it was remarkably clear and pure.

I remained ten minutes at the well, and then rode on, passing through the area of Nineveh, under the village of Nebbi Yunus on our left hand. The walls of Nineveh on the east have become quite a concretion of pebbles, like the natural hills. At twenty-five minutes past ten we arrived on the banks of the Tigris, where we were ferried over to our place of residence during our stay at Mousul, at Naaman Pasha's garden, south of the town, which my kind friend the Pasha had prepared for us, as likely to be more agreeable than living in the city.

The stage from Kermalis to Mousul is reckoned four hours. We occupied four hours and a quarter in performing it, and our rate of going was good, though not first-rate.

Thermometer—6 A.M. 58°; 2 P.M. 78°.

[Mr. Rich's daily Journal stops here. There is little more personal narrative. He was so fully occupied in examining the country and its antiquities; in making observations connected with its

geography and history; in visiting and receiving visits from the chiefs and principal people of the town and neighbourhood, during his residence of four months in Mousul, that he had little leisure for writing; and therefore he committed to paper such particulars only as might be likely to escape his memory, or required mathematical exactness, leaving the history of his personal intercourse with the people to be narrated at a future period.

This was Mr. Rich's fourth visit to Mousul. He was most kindly received by his old friend Ahmed Pasha; a fuller account of whom, and of the town and its neighbourhood, is contained in a journal kept by Mr. Rich during a former journey to and from Bagdad and Constantinople, which it is purposed soon to publish.]

CHAPTER XIII.

The Ruins of Nineveh—Village of Nebbi Yunus—Stones covered with Cuneiform Writing—Inscription in the Wall of a House—The Mosque of Nebbi Yunus—formerly a Church—The Area of Nineveh—The Walls—The Mount of Koyunjuk—The River Khausser—Another high Mount—Large hewn stones—Bitumen adhering to them—Thisbe's Well—East boundary Wall—Nadir Shah—His Encampment—Story of the dispersion of his Army—Bridge of Boats over the Tigris.

November 8.—We have had stormy weather since our arrival at Mousul; easterly winds, and some rain. This morning the weather cleared up, and the mountains to the north, called the Gara mountains, show snow on some of their summits. That snow lies all along this chain from one year to another, in clefts and sheltered situations, I have no doubt; but I am informed that some of these mountains have snow on their open, exposed summits, all the year round; and I have so often heard this where it was not the case, that I am now rather hard of belief. They say here also that snow, if it lies a thousand years on the ground, becomes the mineral called Dehneh or Dehlij *, of which they make great use in diseases of the eye.

* When I was formerly at Mousul, the Pasha of that place put into my hands the substance called dehlij, which name is not to be found in any dictionary, not even the Kamoos. It is produced in a gold mine in the mountains of Hakkaie in Koordistan, which are a prolongation of the chain of Taurus, in various parts of

The day being fine, we sallied forth to take a general inspection of the remains of Nineveh; and we crossed the river in the boat at our garden. The current of the river, which is now at its lowest, is at present not more than a knot; nor had the late day's rain made any difference in it. The breadth where we crossed was about four hundred feet; the depth not above two fathoms. At the bridge* it is deeper and narrower; below the ferry it is wide and shallow, and leaves an island in the centre, which is covered over at the first rising of the river.

We first went to the village, or rather little town of Nebbi Yunus, which contains about three hundred houses, and is built on an ancient artificial mount, the whole of which it does not cover. Its antiquity is well ascertained by the remains found on digging into it very deep; when fragments of bricks, whole bricks, and pieces of gypsum, covered with inscriptions in the cuneiform character, are found. I have many of these, one in particular

which both gold and copper mines exist. The dehlij is used by the people of Mousul as a remedy for the eyes, when reduced to an impalpable powder, and mixed with twice as much loaf sugar. It is in very small nubs, some a light blue, or turquoise colour, some of a green colour, and more or less mixed with earthy matter. On being split, the nubs have a shiny appearance in the inside like spar. It appears to correspond exactly with what Haüy calls granuliform carbonate of copper—blue and green. It effervesces in nitric acid.

* Near this bridge a battle was fought in the year 527, between the Emperor Heraclius and the troops of Chosroes the king of Persia.—See *Gibbon*, vol. viii. p. 248.

which measures one foot four inches in thickness, covered with writing, that was dug up in this mound*; and to-day we were shown some fragments built up in the foundations of houses. One of these, a broken piece of gypsum with cuneiform characters, was in the kitchen of a wretched house, and appeared to be part of the wall of a small passage which is said to reach far into the mount. Some people dug into it last year; but as it went under the houses, and they were afraid of undermining them, they closed it up again with rubbish, and only that portion of it which had been laid open, and forms part of a kitchen, is now visible. A little farther on, in a small room occupied by the women of an inhabitant of the town, who very politely went out to allow us to inspect it at our leisure, was another inscription, in very large cuneiform letters, on a piece of gypsum. It faces south, and runs east and west. Only about three feet of it are now open, though it is said to extend several yards west; but it has since been plastered over with mud. This inscription is the more curious, as it seems to occupy its original position. It is not much above the floor of the room, is about two feet high, and below the level of the surface of the mound. The cuneiform characters are in their proper position. The inscription is said to have been discovered in building the room, and was left just where it was found, only plastered over with mud like the rest of

* Now in the British Museum.—*Ed.*

the room. It is exactly parallel with, and very near the passage noticed before; which appears to have been continued into, and even beyond, this spot, from some lines or traces seen in the ground, but is now broken down and laid open here. I doubt not but many other antiquities might be found in this mound; but the greater part of it is thickly covered with a labyrinth of small houses, and it is only on the repairing or falling down of these that such things are discovered.

From this we went to the mosque which covers the tomb of Jonah *. It is on the north and higher end of the mound, and is rather a considerable building. The principal dome is ribbed and of a conical shape; it stands on an octagonal base, eight feet each face, which is again placed on a square pediment, standing on the terrace that covers the building. The dome is of small circumference, whitened, and crowned with a spike. The terrace, or flat roof, is about fifteen feet above the level of the mound on the south side, but on the north it rises forty feet by measurement above the mound, about thirty feet perpendicular height of which remains between the foot of

* There was formerly a Christian monastery where the pretended tomb of Jonah now stands, the Mahometan building being erected over the church, which is preserved entire; but no Christian on any account would be suffered to go near it. The Christians named their church after the tradition that Jonah preached in that place; but they deny his having been buried there. They believe, on the contrary, that, after his mission was accomplished, he returned to Palestine.

the wall, and level of the plain or area of Nineveh; so that the perpendicular height of the highest part of the mound above the level of the plain is about fifty feet. There are several other domes, but they are semicircular, and rise very little above the terrace. On the east side of the court of the mosque we were shown three very narrow, ancient passages, one within the other, with several doors or apertures, opening one into the other, which reminded me of the interior plan of the Zendan at Dastagerda.* The passages are quite dark, narrow, and vaulted, and appear much as if designed for the reception of dead bodies. They are said to be very ancient, but of what age none of our conductors could specify; and they extended much farther, but they have been stopped up.

From the terrace of the mosque is an admirable view of Mousul. The whole population of the town assembled to gaze at us, but none offered the least molestation, though some of them were heard *opining* that I was ascertaining if great guns would bear upon Mousul from that position.

We afterwards rode through the area of Nineveh to the first wall of the enclosure. It is a line of earth and gravel, out of which large hewn stones are dug, as out of all the walls of the area. Beyond this is a ditch, still very regular, and easily trace-

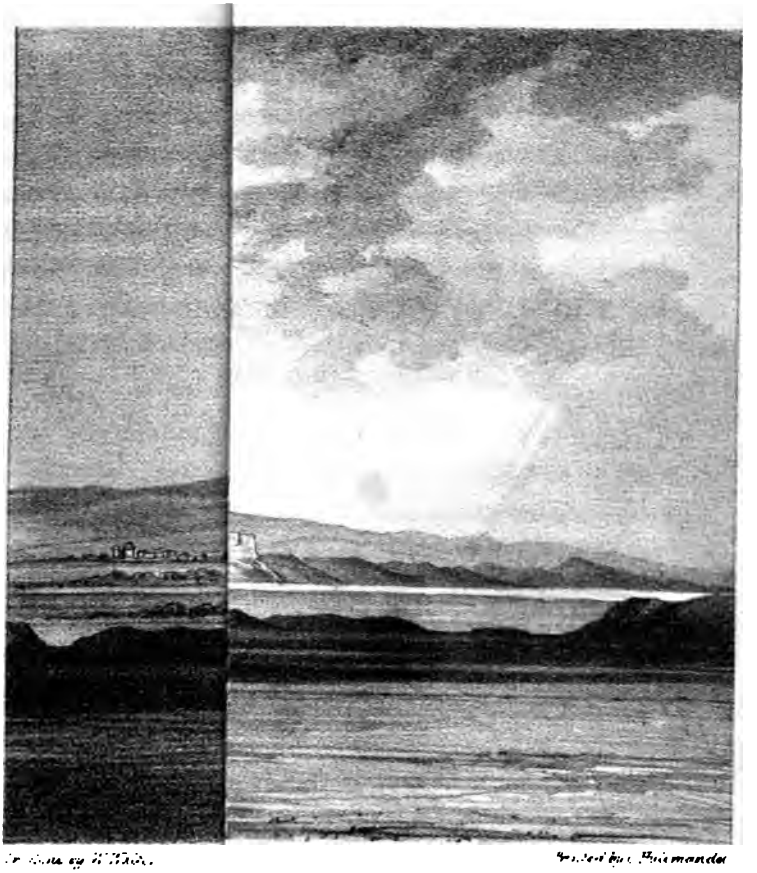
* See Journal of an Excursion to the Frontiers of S. Koordistan.

able, on the other side of which is another wall. Under this wall is the well of Damlamajeh, noticed before; and beyond it, leaving only a narrow ravine or ditch, there is still another, and, I believe, the largest wall.

We went no farther than the well to-day. It is a few feet distant from the wall, in the ravine, and has the remains of a little dome over it, in the inside of which is an archway over the water, of massy stone work. In the interstices over the entrance are the remains of a great many nails, probably driven in to hold shreds of cloth,—the signs of a person having made a vow or promise, if he recover from any disorder by the intercession of a saint, or the virtue of a spring. The water appears to come out of a conglomeration of pebbles and soil, of which also the base of the wall seems to be composed, as may be seen where it has been broken into at the foot. We saw also some river shells among the pebbles.

From the well we rode north in the ravine, till it opens a little at the river Khausser, which passes through it. On the edge of the river, which in spring sometimes swells so as to be unfordable for a short time, is a piece of ancient stone-work, as if there had been a bridge over it. From the Khausser we returned home, leaving Koyunjuk Tepeh on our right and passing close under the tomb of Jonah.

The area of Nineveh, on a rough guess, is about one and a half to two miles broad, and four miles



long, extending a little way south of Nebbi Yunus. On the river, or west side, there are only remains of one wall, and I observed the same at the north and south extremities; but on the east side there are the remains of three walls. The west wall appears to have run a little in front of Nebbi Yunus. Between it and the river the ground is subject to frequent inundations and changes; but it has not interfered with the area.

In this place I cannot help remarking a passage in Jonah; that Prophet suffered grievously from the easterly wind. This is the *sherki* so much dreaded in all these countries, which is hot, stormy, and singularly relaxing and dispiriting *.

November 10.—I was obliged to call on the Pasha yesterday, and therefore could not go over to Nineveh; but we set off this morning at ten o'clock, although the day was not quite so favourable for observation

* Among the many recollections suggested by a survey of the ruins of Nineveh, the beautiful tale of Pyramus and Thisbé is certainly not the least interesting. It is most likely derived from an Oriental story; and if this be the case, Pyramus will be Bahram, which is commonly rendered in Latin Varamus. I am not well enough acquainted with ancient female names to say what Thisbé may be; but the whole story has a local air *, which makes me think it was not wholly the invention of the Roman bard.

* The only ancient writers who tell this story are Ovid, Met. iv. 55, and Hyginus, and both make Babylon the scene of it. Mr. Rich has been led, doubtless by the "busta Nini" of Ovid, the "Ninus's Tomb" (Mids. Night's Dream), to suppose the true locality to be where, as he believed, that tomb was really to be found, viz., at Nineveh. See his Second Memoir on Babylon, pp. 38. 192.—*Communicated by a friend to the Ed.*

as yesterday, it being rather hot when we first went out, but in the afternoon it got cool and pleasant.

We first went to Koyunjuk, crossing the Khausser, which runs at its south foot, and is twenty or thirty feet over, and about two feet deep in the deepest place.

I was enabled, from the Mount of Koyunjuk, to form a general idea of the enceinte of Nineveh. Koyunjuk is rather nearer the north than the south extremity of the western wall, which adjoins it, or rather did adjoin it, on both sides; the western face of Koyunjuk being aligned with the wall. The same thing may be said of the mount on which the viliage of Nebbi Yunus is built, which extends inwards, or easterly, about as much, though its surface is not so extensive as that of Koyunjuk. The wall, after a little break at the foot of Koyunjuk, where it is ruined, proceeds north in a straight line up to its north-west angle or extremity. It is to be observed, the angles are not marked by any tower, bastion, or work of any kind.

At the southern foot of Koyunjuk runs the little brook of Khausser, on the south bank of which the wall re-commences. It is here broken abruptly, and shows an interior construction of unburnt brick, but no reeds. The wall runs again in a straight line to the north-west angle of Nebbi Yunus, where it is again broken by the Kermelis road close by the village. Beyond Nebbi Yunus it waves or bends a little outwards to its south-west extremity. The

height of the wall is from ten to fifteen feet in the highest part; and it comes to a ridge or point in the place where it is best preserved. Very large hewn stones are dug out of every part of its extent, I believe generally near the bottom. We remarked one enormous hewn stone lying on the top of it.

The Mount of Koyunjuk is, except at its west and part of its eastern face, of rather an irregular form. Its sides are very steep, its top nearly flat; its angles are not marked by any lantern or turret. The perpendicular height is forty-three feet; the total circumference 7691 feet. While I was taking the angles, Captain Kefala* employed himself with four sepoys in taking the measurement of the mount.

The top of the mount does not wear the appearance of ever having been greatly higher than it is at present; but it evidently has had building on it, at least round its edges. Stones and bricks are dug or ploughed up every where. There were also other buildings farther in the mount; and at a place where they had been digging into it, we saw the same coarse stone and mortar masonry, and a piece of coarse grey stone, shaped like the capital of a column, such as at this day surmounts the wooden pillars or posts of Turkish or rather Persian verandahs; but there was no carving on it. We also saw, in many parts, a flooring, or pavement, on the surface

* Captain Kefala was a Greek, who had been to India on private business, and who, on his return, joined Mr. Rich, and accompanied him during part of this journey.

of the mount, of small stones rammed down with earth. Pottery we also found, and other Babylonian fragments; also bits of brick, with bitumen adhering to them; and I am informed that many bricks with bitumen are found in these ruins. A piece of fine brick or pottery, covered with exceedingly small and beautiful cuneiform writing, was found while we were looking about the mount. It is of the finest kind, yellowish, with a polished or hard surface, and apparently belonged to one of the large cylinders. On the north-east angle of the mound is the little village of Koyunjuk. Some part of the surface of the mound, probably where the buildings were either less solid or perhaps entirely wanting, is ploughed over.

The greatest part of the curiosities from Nineveh are found in the mount on which Nebbi Yunus is situated. The curious little stone chair brought to me at Sulimania by my curiosity-hunter Delli Samaan, was found here, with several written bricks and cylinders. After having observed the mount sufficiently, I proceeded to finish what I had to do north of the Khausser, reserving the southern division for to-morrow.

But I must first remark that the river Tigris runs off into a semicircle above the ruins and returns below them, leaving a flat cultivated semicircle of land. At the north-west angle of Koyunjuk is an interval of two hundred and ten paces between it and the recommencement of the wall, and here the wall

seems to have decayed more. The interval has been dug into for stones.

We now went along the wall in a north-west direction on horseback, till we came to a part of it higher and broader externally than the rest. Here, some years ago, an immense bas-relief, representing men and animals, covering a grey stone of the height of two men, was dug up from a spot a little above the surface of the ground. All the town of Mousul went out to see it, and in a few days it was cut up or broken to pieces. I picked up at this place a piece of a cornice of gypsum, or what is called Mousul marble.

Hence we went along the wall to another high mount on the wall, like the one we had last observed. Here were some ruins, or inequalities of the ground, stretched north-west into the area of the city; but I am inclined to believe they are only inequalities. All the area from the commencement of this inequality up to the east wall is higher and not so smooth as the western part of it. We continued riding along the wall, which here was high and steep, to the place where the Khausser runs through it, and where is a mount on which I fixed as one of my stations for observations. It does not seem to have been broken; and on the banks of the Khausser here, and also a little higher up, is some stone-work, which may have been part of a pier or bridge

On the outside of the wall, as far round as the

last mount but one, the country is hilly, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, unequal; and thereabouts it runs off to form the high bank of the river on which the Sheikh * is situated.

November 11.—There was some rain in the night, but not enough to spoil my day's work. I therefore went out at the usual time, and set Captain Kefala, with a working party of sepoys, to measure the base, while I went round the southern part of Nineveh, sketched the country, and took the remaining angles. The wall up to Nebbi Yunus bends inwards a little, and, except near the south-west angle, it is small, low, and broken. The road from Karakoosh to Mousul runs along it. Near the angle it becomes high again, and continues high and regular round the south-west angle up to the south-east angle, and then round to the double-headed mount, which I call Station 8. The sides, though very steep, are ploughed.

On the south side or face of the inclosure are three openings, the centre one of which at least seems to have been part of the original plan. A few yards from it on the *outside* of the wall near the Karakoosh road my attention was called to a very curious object, seemingly of the remotest antiquity. Some people had been digging for stones, and had dug a hole in the ground, from which they had turned up many large hewn stones with bitumen

* The tomb of a Mahometan saint, but whose name I cannot learn.—*Ed.*

adhering to them. I examined the excavation, which was about ten feet deep, and found it consisted of huge stones, laid in layers of bitumen and lime-mortar. I brought away some specimens of them sticking together. I also saw some layers of red clay, which were very thick, and had become as indurated as burnt brick*, but there was not the least appearance of reeds or straw ever having been used. This mass appeared to have been a foundation or substructure. We found among the rubbish some pieces of coarse unglazed pottery. It would not have been possible to tell, from the appearance of the surface of the ground, that there had been building beneath—a water-course full of pebbles had even passed over it. It is therefore very difficult to say to what extent vestiges of building may exist outside the inclosures, the area of which may have been the royal quarter, but certainly was never sufficient for the city of Nineveh.

We now went to Damlamajeh, which we had agreed to call Thisbé's Well, to refresh ourselves for a little while; and I took the opportunity of ascertaining the temperature of the spring, which I found to be 66°, that of the air in the little building which contains it being 65°. The spring issues out of a concretion of pebbles. It is covered by a little dome, which is evidently of Mahometan

* Red clay is still used by many as a coating for walls, instead of plaster.

workmanship. The archway which forms the descent to the spring inside the ante-chamber may be more ancient, possibly old Christian architecture. It seems to be built with large fragments of stone taken from the ruins of Nineveh; and on each side of the door-way is a pedestal or capital of a column, exactly similar to the one we found at Koyunjuk.

Once a year the peasants assemble and sacrifice a sheep at the well, with music and other festivities. This is a superstition far anterior to the religion they now profess. This veneration for certain springs is common both to Christians and Mahometans. Captain Kefala, himself a Greek, remarked that this well had every appearance of having been a spot consecrated by the Christians. The Greeks are indeed much attached to grottoes and wells. There is scarcely one in all Greece and the islands which is not consecrated to the Virgin, who seems to have succeeded the nymphs in their guardianship of these places; and where once on a rude basso relievo was seen ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ, we now find an equally rude figure with a dedication to the Panagia. There is something very poetic in the worship of the Virgin.

As I proposed to devote a day entirely to the inspection of Nineveh beyond the wall, and was besides anxious to take the angles at the base while there was good light to see my distant signals, I returned to the inclosure to take my last station,

remarking on my way several stones which had been dug out of the wall or elevation under which the well is situated, between it and the inclosure wall. Most of these stones seem to be of the same kind, that is, a coarser kind of Mousul marble or gypsum, of a grey colour*. I also observed sandstone cut into blocks. Most of the stones dug up were of enormous dimensions.

Between the two walls the ground is ploughed in many places, and I wondered to see how they ploughed ground which seems to consist almost entirely of loose pebbles; but I believe such ground is the best for all plants of the melon kind.

We arrived at the east boundary wall by the Kermelis road, which passes close by the well. The wall on the north side of the road rises into two high mounts, the southernmost of which is the one which I set with the compass from several stations. A little way up it I saw an immense stone, or rather slab, with bitumen adhering to the underside of it, which had just been dug up out of the mount.

While I was employed in taking angles, the Seyd, with Hussein Aga, went into the village of Nebbi Yunus, where they discovered a square stone or slab, covered with a cuneiform inscription which was extremely perfect. This was in the wall of

* The natives distinguish between this and the gypsum, calling the gypsum *heilan*, or *khallan*, and the other from Mousul, *mermer*.

a house, but the Seyd managed so cleverly, that he succeeded in purchasing and bringing it away; and it is now safely lodged among my other curiosities.

After I had concluded my measurements I carefully observed the village and mount of Nebbi Yunus. The village and the tomb are principally built on the east boundary wall, and a mount of parallelogrammic form juts out from it easterly, on which is a burying-ground.

The mound which projects out is not above ten or twelve feet high. The tomb is on the highest part of the whole, and on what appears to have been the west wall, a few yards of which adjoins the village a little in front of the tomb, and on it are some graves and a very deep well; then comes the opening formed by the road from Kermelis to Mousul; after which the wall is continued again up to the Kausser under Koyunjuk. I fear there will be no means of taking the dimensions of the mound of Nebbi Yunus otherwise than by distant sights, on account of the village being on and connected with it.

One thing is sufficiently obvious to the most careless observer, which is, the equality of age of all these vestiges. Whether they belonged to Nineveh or some other city is another question, and one not so easily determined, but that they are all of the same age and character does not admit of a doubt.

The vestiges or traces of building within the area are, with the exception of Nebbi Yunus and Koyun-

juk, extremely slight; and I am now confirmed in the opinion I formed in viewing the ruins many years ago, that the inclosure formed only a part of a great city, probably either the citadel or royal precincts, or perhaps both, as the practice of fortifying the residence of the sovereign is of very ancient origin. In the East to this day the dwelling of the prince, and indeed of many governors, consists of a number of buildings inclosed in quite a separate quarter; and from what we are told of the Babylonian palaces, and see of that of the Seffiviyahs and of the Sultan of Constantinople, this extent would not be too much to assign for the residence of the Assyrian kings *.

* Most readers are acquainted with the extent assigned to this city in the Scriptures, but it may not be so generally known that the heathen authors agree likewise in giving the same account of its vastness. " Strabon (says the Abbé Sevin, *Recherches sur l'Histoire d'Assyrie*) assure que cette ville occupoit l'espace qui est entre le Tigre et le Lycus; et cet espace, au rapport de Ptolémée, n'a pas moins de 50,000 pas, si on le prend de l'endroit où le Lycus va se jetter dans le Tigre. Il est aisé de juger par-là quelle devoit être la grandeur de Ninève. Je ne vois rien de plus magnifique que la description qui nous a été laissée par Diodore. Si on en croit cet historien, elle avoit 150 stades de long sur 90 de large; et le circuit étoit de 480 stades, qui font environ 60,000 pas. Une si prodigieuse étendue paroîtroit sans doute incroyable, si on ne trouvoit expressément dans l'Ecriture, que Jonas n'employa pas moins de trois jours à faire le tour de cette fameuse ville. Après tout, les murs n'en étoient pas moins dignes d'admiration. Leur hauteur étoit de 100 pieds, et on rapporte que trois chariots y pouvoient aisément marcher de front. Il y avoit outre cela 1500 tours, dont chacune étoit de 200 pieds de haut. A juger par cette description, il n'y a

Nadir Shah when he besieged Mousul encamped within this inclosure, and his own tents were pitched on the Koyunjuk mount. He did not entrench himself, indeed he found a kind of defence ready made in the ancient walls of Nineveh; and had he chosen a less guarded position, he would have had no occasion to throw up any works, as he was in no danger of a sally from the garrison. There was no army in the field, and the brave garrison of Mousul were few in number and obliged to keep strictly on the defensive within the walls on the other side of the river, the bridge being of course broken down. The inhabitants still talk much of the skill of Kazukjee Mustafa Pasha, an engineer who had arrived from Constantinople, in finding out and defeating Nadir Shah's plans for mining and getting possession of the city; once in particular when he was working a tunnel under the Tigris.

They also have a story about the dispersion of Nadir Shah's army by the miraculous interposition of St. George, St. Matthew *, and Jonah, who appeared among them armed and mounted.

personne qui ne s'imaginât, qu'à peine un siècle auroit pu suffire pour porter à sa perfection un ouvrage qui est si fort au-dessus des plus beaux monumens de l'antiquité. Si l'on s'en rapporte à Eustathe, il fut entièrement achevé dans l'espace de huit années; et la chose semblera d'autant plus vraisemblable, que 140,000 hommes y travaillèrent sans interruption."—*Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. iv. p. 500, duodecimo.

* Called by the people of Mousul, Sheikh Muttee, not the Evangelist. There is a very ancient and celebrated convent (Deir

November 12.—The bridge of boats at the city is three hundred and five feet in length, and consists of twenty-one boats; then comes a space of one hundred and forty feet to the end of a stone bridge of sixteen arches five hundred and twelve feet, in all nine hundred and fifty-seven feet, the whole of which space is occupied by the river in the spring and early summer. I have seen it in this state twice on two former visits to this place; at present a small stream of one foot deep only passes through it; the bridge forms an obtuse angle at its centre. The bridge of boats is extended to the stone bridge, when the river rises and covers the pebbly bed, which is now a vacant space of one hundred and forty feet between the two bridges. The river is narrowest at the bridge of boats, and deepest just below it, where it is fifty feet in mid-channel; it then widens and shallows to 38, 30, 21, 18, 10, 11. 11, 12, 10, 9, 10, 12, 10, 8, 7, 5, to the place below our garden, where it throws out two branches eastwards, and forms the two low islands now planted with melons; this is about two miles below the bridge, but these islands and others above the town all disappear when the river rises, and it then becomes one fine stream *.

Mar Mattei) dedicated to him half way up Mount Makloube. The veneration of the Mahometans for him probably is inherited from ante-Islam times.

* I may here observe that the measurements and soundings of the river were taken by Captain Kefala.

CHAPTER XIV.

Continuation of the Examination of the Ruins of Nineveh—Measurements—Hollow Way—Remains of Piers, Buttresses and Pillars—Separation Mound—Stones with Bitumen—Vestiges of another Mound—Great Mound called Eski Bari—The Ditch—Conical Mound—Arrival of Delli Samaan—Antiques—Country North of the Ruins—Large Stone-masonry—The Wall—Tomb of Sheikh Ahmed—Convent of St. George—Mounds of Ruins—Country South of Nineveh—Measurements—High Bank of Yaremjee—Mousul Winter—Cultivation—Mode of Building practised—same as in Ancient Times.

November 13.—WENT out as usual to Nineveh. My object to-day was to inspect the eastern part of the ruins. I first went to the two mounts, which are about twenty-five feet high, and here I sketched a view of Mousul*; this being a good point, as it takes in Nebbi Yunus in the fore-ground. In the mean-time I sent the Seyd to Nebbi Yunus to take the dimensions of the mount which juts out from it; he found them as follows:

Length east and west ....431½ feet.
Breadth north to south....355 do.

He effected this without being observed; whereas had I gone I should have attracted a crowd round me. He also saw in the village a very large stone with one line of writing in the cuneiform character on it; but as this was all, he did not attempt to bring it away, being very ponderous.

* See accompanying plate.

I also looked again at the western boundary from Nebbi Yunus up to the Khausser. There are three passages through this wall. The largest, which may have been originally an opening, is the one nearest to the Khausser.

While I was sketching, I detached the captain with a working-party to measure on to the eastward boundary. The measurement is as follows:—

Feet.

1295—To the edge of the ravine, in which is Thisbé's well.

145—Breadth of the ravine to its eastern mound.

395—Breadth of the mound.

172—Breadth of the second ravine. After this comes the last regular or considerable mound.

2007—Outside of the boundary to the inside of the last considerable mound.

About half way between the boundary and the ravine is a hollow way about one hundred and fifty feet broad, sunk a little below the level, and as straight as if it had been drawn with a line. It runs N. 7 W. by S. 7 E. I at first was inclined to consider this as a ditch, but a little way in it, on the left of a road, I perceived some vestiges, which induced me to ride through the hollow way as far as it went. I found in it, about two hundred yards from the Kermelis road, and near the middle of the ravine, some vestiges composed of concretion or conglomeration rock; which, had the forms been at all equivocal, might have passed for natural objects on a slight inspection; but though there was not enough left to make out any regular plan, there was certainly quite suffi-

cient to show that it was building, all the forms being strictly and unequivocally artificial, consisting of right angles, and stumps of piers, buttresses, or pillars. These remains covered several square yards, but are only a couple of feet above the ground. It is quite clear too that they are not cut out, but built. They are no doubt formed by the common rubbish of the country, that is to say, of pebbles and soil, well rammed down, with perhaps what is called a wash of lime poured upon it, which in a short time would bind the whole together, and convert it into a solid mass, exactly like a natural rock: for in some of these conglomerations, where they had crumbled away, I found pieces of lime-mortar, and in others some layers of indurated mud, as if it had been distilled, when wet, through the mass, and had filled up the hollows which it had found near the bottom. I still rode on in this sunken way, remarking, as I went along, some other vestiges of building on the sides. The bottom of it is ploughed. It appears as if it had been closed up by building, possibly a gateway*. A semicircular hollow way leaves it at this end, and returns to it again a little south of the Kermelis road; and it is in this semicircle, or more correctly arc, that Thisbé's well is situated at four hundred and ninety feet north of the Kermelis road. I rode all through the arc to its rejunction with the

* The level of this curious hollow way is much above the bed formed by the inundations of the Khausser.

straight ravine, and examined the ravine itself to its south termination, which is north of the south-east angle of the inclosure. Here also the sides exhibit a great quantity of solid conglomeration. The spot is called by the natives Abdal Kaiasi, or the Abdal or Dervish Rock.

We now returned to rest at Thisbé's well; and the captain amused himself with cutting our names on its walls. Some traveller in after times, when our remembrance has long been swept away by the torrent of time, and the meanest of man's works only remain, may wonder, on reading the name of Mary Rich, who the adventurous female was who had visited the ruins of Nineveh. He will not be aware that, had her name been inscribed at every spot she had visited in the course of her weary pilgrimage, it would be found in places compared with which Mousul is the centre of civilization.

I next went to examine the ravine east of the arc, from which it is separated by a mound or elevation three hundred and ninety-five feet broad in front of the well, and of no great height. The Kermelis road passes over, and almost obliterates it. Farther north the separation mound is much higher, probably twenty-five feet high, and growing narrower at the top. The ditch, or ravine itself, is one hundred and seventy-two feet broad, and is bounded on the east by another mound, the highest of all, and much higher towards the ditch; the level of the country being

higher than the bottom of the ditch. The upper part of this mound comes to a ridge. The lower part is broad, and seemingly rests on a bank or bed of concretion, of which it is difficult to determine whether it be artificial or natural, but I am rather inclined to think the latter. The west side of the ditch is lower, that is, between eight and ten feet high; and from the road in a southerly direction, exhibits almost a regular wall of concretion up to its termination, nearly on a line with the south-east angle of the inclosure. The bottom of the ditch is full of loose pebbles, possibly the decomposition of the conglomeration. A few solid fragments are seen near the middle; but their forms are not such as to enable me to say positively that they were buildings.

I must not forget to repeat, that from all these mounds, large stones, frequently with bitumen adhering to them, are dug out. In general, I think there were but very few bricks used in the building of Nineveh.

But to return to my survey. The ditch and mound run S. 3 W. from the Kermelis road to its south termination, and N. 1½ E. to the Khausser; but it is not quite so ruled a line as the first hollow way. I went up the Kermelis road to the outer, or east side of the eastern mound, and then traced it down along the outside. Two ravines, or roads, descend through it to the ditch, between the Kermelis road and its termination. It decreases in height as you advance;

and the nature of the country outside, which is not flat, and over which the plough has passed for ages, renders it almost impossible to ascertain to what extent eastwards vestiges of the former habitations of men might be found; but I am inclined to think that Nineveh extended still farther in this direction. This uneven country is about four miles in breadth, commencing from the eastern part of the inclosure on the Kermelis road, and extends north up to the first rising of the country to join the Koordish mountains on the road from the village of Reshideh to Vana. It then comes to the river's edge—how far south it extends I am unacquainted with. What part of this space was covered by ancient Nineveh it is, as I said before, nearly impossible now to ascertain.

As I was riding along the outside of this mound, towards the Khausser, and where it becomes much lower, I came to some vestiges of another mound, about fifty feet still east of the former. This mound winds a little, and is of no great length. Before it, the great mound becomes very low and flat, and is ploughed over. This second mound rises in one place to the height of nearly thirty feet, and is divided by a road. On the highest part of this mound where I took my stand, in order to take an observation, I had a good view of the country round me. The mound on which I was standing runs about N. 15 W. to S. 15 E., beginning near the

Khausser. The village of Hashamia lay on this side of the river, not far from its banks; and on a high spot opposite was the termination of this mound. The Khausser, on quitting the inclosure, turns and runs about N. 20 W., then about N. 40 W., up from this mound. The great mound, which is called Eski Bari, winds and follows the river up its eastern bank. The other bank, after the elbow N. 40 W., is also high, and seemingly artificial likewise. The country about the village of Hashamia is high and uneven. The mound on which I was standing grows less again, and soon terminates at a water-course or ravine made by the rain forcing itself a channel into the Khausser.

I now returned along the west face of the great mound, which soon becomes higher again. I noticed on its western boundary, which separates it from the arc, or semicircular hollow way in which Thisbé's well is situated, a mount like an inverted bowl, with a circle, or rather vestiges of building in a circle, about half way up. I traced this ditch and mound all along to its southern extremity, nearly on a line with the south-west angle of the inclosure. Here it opens into a lower country, and a small ravine or water-course now dry passes by it, runs parallel with the south face of the inclosure at a few yards' distance, and discharges the waters that pour through the ditch on very heavy rains; but this water-course does not commence with the ditch—it comes from the

east. Close on its edge, and indeed, even in its bed, is the recent excavation before mentioned, in which were discovered large stones and bitumen; and this evening, as we were riding along it on our return home, we saw some immense stones with bitumen in several other places.

But I have a little outstripped my progress in the survey. In riding along in the ditch, when I came to the place where the mound grows higher, I ascended it and took some sights with my compass.

My next station was at the southern termination of the great mound. It here falls at once, without being broken, into the common level. A little conical artificial mount, called Zembil Tepessi, was visible from hence, in the country outside the ruins, and distant about half a mile in a south-east direction; and to the east I perceived another mound, on the outside of Eski Bari, near its north end, on the Khausser, but it was not considerable. The straight hollow way I have already described terminates abruptly in Abdal Kaiasi, a little before Eski Bari.

We returned home a little after sunset.

November 16. — Delli Samaan, my curiosity-hunter, brought me to-day some fragments of cuneiform inscriptions on stone, and a seal of agate with the priest worshipping the sun, and other symbols, similar in every respect to some I got at Babylon. These he found in the mound of Koyunjuk, which the natives call the Kalaa, or Castle of Ninewe.

November 17.—This morning I sallied forth to visit the country north of the ruins of Nineveh. We first went up to Koyunjuk, along the banks of the Khausser, which skirts the greater part of it close at the base. At the level of the water where the rains had washed away some of the soil from off the mound, we saw several layers of large stone-masonry, like a solid foundation. This was near the village of Koyunjuk, where we crossed the Khausser; it is about a foot deep. As the passage is generally bad on the Mousul road where it falls into the Tigris, people are often forced after rain to come up thus far, even when they are going to the village of Reshideh, as there is no bridge. Here it widens, and has a hard gravelly bottom. In the spring it is sometimes unfordable for a short time.

The Khausser is generally drawn off for irrigating the cotton-plantations in the alluvial ground of the river, and, when not used for irrigation, its superfluous waters run through a channel east of the Tigris to the islands below the garden. There is a small bridge of three arches over this channel, very near the bridge of Mousul; but when it is much overflowed, it discharges itself into the Tigris above the bridge. The lesser channel is properly the vent of the irrigation canals.

Leaving the Khausser we passed through the area of the inclosure to station No. 3; remarking on our left, that the higher country passes through the

walls, which are built on it, at the mount between stations 3 and 4, and runs all along that side of the area, exhibiting in some places the strata of concretion, which may not be building. It is not so unequivocal as the specimens in the hollow way.

We passed through the wall and then rode over alluvial soil covered with pebbles washed down from the higher grounds, the banks of which were from about fifteen to twenty and thirty feet high. They advanced outwards from the mount above station 3, in a northerly direction, sometimes descending very gradually into the lower ground, and sometimes more abrupt and broken, where it shows a table or stratum of concretion, about five feet thick, and ten or fifteen above the alluvial soil, which is horizontal, and seems to run through the whole of the country. The country is likewise much furrowed by rain, running off the higher and harder ground down towards the river; and on the edge or step, especially, is worn into hills, by the yielding and crumbling down of the gravel. In such a country it is not easy to say precisely what are ruins and what are not; what is art converted by the lapse of ages into a semblance of nature, and what is merely nature broken by the hand of time into ruins, approaching in their appearance those of art.

We went to the tomb of Sheikh Ahmed, which I had set with my compass from many points. It is

situated on a high promontory of this bank or step of the higher country, overlooking the village of Kadi Keuy. This gave me a good line of country, and I took a set of angles with my pocket-sextant carefully rectified, each angle being taken several times. I next took up the detail of the river down to Nineveh; and when I had finished, we mounted, and descending the cliff or bank again into the alluvial gronnd, proceeded to the convent of St. George. Shortly after we passed the promontory, which is a cliff of concretion, out of which we remarked a fig-tree growing.

From this the bank retires into a semicircle forming a bay. It advances again close behind the convent, and then runs westerly to the river beyond the village of Shira Khan: the area is alluvial. In the bank, which is much furrowed and worn into hillocks, I observed some stones, lime, and other fragments which seemed to indicate building. Some mounds near the convent, and a line or mound about a hundred yards long just before it, were quite unequivocally artificial. The convent itself is situated on a mound, and in this solitary bay it looked like a hermitage on Sinai. It belongs to the Chaldeans. The church is small and ancient. At the end opposite the sanctuary or altar is a high place, on which are two pulpits for readers, a sure mark that this was an oriental church anterior to Romanism; and pro-

bably it belonged to the Nestorians. There are many old *stranghelo** inscriptions; but the kind of half-priest, half-servant who showed it to us could not inform me the age of it. A Dominican missionary, Padre Gaetano, is buried there A.D. 1753. The convent is more recent than the church. The terrace of the church was clean and agreeable. In the spring it is a favourite resort of the principal Turks of Mousul, who probably come here to indulge themselves in the unlimited use of wine, to which the people of Mousul of all religions are much addicted.

On our return we kept easterly through the high country, which is, as I said before, furrowed by the water making its way to the lower banks of the river. Its surface is completely covered with pebbles, among which I noticed many flints. We did not observe anything hereabouts which could positively be pronounced to be a ruin. The river throws out several branches in the low country.

We entered the inclosure at station No. 3, and proceeded, as before, to the Khausser under Koyunjuk.

* The different sects of Syrian Christians do not use the same character in writing their ancient language. That employed by the Maronites and some others is nearly the Syriac letter of European printed books. It is said to have been introduced by the celebrated divine and historian Abul Faraj, or Abulfaragius, Bishop of Seleucia, in the thirteenth century. The truth is, however, that it was formed by gradual changes from the old Syriac alphabet, called *Stranghelo* or *Estranghelo*, which is of considerable antiquity, and in which, of course, the most valuable MSS. are written.—*Communicated by a Friend to the Ed.*

We examined the break of the western boundary wall on the Khausser, and another break or opening in it a little farther south, the earth of which it is formed lying in layers like unburnt brick; but I cannot positively affirm that it was unburnt brick. No reeds were visible, even where the fractures which showed the interior were recent. I saw again several large stones, dug out of the lower part of this wall.

We returned home just at sunset, the distance from the convent being an hour and a half.

November 18.—This day I devoted to the examination of the country to the south of Nineveh. I first went to the southern face of the inclosure, which I measured, or rather the Captain measured for me, with the chain, while I took the bearings again, in order to serve as a verification. The dimensions are as follows:—

	Feet.
1. The part of the western wall (from Nebbi Yunus down) where it is highest, and turns round the south-west angle without interruption, to south-west angle	320
2. From south-west angle to first break in the south wall	520
3. From first break to the second or principal break or entrance	1130
4. From the second break to the third	510
5. From the third break to the south-west angle	460
Total, from the south-west to the south-east angle	2620
Or 873 yards, 1 foot.	

The direction N. 84 W. The angle then rounds off into the new direction, and the new alignment is N. 7° 56′ W. Hence the termination of the straight

hollow way is N. 24 E. The hollow way has a fragment of *concrete* building just in the centre of the mound at its termination. It is quite plain that this hollow way is not a mere ditch or canal dug or cut out; for here especially its configuration is quite clear. It rises from the foot of the eastern boundary to the edge of the hollow way in an inclined plane.

From the south-east angle of the inclosure the westernmost point of the high abrupt bank of Yaremjee bore N. 18 W. I was determined to inspect this bank myself, although I was told it was quite natural; yet the level of the country rose so much at one spot, that this alone was enough to excite my curiosity. I was indeed very glad I went there, for I found a high abrupt bank, which was evidently artificial, broken down by some former overflowing of the Tigris. It was forty-two feet perpendicular height, and one thousand one hundred and fifty feet long from N. 85 W. to S. 85 E. At its western extremity it turns a little south, and has there also been eaten away by the water. It is on the prolongation of the step from the river-bed to the higher ground. On its south side it rises gently from the ground; and here is situated the village of Yaremjee, the inhabitants of which are of the Turcoman race. We observed likewise a few tents of the Beni Harith Arabs. The north face of the mound is, as I said before, a prolongation of the step which rises from the low alluvial ground to the higher country. Here the

country has been cut down to a precipice by the waters, and exhibits remains of building—such as layers of large stones—some with bitumen on them, and a few burnt bricks and tiles. The interior looks like the interior of the west boundary wall of the inclosure. The layers of stone-work were to be seen likewise. The breadth of the mound is inconsiderable; but it is difficult to say what it may have been before the encroachment of the river. The river has not come up to this bank within the memory of man. The Turcomans of Yaremjee told me that there is a tradition among them that this was *the Pottery* of Nineveh: that it seems to have been a part of Nineveh is certain. I did not meet with any antiques deserving of notice, except a Cufic coin or two, and a few *Agnus Dei* belonging to Christian rosaries. None of the stones that we observed here had any inscriptions on them. The whole appearance of the face of the mound is exactly similar to that of Koyunjuk where it is broken down. Beyond or south of the mound there are no appearances of ruins.

I also observed all the detail of the river, both from here and the south-west angle, with the compass, and sketched it on the spot.

We then returned home along the river. The low ground, where it is uncultivated, is covered with bushes of tamarisk; but in every direction we went the cultivation was very extensive, and there seemed little ground wasted. The people were getting in the cotton harvest, which was almost over.

November 25.—We have had abundant rain yesterday and to-day. The first rain that falls, when it is sufficient to soak the ground, is called "pella" by the people of these parts, and is always much needed by the cultivation at that season. The Mousul winter begins generally about the end of this mouth. The increase of grain here is from eight to twenty on seed. Last year, which was a very good one, the crops yielded twenty; but this is not common. The lands in the territory of Mousul are obliged to lie fallow every other year. The farmers when they cultivate a spot of ground with wheat or barley one year, plough it the next, and let it remain without seed till the year after; but the islands in the river are cultivated every year, without intermission. Some hemp is grown about Mousul, but, I believe, no flax. A great quantity of the castor-oil plant is cultivated. The oil is used for burning, and is said to be efficacious in bruises; but they are not acquainted with its purgative qualities; indeed I have never met with any Orientals who were.

November 30.—We have had rain for several days past. At no season of the year is there ever so much rain at Bagdad as has just fallen here. This Mousul owes to the vicinity of the mountains. All the grain of these parts is cultivated without artificial irrigation, which is applied to cotton only. On this account cotton is cultivated along the banks of the river. Sometimes, by a sudden flood, the river

inundates the cotton-grounds; but this happens generally at a season—that is, in the spring—when no great damage is occasioned.

December 1.—We have had incessant rain. Last night a violent thunder-storm, with very heavy *tropical* rain, and one of the loudest claps, or rather crashes, of thunder I ever heard. Such a quantity of rain as this does not fall in Bagdad from one year's end to the other. The Khausser now discharges itself *direct* into the Tigris, and brings an immense body of water.

December 5.—The rain still continues. This afternoon it seemed inclined to clear up. The river is now quite full, and has overflowed the melon-grounds. The water-wheels are removed, and the bridge of boats opened. So great a flood is not common at this time of the year.

Bekir Aga, at whose expense the stone bridge over the Tigris here was built, also built one over the Khausser, on the Constantinople road; but it was carried away one night by the violence of the Khausser on a sudden inundation. The bridge over the Tigris is built wholly of stones dug out of the walls of Nineveh, which, as Jirjees Aga remarked, is an inexhaustible resource.

I have learnt from Hajee Jirjees Aga a mode of building which is still practised, and which throws great light on some of the ruins seen at Nineveh. Pebbles, lime, and red earth or clay are mixed to-

gether. This in a very short time, especially after exposure to water, becomes, as Hajee Jirjees Aga said, like a solid rock. The lime for this purpose must be slaked with water, and not merely burnt. It was in this manner that he himself, by command of the Pasha, lately caused the passage at the bridge gate, and a part of the bank which had been carried away by the river to be repaired. It is to be remarked that I learnt this, not by any inquiry about Nineveh, but by accident, in the course of a conversation on other topics.

CHAPTER XV.

Visit to the Convents—Bridge of the Khausser—Olive Plantations—Yezids—Some account of them—Their great Place of Pilgrimage—Of Burial—Large Mount—Convent of Mar Mattei—When founded—Noble View—Alexander the Great—The River Bumadus—The Bishop of the Convent—Our departure—Halt at Yezid Village—Tumuli—Yezid Women—Blind Yezid Musician.

December 13.—THE weather having settled fair for some days, and the country begun to dry a little, I resolved to recommence my expeditions and to complete my survey. The convent of Mar Mattei or Sheikh Muttee, on Mount Makloube, besides being a curious place in itself, was a favourable situation for carrying on my trigonometrical observations, and was the easternmost extremity of my line. I therefore determined to commence with that, and we left the Pasha's garden this morning for this purpose, accompanied by a small party.

We passed by the bridge of the Khausser at a quarter past twelve, our road lying through the aperture in the wall of Nineveh, thence up to the place where the Khausser enters the enclosure, and *through* the mount mentioned as bearing N. 39 E. from Nebbi Yunus, and just below the village of Hashemia.

The land appeared to be well cultivated, the people were ploughing and sowing in many places, and the face of the country was gently undulating; in some places slightly furrowed by water-courses during the late heavy rains. At half-past one we passed, at a little distance on our left hand, an artificial mount of a long and narrow form, but not a hundred yards in length. A ravine passed by and intersected our road, which is, I believe, a continuation of that called the Shor Dereh, to which the ruins of Nineveh may have extended.

At ten minutes past two we observed the villages of Baazani and Baasheka, both similarly situated just under the line of hills which front Makloube, and with extensive olive-plantations before each. The level of the country seems to decline from this point to near these villages. Kermelis and some other villages, with artificial mounts near them, were visible on our right; but the country did not become that perfectly level *alluvial-like* flat that it is about Kermelis, the undulations continuing on the right and also in front, though rather less, and growing more marked on the left. At this spot we saw another artificial hill close on our left, which seemed like one of those mounts that are the ordinary accompaniments of villages in these parts; but there was no village near this one.

We directed our course towards Baasheka, which was to be our quarters for the night, and arrived at

half past three. The olive woods before the village were extensive and the trees were fine ones, though seemingly of a great age. A similar wood lies before the neighbouring village of Baazani, and much of the olive-oil used in Mousul is the produce of these two villages. It is principally consumed in the manufacture of soap, not being of a sufficiently good quality for eating, probably from negligence in the preparation. It has a singular taste, but all the Christians of this country prefer kunjut or sesamine oil, which to a stranger is extremely offensive.

The inhabitants of Baasheka are composed of Yezids, or, as they call themselves here, Dassini *, and Jacobites, who have a neat-looking church. There are also ten families of Mahometans. The neighbouring village of Baazani is similarly composed with respect to Dassinis, but the Christians there are I believe mostly Syrian Catholics. The houses are built of stone, and we had very tolerable quarters in what is called the palace, or house of the proprietor of the village, Emin Bey, a gentleman of Mousul, who sometimes visits it, as the people said, "to make his keif, or enjoy himself;" that is, taste

* Dasin is another name for Sinjaar, and all the Yezids called Dassinis seem to have been originally from Sinjaar. The others, though professing the same faith, are never called Dassinis. Dasin is likewise the name of a large village in the province of Hakkaria, two or three days' journey on the other side of Amadia. There are the ruins there of a convent dedicated to St. John. The village too I hear is now ruined and abandoned.

the liquor of his peasantry, who all make bad wine and strong arrack, the Yezids being even greater drinkers than the Christians.

Baasheka is situated just in front of a defile, where there is a spring which seems to be an object of veneration to the Yezids, as is also Ain u Sufra. They repair to them in spring to the number of two or three thousand, men, women and children; they offer sacrifices, play at various martial games, and end by getting drunk. In these parties they are not unfrequently joined by Turks and Christians. At this season, the feast of Khidder Elias, they have a fast of three days, which they had just finished on the night of our arrival. There is a very neat tomb of some Yezid saint in the olive-grounds, covered with a white stuccoed dome.

The Yezids seemingly have Christianity, or some barbarous remains of it, among them. They admit both baptism and circumcision; believe in the metempsychosis; never say "such a one is dead," but "he is changed;" never enter a Christian church without kissing the threshold and putting off their shoes. Their principal burial-place is at Bozan, a village at the foot of the mountain of Rabban Hormuz, and bodies are carried there from all parts. It was formerly a Christian village with a monastery.

The Khan of Sheikh Khan or Baadli is the Pope of the Yezids. He is descended from the family of the Ommiades, and is esteemed the Emir Hadje of

the Yezids. Their great place of pilgrimage is at Sheikh Adi, three hours distant in the mountains beyond Sheikh Khan, and it is said to have been a Christian monastery *. The church, conventicle, or whatever it may be called, is said to resemble that at Jerusalem, every different tribe of Yezids having its own separate station in it. Their Peer or Sheikh reads prayers, every one at intervals crying out "Amen;" and this is the whole of their worship. It is true that they pay adoration, or at least a sort of worship, to Mellek Taous, the figure of a bird placed on a kind of candlestick †. They will not spit into the fire or blow out a candle with their breaths. When the sun just appears above the horizon they salute it with three prostrations. When they are taxed by the Christians and Turks with having no books, they say it is because God has so peculiarly enlightened their minds as to render books and a written law unnecessary ‡.

* I have since been informed by a Christian priest who has been at Sheikh Adi, which he says is four hours from Baadli, that the Ziyaret, or place of pilgrimage, has been a Christian church, dedicated to St. Thaddeus. The sanctuary is still perfectly distinguishable. There is a spring of water in it which is received into a basin, and used by the Yezids for baptizing their children, whom they dip three times, but say no prayers on the occasion.

† This figure is that of a cock, and is produced but once a year for the purpose of worship.

‡ The following is the account given of the Yezids by the Turkish historian Haji Khalfah in the Jehan Numa. "The Yezids reckon themselves disciples of Sheikh Hadi, who was one of the Merwanian caliphs. The Yezids were originally Sufites, who have

The lime-hills behind Baasheka are composed of sandstone, limestone and gypsum. We saw a great quantity of the latter, seemingly of a very good quality, preparing for use at the village. It is first broken into pieces, then burnt, and afterwards reduced to a fine powder by being placed in a circle paved with stones, and rather lower at the perimeter than the centre. Mules tread round this as if they were treading out the corn, dragging after them a heavy stone-roller, not cylindrical, but square, which at every turn beats the time with its whole weight. It is a simple and convenient contrivance.

From an eminence just behind the village I had several sights with my compass, and among the rest of Ain u Safra or Saree Boolak, or yellow spring, about an hour and a half distant, bearing S. 36 E. from the village. It is situated in a ravine, and descending from the north end of the hill runs south towards the north-east. The water is of a yellow colour and acid taste. It is one of the springs held sacred by the Yezids, as already mentioned *.

A large mount with a flat surface, its sides broken

fallen into error and darkness. Those whom they call their Sheikhs wear black turbans, whence they are called Kara Bash (black head); they never hide their women. They buy places in Paradise from their Sheikhs, and on no account curse the Devil or Yezid. The Sheikh Hadi has made our fast and prayer a part of their abominable faith, and they say that at the day of judgment he will cause numbers to enter into Paradise. They have a great enmity to the Doctors of the Law."

* See p. 69.

In some places, looking like a small Koyunjuk, was visible about one mile distant in S. 7 W. This mount is called by the peasants Tel Billa, and is very ancient. On a pinnacle or broken part of the face of the line of hills, just below or south-east of the village, are the remains of a building called by the peasants Kalaa u Safra; and they say Safra, of whom they make a personage, resided there in very ancient times.

The hill on which Mar Daniel *, another old Christian church, is situated, and of which it occupies the highest and central point, is abrupt on its western and sloping on its eastern side, where it descends to broken ground that runs along to the southern extremity of the line of hills that screen Makloube. These again are abrupt on their western faces, and all broken into glens or ravines. On the east they decline gently into a vale much higher than the country on their west. They (more correctly it, for it is one continued line) do not extend very far north; and on the south they terminate before they reach the extremity of Makloube. The course *seems* east and west.

December 14.—There is a road by the spring Ain u Safra through a defile in the hills into the vale of Makloube, but as it is stony and troublesome we preferred going round by the southern extremity. We

* The only mention I can find of Mar Daniel is in Asseman, tom. ii. p. 247.

mounted at twenty minutes past ten and kept S. 84 E. along the foot of the hills. Soon after we came to the little Yezid village of Hajee Jo; and a little after eleven, at the foot of the hills, we passed the Yezid village of Kofan, where a great Peer or Yezid saint resides. At a quarter before twelve our course turned N. 20 W. over the hills, near their termination into the broken valley which separates them from Makloube. The convent from hence had a formidable and inaccessible appearance. At noon we reached a little spring fringed with some dwarf oleanders. The bare and broken hills of sandstone and limestone had put me much in mind of some of the islands of the Archipelago, and the oleanders strengthened the resemblance.

Soon after we passed the little Yezid village of Meerik, shortly after which we began the steep ascent of the mountain up to the convent, through the projecting wings of the rock. The road, not a bad one for such a situation, wound in short sharp turns up the face of the precipice. Mrs. Rich rode the whole way up, but the example was not followed by many of us. At a quarter to one we reached the gate of the convent, the ascent having occupied just thirty minutes. The convent has much the appearance of a stronghold, being composed of two large towers, or buildings resembling towers, at each extremity, united indeed by a common wall. Had this curtain been embattled, and the wall a little thicker, it would pass

for a very tolerable baron's castle of the fourteenth century. It is situated on the very edge of the precipice, and the bare rock rises immediately behind it, in which indeed are ensconced many chambers, and parts of the structure. It is, in short, built in the abrupt face of the mountain, like a martin's nest, and the general plan is not very easy to describe. It consists principally of the aforesaid towers and two courts between them, with an infinity of little detached holes, nooks, and chambers in the rock; but from a great many of them being now in ruins, it is evident that the whole establishment must at one time have been much more considerable. Indeed it formerly seems to have been a place of strength, for Tamerlane took it by storm. He assaulted it from the eastern side of the mountain, and entered just above its south-east angle. There were then works built on the rock, which is now unprotected, and commands it. The present habitable part, and the church, which is in the south-east angle, have been recently fitted up, under the protection of the Pasha of Mousul's brother, Hajee Osman Bey, but the skeleton of this part of the design seems to have been preserved. In the highest part of the inclosure up the hill are seen some lines of large stones, part of the original building. This convent belongs to the Jacobites, and the abbot is always a Matran or bishop. The present incumbent is an old man, and besides himself he has only one monk, and a lad who

is educating for the priesthood. According to the abbot Matran Mousa, the convent was founded in 334 A.D. by Mar Mattei, a saint, and companion of St. George, who fled from the persecution of Diocletian, and took refuge here. Having by his prayers healed the daughter named Havla, of the King of the Assyrians, he obtained permission to build this convent. But this, to the best of my recollection, is recorded in Assemanni, in a much more authentic manner.

The famous Gregory Bar Hebræus, or Abulfaraj, is buried here*.

* The following is taken from Assemanni:—

In the time of Shapour, King of Persia, two convents were founded in Assyria, at or near Nineveh. First, St. Matthew, on mount Elphaphius, also called Chuchta; the other, St. Jonah. The first was occupied by the Jacobites, the other by the Nestorians. The convent of Mar Mattei is also mentioned, under Barebræus the bishop of Seleucia, who was put to death by Firouz, in 797 of the Greeks, or A.D. 486*. It is also called Chuchta, in Mount Elpheph. Isaac of Nineveh was a monk in Mar Mattei, about the year 590 A.D. In the year 1171, when Noureddin Zenghi, Lord of Damascus, was at Mousul, the Koords broke into

* The era called Alexandrian is that of the Seleucidæ, commencing with the entrance of Seleucus Nicator into Babylon, three hundred and eleven years and four months before the commencement of our era. It was once much used, especially by the eastern Greeks, and by the Jews, who call it the era of contracts, from having been compelled by the Macedonian kings to adopt it in civil processes. It is still used by some of the Arabs. The Arabic name for it, Taarick-dheil-Karnain, the era of the two-horned, seems to have given rise to the supposition that it began with Alexander, whose well-known claims to descent from Jupiter Ammon occasioned his being represented with horns, as was Seleucus also, from some cause not so fully ascertained.—*By a Friend.*

From the terrace of the south tower where we are lodged, we have a noble and extended view, comprising the whole of Alexander's operations from the passage of the Tigris, to the arrival at Arbela, after the battle of Gaugamela. The Bumadus meanders at the foot or southern extremity of this mountain, and I am now told it rises just below Amadia. I can trace the Zab plainly.

December 15.—The morning was rather thick and cloudy, so that I could not get any altitude for the time. Nevertheless the distance was clear enough to enable me to go on with my observations upon the country, and this is indeed a noble station for the purpose.

I had a hard day's work, and to relieve myself a little from the fatigue of the observations, I went again to see the church. As I thought before, the skeleton of the building is old. In a room or recess adjoining the sanctuary, we were shown the tomb of

the convent of Mar Mattei, and slew Matthew the Archimandrite; and it was again ruined by the Koords in A.D. 1369.

The following is extracted from among other notes in Mr. Rich's Journal, but without any reference. It is probably taken from Assemanni.

Mar Mattei came from Nice to this place. Mar Behnan, son of the *King Sennacherib of Nineveh*, was martyred by his father for having embraced Christianity from Mar Mattei. Sennacherib afterwards repented, and becoming a Christian, from the persuasion of Mar Mattei, founded the convent. Mar Behnan's sister Sarah was also a saint. Sennacherib was a Mellik or Provincial Governor under the Romans, as the Bey of Jezira, or Pasha of Amadia, are now under the Turks.

the founder, Mar Mattei, with that of his successor Zaccheus, and several of his disciples. On the tomb-stones, which project out of the wall like desks, are inscriptions in *stranghelo*, or, as it is called here, *seringheli*. On that of Mar Mattei was the date of 1530, that is, of Alexander, or 1230 of Christ*, at least this is what the priest told me, for I cannot yet read *stranghelo*, though I hope soon to be able. The name of the King of the Assyrians is said to be Sem Hhareebs, and he was the father of Mar Behnan, or St. Elias, or Khidder Elias. This is a fine *galimatias!* I hope to be able however to clear it up, by reference to Assemanni.

On the terrace above is a smaller church dedicated to the Virgin, but service is seldom or never performed in it. We went into a cleft or hole in the rock on the north end, where the water comes from that supplies the convent. It is rain-water collected in the mountain, and it is conducted down to this spot and let out by a brass cock as required. The water is good, and though it be rain-water, the passage through the rock gives it the qualities of water from a spring.

We next went to see the old bishop in his room, in the northern tower. The room was good in itself, but filthy and wretched in all its accompaniments.

* This date probably refers to a period when the tomb of Mar Mattei was repaired, or when a new one was erected. The convent was founded by Mar Mattei in 334, according to the present bishop, and somewhere about that time, according to Assemanni.

He showed me a part of the Bible on vellum in stranghelo characters, which I was fortunate enough to procure from him. It was indeed of very little use to him, and from the state it was in when it was brought to me, I may flatter myself with having saved it from total destruction.

After our visit to the bishop was over, we went out of the convent to see a cave and a spring, much celebrated in these parts by all *keifmakers*, or seekers of pleasure. Turning a corner a little way north of the convent, on the face of the rock, we came to a recess, or platform, planted with olives; behind which the rock forms a semicircular recess, hung with weeds and small bushes, in a picturesque manner, the water dropping down from the arch of a rock above. Two little doors cut in the rock admit you; one into a cave in which is a few feet of water collected by droppings from the roof, and discharging itself into a little reservoir in front; and the other, into a larger cave, communicating with the former, the air of which I felt quite warm. The roofs of both are covered with stranghelo writing, not of a very remarkable description. The temperature of the larger cave was 65°; the water in the smaller one 56°. These caves may possibly have been originally natural, but they have certainly been improved by art; and the entrances and communications, which are small and low, are no doubt artificial. This would form no contemptible summer-retreat.

I perceive that these people do not like to be called Jacobites. The bishop corrected me frequently, and said they were Syrians. The Roman Catholic Syrians call themselves by that name, and the others they call Jacobites, as sectaries of Jacobus Baradeus. These latter, again, will not allow they are sectaries, and insist on being called by their national appellation.

I must do the old bishop the justice to record a fact, though it tells rather against myself. In affirming something, I made use of the common Mahometan form of "Wallah," by God. He stopped me immediately. "Cannot you affirm simply," said he, "without taking God's name in vain? If you believe in the Gospel, do not swear." But unfortunately, having learned all my oriental languages from Mahomedans, their profane modes of expression are so very familiar to me, that I fear I must often unconsciously have offended him in the course of conversation.

December 16.—I was hard at work till near three o'clock in the afternoon, sketching the country and finishing my observations, and the day was delightfully clear and favourable for my purpose. I then went to the top, and over to the other side of the mountain, the ascent to which was extremely steep.

South-east of the convent in a cleft in the mountain is a small olive-plantation, with a fine spring of

The ruins of the convent extend a great way on the right and left, and above the present building, and some remains of towers indicate its former strength. Up in the rock above is a chamber cut out of the rock, with an inscription in it, said to have been a place of retirement of the founder, St. Matthew, where he lived before he obtained permission to build the convent. It was in too precipitous a situation to admit of my attempting to visit it, so soon after my attack of giddiness in the head.

The monk, who was our companion in our afternoon's walk, told us that some time ago a few robbers from Amadia got over the back wall of the convent from the rock behind, and attempted to plunder the church. One monk was killed, and himself very desperately wounded. The Yezids of the neighbouring village of Meirik heard some shots fired, and immediately came to the relief of the poor monks.

My accident had detained me beyond the time I had fixed for my return, in order to have an observation of the azimuth. As soon as I came back, however, I ran up to the terrace, and took a few sights, though I was still feeling very low.

December 17.—My work in this neighbourhood being finished, I took leave of the monks, and left the convent, descending by the road we came, which indeed is the only practicable one; but we all went down on foot. At half past ten we mounted at the

foot of the rock, and proceeded on in the direction of the Yezid village of Moghara, slanting over the *Cols*, and towards the other side of the Vale. At twelve we reached the little Yezid village of Sherab Airan, on a ravine descending from the line towards the Gomel. We travelled but slowly to-day, constantly going up and down over stony ground.

After a short halt we mounted again, a little before one, and proceeded in a north-west direction, still going up and down, the ravines running down perpendicular to our road. We passed the Mahometan village of Ahmed Bey, and then, following the course of a ravine, we arrived about two at the little Koordish village of Shorjee, in the hollow which receives all the waters that come down on this side. In the bottom of the ravine is a stream*. All about the country is very much cut up, and is something like that about the neighbourhood of Derbend.

After leaving Shorjee we travelled faster, as the country was less furrowed, and the descent to the hollow more gentle. The crest, or ridge of hills parallel with us, was on our left; and at three we passed a large village under them, called Kani Maran. This village is inhabited by the Rozhbian, or Rozhvian, and Bajilan Koords. Just before this is the high land that separates the waters of the Khausser from those of the Gomel. It is rather

* The Gomel.

curved on the north-west, and descends from near the top of the ridge.

From Kani Maran we descended over the ridge, which soon terminates on the right, or rather is prolonged into broken ground. Soon after we came in sight of the village of Seidkhan just before us; and close on the right of our road, a little stream called the Naoran bursts from a place called Ras ul Ain, and, passing through Seid Khan, after turning many mills, it joins the Khausser. We now turned S. 25 E., keeping the ridge on our left, and going along the foot of it. In the plain on our right we remarked there were many tumuli, or mounts, not far from each other, some with villages at the foot of them, some without. There was a large one, with an extensive flat top, like Tel Billa, and about the same size and shape. At ten minutes before four we arrived at the village of Imam Fadhla, inhabited by Rozhvian and Bajilan Koords. It was a very large pleasant-looking village, with good gardens about it, and here we halted for the day.

We were obliged to wind much during this day's march, as the surface of the ridge of hills, among which we were travelling, being an abrupt sandstone cliff, the direct road over them would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for loaded animals.

December 18.—We mounted at half past nine, and retraced our steps to the road of yesterday, as far as the mill on the Naoran, just above the village of

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YEZID MAN & WOMAN FROM SINJAH.

Published by Duncan, Paternoster Row.

Seidkhan, where we halted for a little while. The country was quite open and gently declining down from the foot of the ridge to the Naoran in the plain.

At half past twelve we crossed the Khausser, and passed Kelata, an Arab village, near which was a mount on the west bank of the river; and at twenty-five minutes past one we arrived at our quarters for the night, at the considerable Dassini village of Sirej Khan. The famous Yezid capital Baadli, the residence of Mir Sheikh Khan, is N. 40 E., three hours off, just under the first line of mountains.

We remarked here, as in all the villages about Mousul, that the straw or forage is kept in little heaps, generally circular, with a mud and straw roofing over it. They look like graves at a distance.

All the women in the villages through which we have passed wear the Tcharokia, but in the Turkoman, not the Koordish way; that is, knotted over one shoulder and falling down before and behind, leaving one side open. It had not a bad effect. It is made of a checked woollen stuff, commonly of light blue and red, or dark brown and red colours, sometimes resembling tartan.

The Yezid women's head dress* is something like that of the Bebbeh Koordish ladies, but swells

* See accompanying plate.

out more in front, and is not so regularly constructed; and, being covered with white linen, looks like a pillow on the head.

The principal article of food in the territory of Mousul, especially among the peasantry, is pilaw, made of burgool, which is a preparation of wheat, heavy and not agreeable to those unaccustomed to it. Rice is scarce and dear. I believe that none is grown in the territory, and that all that is used is brought from Koordistan.

At night we had a musician of some celebrity among the Yezids to entertain us. He played the Tambourch very fairly, and sang us some songs of his own nation. The first was a Sinjar song, about the carrying off of a very celebrated beauty named Gazhala, from among the Yezids of Sinjar, by Hassan Pasha, father of the celebrated Ahmed Pasha of Bagdad. She was betrothed to a Sinjar chief, and was within three days of her marriage. Her beauty is still much celebrated in song by the Sinjaris *. He next gave us the lament for Hassan Bey, the late chief of Sheikhkhan, who was treacherously murdered by Zebir Pasha, the late Prince of Amadia. The present chief of Sheikhkhan is named Saleh Bey. Like the Druzes, the Yezids commonly choose Mahometan names. The family at Baadli, called Mir Sheikhkhan, is of very great

* Sinjar is always called by the Koords Zingharra.

antiquity, and is recognized as the chief of all the Yezids, whether Dassinis, Muvessins, or Dinnadis. They call the family Pesmeer or Begzadehs.

He gave us many other songs, some traditional, some amatory, but all in the same style; that is, a kind of wild howl. One of the Amadia airs which he gave was more like the Persian or Turkish melodies, and quite of a different character from those of his own country. He also *improvised* something in a kind of chaunt which was not at all disagreeable. He ran over the words with great rapidity and rhymed them. The Koordish language affords great facilities for this exploit, but I could only understand a word here and there: his dialect differed so considerably from the one to which I have been accustomed, as completely to puzzle a stranger. Our musician, who was a merry fellow, was named Lasso: he is blind, and has a brother who is also blind, and likewise a musician. Much curious traditional history might be learned from such people at a favourable opportunity; that is to say, by passing a little time among them privately without any Mahometans being present. From what I have seen and heard of the Yezids, they seem lively, brave, hospitable, and good-humoured. They were delighted at this village to see us, and entertained our people most hospitably. Under the British government much might be made of them.

CHAPTER XVI.

Appearance of the Country — Cultivation — Yezid Villages — Boundary of the Pashalik of Mousul—Chaldean Town of Al Kosh—Convent of Rabban Hormuzd—Its situation—Rocky Road — Caves and Grottoes — The Church — Vespers — The Monks—Their Appearance—Manner of Life—The Abbot—The Monastery founded by the Son of a King of Persia—Library destroyed—Manuscripts fast perishing in the East—Departure from the Convent—Description of the Scene — Chaldean Village of Tel Iskof—Crowds assemble to stare at the Party—Valuable Chaldean MSS.—Ancient Sepulchre—Telkeif — Chaldeans—Ruined Churches—Description of the Country—Return to the Garden-house at Mousul—Visit the Pasha—Bones and Skulls found at Rabban Hormuzd—Yezid from Sinjar—Yezid Woman gifted with a Spirit.

December 19.—We mounted at nine this morning. The weather looked threatening. We entered immediately on the line or ridge we had skirted on our right, during the latter part of our yesterday's march, which proved to be very confused broken ground, consisting of ravines, bare ridges, and crumbling sandstone; yet here and there patches of cultivation were visible. Indeed, but little of the Mousul territory seems lost, every part of it being cultivated that is at all capable of it. After passing some Yezid villages we at length emerged from this very broken ground, and began a long and gentle descent, which only terminated at about a mile from Al Kosh. On our right was a very fine, extensive,

and perfectly level plain, very well cultivated and studded with villages. Baadli, the Yezid capital of Mir Sheikhkhan, was on our right, close under the bare stony mountains, and at the distance of about nine miles, near the defile whence the Gomel issues. The Pashalik of Mousul extends as far as the Gomel, but Sheikhkhan is in the territory of Amadia. Just at the defile of the Gomel a ridge or line of hills, exactly like the line which fronts Makloube commences and runs east, or rather east a little south. This subordinate line is, I observe, continued at intervals along the front line of the Koordish mountains, which are, I think, higher and more rocky than Giozheh. This face of them was quite precipitous. On our left they rise again into a hill, behind which is the territory of Doban belonging to Amadia, and the Chaldean town of Dohok. As we descended we noticed close on our left a large and ancient artificial mount called Girghiaour, or the Infidel's Mount. Most of the villages in the plain had smaller mounts near them, and at a great distance on the east was a very large and remarkable one, the name of which I could not learn. A little farther on our left than Girghiour was the Yezid village of Sherabi. This road was formerly much infested by marauding parties of Yezids, but, thanks to the vigilance of Ahmed Pasha of Mousul, it is now quite safe.

The town of Al Kosh, which is entirely inhabited

by Chaldeans, was before us, a little way up the foot of the mountain; and on the right of it, about a mile higher up, in a rocky defile or opening in the mountains, was the Chaldean convent of Rabban Hormuzd, whither we were journeying, and which from this spot wore a most imposing appearance. Nothing was clearly distinguishable but a heavy square building of a dusky red colour, hanging quite over a precipice, like some Lama pagoda. The dark clouds rolled over the summit of the mountain almost down to the convent, and greatly increased the gloominess of its aspect and its apparent height. We seemed to be retreating from the world and entering on some wild and untried state of existence, when we found ourselves in the rocky strait by which it is approached. The situation appeared to be well chosen for devotion, but devotion of a savage and gloomy character. The hills gradually rose very soon after the slope had terminated. An immense torrent, now dry, had brought down prodigious fragments of rock. Keeping along its edge, we reached at eleven the entrance of the defile, along a rocky and rough road. This defile expands and scoops out the mountain into a kind of wild amphitheatre, in which, not half way up, the convent is situated. It was only the latter part of the road which was very steep. The red building we had seen from afar was part of a church, or rather churches, there being several together. All the amphitheatre, from the top to the

bottom, is full of little caves and grottoes, those near the church and extending up the rock far above it, being appropriated to the use of the monks, of whom there are fifty, only four or five of whom are priests. Each monk has a separate cell, and the communications between them are by little terraces. The rocks are craggy and broken, and of fine harmonious tints, being of freestone, of which the church is built. It is now undergoing a thorough repair in a very neat manner. It stands on a platform elevated from the precipice, but very little of the ancient fabric remains.

We arrived at half-past eleven: we were accommodated in rather an airy lodging, in a kind of sacristy or chapel adjoining the church. Our people established themselves as well as they could in the surrounding caves, and the horses we sent back to the village.

In the afternoon I went to vespers. The congregation of rustic dark-looking monks, together with the gloominess and simplicity of the church, which is merely a narrow arched or vaulted room, with no light but what is admitted from the small dome, might well remind one of the solitude of St. Saba. Indeed the monks were not less Thebaïd in their appearance, being dusky-looking men, clothed in the coarsest manner, like peasants, but more sombre in their colours; their gown being of a dark blue or black canvass, with a common Abba or Arab cloak

of brown woollen over it. On their heads they wear a small skull-cap of brown felt, with a black handkerchief tied round it. The priests are rather better clothed, in black dresses, with black turbans on their heads. The monks are of all trades — weavers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, and masons; so that the wants of the convent are entirely supplied by the convent itself. Their wants are indeed very few, the order being that of St. Anthony, and very rigorous in its observances. The monks never eat meat, except at Christmas and Easter. Sometimes, indeed, if any of their friends bring them a little as a present, they are not forbidden to eat it; but no meat is provided for the convent. The daily food is some boiled wheat and bread, and even this in small quantities. Wine and spirits are altogether prohibited, and none but the treasurer is allowed to touch money*.

* The monks live separately and alone in their cells, when not employed at their work, and are forbidden to talk to one another. A bell summons them to church several times a day, besides which they meet in the church at midnight for prayer: again at day-break, and at sun-set, when they each retire to their cells without fire or candle. Some of these cells are far from the others, in very lonely situations, high up the mountains in steep places, and look difficult to get at by day; how much more so in dark and stormy nights! They are surrounded by wild plundering tribes of Koords, who might come down and murder them in their different retreats, without their cries for help being heard; but their poverty preserves them from such attacks. There were several young men among them, who had retired here, being, as they told us, weary of the world, and hoping to find rest in this solitude, and

December 20.—The abbot, who had been absent, returned last night, and came to pay me a visit this morning. He is a native of Mardin, but studied at Diarbekir, under my friend Monsignore Agostino the patriarch, and speaks Turkish tolerably. I liked him much. When he was appointed Abbot of the convent, about twelve years ago, he found it nearly in ruins. He is now repairing the churches. The principal one is of course dedicated to St. Hormuzd; the one next to it to the four Evangelists; one above stairs to the angels: they are all under the same roof. The principal part of the new pile is reddened with sheep-ruddle, in order to preserve the freestone from the action of the weather. The building costs but little, the monks being the artificers, and the mountain all around supplying them with an inexhaustible store of fine freestone and beautiful greenish gypsum. A master-mason from Mousul, of the Chaldean sect, volunteered to direct their labours; and small articles—such as paint, a little glass, wood, &c.—are contributed by the charitable among their own nation. Little wood, however, is required, except for joiners' work.

The monastery was founded by Tomarsa, patriarch of Seleucia*, who, the Abbot said, was the

acceptance with God, through religious exercises of a painful and mortifying nature. They did not look either happy or healthy; and we were told they die young.—*Ed.*

* Tomarsa, or Tamuza, was Archbishop of Ctesiphon, or Patriarch of the Chaldeans, from A.D. 384 to 392.

fourth Chaldean patriarch before they became Nestorians. Hormuzd lived before the persecution of Yezdigerd. He was the son of a king of Persia, and was martyred for his faith. His body was brought from Persia and deposited here. The Abbot confessed he did not know much about him, but he is the grand national saint of the Chaldean nation, whether Nestorian or Catholic.

Matran Hanna, the Chaldean Archbishop of Mousul, states that this convent was founded in the third century of the Christian era by Hormuzd, a native of Shirauz, and that he first came and dwelt in a large monastery called Beraalti, on the Bumadus, near the village called Hassan Shami, which monastery is now in ruins*.

The quantity of caves and little grottoes all over the hollow of the mountain, or rocky amphitheatre, is quite surprising. An earthquake filled a great many of them, and the natural ruin and crumbling down

* The following particulars are from Assemanni:—"Rabban Hormuzd, the Bishop, was martyred about the thirty-sixth year of the persecution (Qu. of Diocletian?) and the sixty-sixth of the reign of Shapor. About the year 377, John Sulaca was ordained Patriarch of the Chaldeans at Rome. In 1552 Marcus, in a letter to Busbequius, says he lived at the monastery of Rabban, which seems then to have consisted of fifty monks."—Assem., vol. i., p. 525.

Rabban Hormuzd seems afterwards to have been the residence of the *Nestorian* Patriarch; the Catholic Chaldean one residing at Diarbekir.—Leonardus Abel apud Miræum in Bibliothec. Eccles., p. 58. Assem., vol. i., p. 528. *Note.*

of the mountain has also obliterated multitudes. The monks say they frequently discover grottoes in clearing away rubbish. It is not likely that this immense number of grottoes, dispersed at all heights and distances, should have been purposely constructed by the founder of the church; yet that the greater part cannot be natural is quite evident on the slightest inspection. Some may possibly have been made in cutting stone; but this cannot be the case with by far the greater number, as their form testifies, being small, oven-like excavations, with a little aperture, and sometimes two, for a door and a window. One or two of those which I entered had two stone beds, or niches, in the wall, exactly as if they had been intended for the reception of dead bodies, like those at Kifri. They may all at one time have served for this, and this immense amphitheatre have been no more than a *dakhmeh*, or burying-place of the old Persians *. Some of the lost Syriac and Chaldean manuscripts would, in all probability, have thrown light upon this curious place. There were formerly kept in this convent about five hundred volumes of old Stranghelo manuscripts on vellum; but they were thrown together in an old vault on the side of the hill, a part of which was carried away by a tor-

* If cutting stone was the original cause of the formation of some of these grottoes, it has also contributed to their destruction; for the people now, in repairing the convent, cut down the face of crags for stone, and cut out caves, or open and cut them away.

rent; and the books being damaged, were deemed of no further value, and consequently were torn up and thrown about. Some scattered leaves were shown to me, which were unquestionably of the highest antiquity. Manuscripts are fast perishing in the East; and it is almost the duty of a traveller to rescue as many as he can from destruction *. I sent

* One of Mr. Rich's objects upon this tour to the Christian convents and villages in the territory of Mousul was for this very purpose. For many years he had spared neither time, money, nor labour, in pursuit of this object, and he finally succeeded in rescuing from destruction a few of the Syriac manuscripts scattered over this part of Assyria. They are little valued by their possessors, until an offer of purchasing them is made, and then, with that avidity for money which is so undisguised in the East, they express unwillingness to part with them, in order, too generally, to secure a large sum being offered for them. The collection made by Mr. Rich during his residence in the East is now in the British Museum, where it has been carefully examined, and is highly valued by one whose power of judging of its merits is unquestionable; from whom the Editor has just received the following letter*:—

* *British Museum, Jan.* 14, 1836.

DEAR MRS. RICH,—

In compliance with the wish you expressed when I had the pleasure of meeting you at Sir Robert Inglis's, I send you a list of that portion of the Rich MSS. which are in the Syriac language.

The greater part of these MSS. are Biblical, and have a claim to be considered of much importance; for though they furnish few various readings not previously known, they give strong confirmation to the integrity of the received text of the Peshito version of the Scriptures, and several of them carry up this text to a very remote antiquity. No. 14 is perhaps the most ancient copy of the New Testament in the Syriac language now existing, having been written in the year 768 of our era. The MSS. of the Pen-

Aga Minas to-day to hunt for books in the town of Alkosh, and he fortunately procured me a very valuable Chaldean manuscript of the New Testament, in vellum, of the highest antiquity, and which was fast perishing.

I find my friend Hussein Aga has rather overrated the extent of his master's dominions, which, in fact, end at Alkosh; and we are now really in the territory of Amadia, and surrounded by the wild tribes of the Muzuri, Dostaki, Baranki, Shinki, and

tateuch, No. 1, and that of the Prophets, No. 8, are very valuable. Copies of the Prophetical Books are extremely rare. The Onomasticon of James of Edessa, No. 39, is a book of considerable interest and value in its bearing upon Biblical criticism. I know of no other copy except one at Rome.

The commentaries upon the Scriptures, by Bar Salibé, and Bar Hebræus, are unpublished, and contain a variety of curious matter for the theological student.

In history, the annals of Elias of Nisibis, of which no other copy is known to exist; and the latter part of the chronicle of Bar Hebræus deserves particular notice.

The two grammars of Bar Hebræus, and the dictionary by Bar Ali, though not of uncommon occurrence, are books of great intrinsic value.

The MSS. consist of 800 volumes. Of these, 3 are in Greek, 59 in Syriac, 8 in Carshunic, 389 in Arabic, 231 in Persian, 108 in Turkish, 2 in Armenian, and 1 in Hebrew.

The Syriac and Arabic MSS. are probably the most valuable collection ever formed by a European; and if Mr. Rich had rendered no other public service, the contribution made to the literary and antiquarian treasures of the nation, by means of his judicious, patriotic, and munificent expenditure, would alone entitle him to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen.

Believe me with sincere respect,

Dear Mrs. Rich,

Your faithful servant,

J. FORSHALL

The list of the Syriac MSS. which accompanied this letter, will be found in the Appendix.

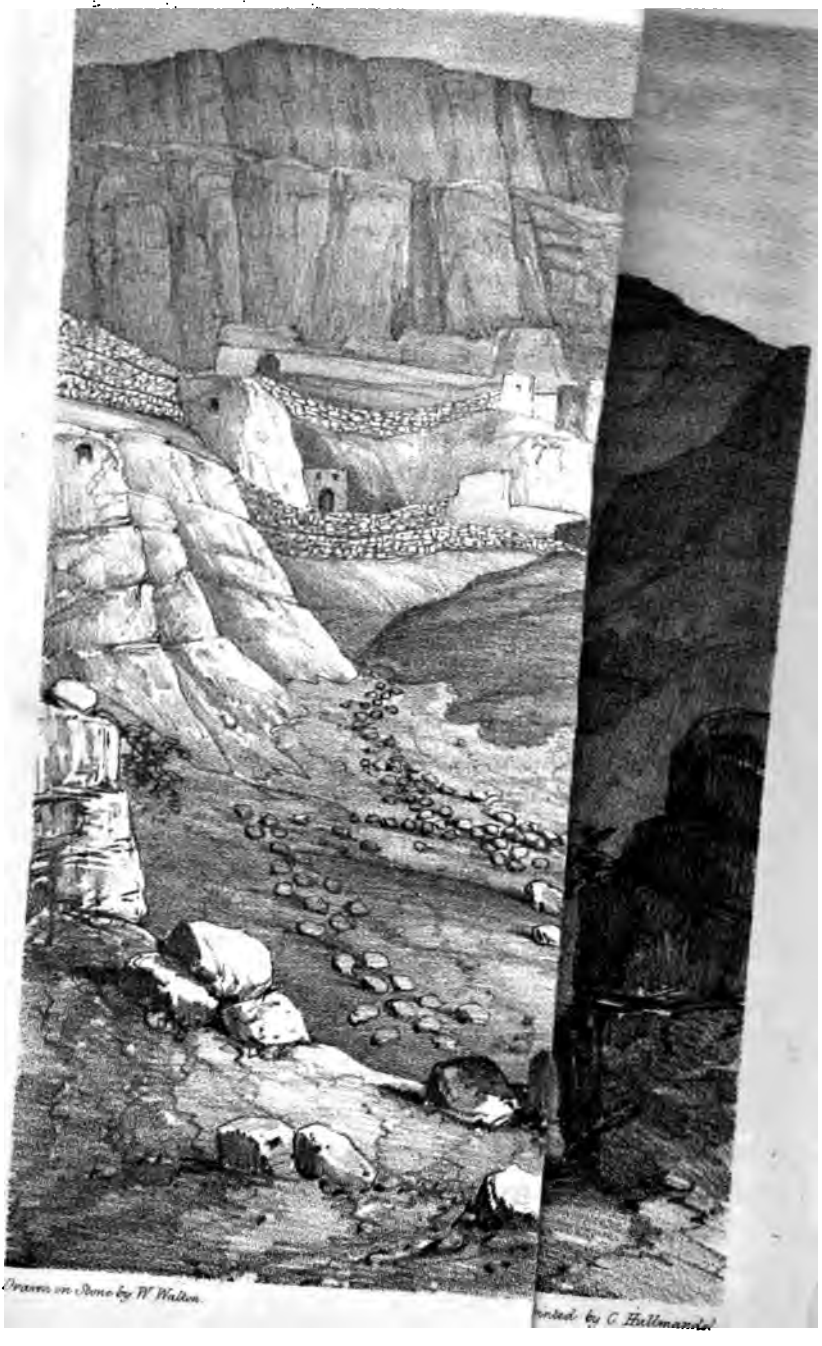
Bervari Koords, with Yezids in abundance. On the other side of this mountain is a plain higher than that of Naokor, about six miles over, to another ridge smaller than this, something resembling the front line of Makloube. The Tigris is visible west from a crag near the convent, and south-west from the convent itself. Mrs. Rich, Mr. Bell, and the Captain, went up to the top of the mountain; from the summit of which the Tigris was visible in a north-west direction, and whence it disappeared behind high mountains. I was too busy with more important operations to attempt to accompany them, even if my head would have allowed my climbing over the frightful precipices.

I took equal altitudes, circum-meridian observations, which were very essential, this place being on the meridian of Mousul, some sights and depressions, and finally a view of the convent *.

The temperature of a well at the convent was 52°; the air at the same time being 44°.

They are subject to intermittent fevers here as in Koordistan, from the time when the nights begin to grow cold, to the setting in of the cold weather.

* The Alkosh mountain comes from about Akra, and passing by Baadra, Rabban Hormuzd, and Alkosh, is said to terminate about Doban. From Alkosh, following the course of the mountain, and keeping it on the right hand, you arrive at Doban in four hours, horseman's reckoning; but if you cross over the mountain immediately at Alkosh, you arrive at once, that is, after half an hour's pass of the mountain, at the territory of Doban. The Chaldean town of Dohok is in Doban.


Drawn on Stone by W. Walton.
inted by C. Hullmandel

December 21.—As my essential work was done, I resolved on quitting the convent to-day, the weather at this season being rather uncertain, and we might be overtaken and detained by a sudden storm. I could otherwise have stayed here some time with great pleasure. I shall not soon again enjoy so peaceful a retreat; and I begin to long after peace and quiet, be it even that of a convent.

I walked down the hill in order to select a good situation for another view*, which I found just at the entrance into the defile on the convent side. In the meantime the rocks resounded with the voices of our people, and the neighing of our cattle; and our active, lively party presented a striking contrast to the gloomy, dull, and almost lifeless inhabitants of these wild abodes. The different sounds gradually died away, as our party, having loaded the animals, passed down one by one; and at last the convent seemed restored to its natural tranquillity. Not a sound was to be heard, nor a sign of life to be seen, but some dusky forms of monks, looking at us from their aërial habitations, suspended like eagles' eyries on the face of the precipice. I sat some time enjoying the scene: at last I mounted; and at half past eleven we began our march from the opening of the defile, which the brisk notes of the trumpet made to ring with an English march. I now seemed to have bid adieu to peace, and to have entered again into

* See accompanying plate.

the world, with its business and its cares. A great crowd of Chaldean peasants, from the neighbouring town of Alkosh, had assembled at the mouth of the defile to stare at us. They were not used to see a Christian with marks of rank and authority; and I think they seemed rather proud of the sight. The people of Alkosh are a very stout, independent set, and can muster about four hundred musketeers. They half esteem themselves *Kermanj*, as Hussein Aga told me. I find that name of the family of the Pasha of Sulimania signifies any Koord hereabouts.

We steered right for the artificial mount, Girghiaour, over a plain, and reached it at a quarter after twelve, when we followed the gentle inclination of the hills, whose commencement it marks. We soon after alighted at the Yezid village of Sherabi, in order to let the baggage get on before us, and mounted again at one. At a little stream which rises at Sherabi, and finds its way through the hills, we observed some Yezid women washing; and one of them very unceremoniously divested herself of her last garment to perform her ablutions more at ease. We followed the little stream through the opening it has made; the inclination of the level being only marked by its course. In the latter part of the hills I observed gypsum in plenty, the north-east side being mere sandstone. Emerging from the hills at about two miles from the Chaldean village of Teliskof, we entered on a very level plain; and at three

o'clock reached Teliskof, that is to say, the Bishop's Mount *.

The crowds assembled to see us were prodigious; and the village seemed to pour forth twice as many people as I thought it could have contained. They are all Chaldean Catholics. I have never been so much stared at in a Mahometan town. The Christians seemed to take a pride in me, and to look at the Turks with me, and before whom they had so often been used to cower, as if they might now defy them. This made me have some patience with them, though their crowding and staring was rather incommodious. We were met at a mile from the village by the Kiahya; and an old woman wanted to burn incense before me, but my horse would admit of no such familiarity. We were lodged of course in the best house, close by the old mount which gives name to the village. It would be a tolerable place but for the extreme dirtiness, which, with the smell of liquor, is, I am sorry to say, the characteristic of a Christian village in these countries.

There are nuns at Teliskof, but no monastery. They live in their parents or relations' houses; and this is likewise the case at Alkosh. I believe there are no monasteries of females any where in the East, except in Mount Libanus.

* This mount is not remarkable. It is indeed rather smaller than many of those which are the ordinary accompaniments of villages in these parts.

I procured here a very valuable ancient Chaldean manuscript, containing a history; but many leaves are, I fear, wanting both at the beginning and the end. The priest from whom I got it says, that it mentions that Hormuzd was martyred by Shapor the father of Kosrou.

Not long ago, in digging a grave here on the ancient mount which gives name to the village, they discovered stones at a great depth. This led them to dig farther; and they came to an ancient sepulchre, in which they found some glass vases, or lamps, two of which they brought out whole; and they are now in my possession *. There is a large pool here for preserving rain water, which is the only water used in the winter here and at Telkeif. In the summer they drink spring water. They have two churches here.

December 22.—We mounted at ten minutes before ten, and passed the water-course with a small bridge over it. The waters of Sirej Khan and the neighbourhood collect here, and discharge themselves through this water-course into the Tigris. The Arab village of Bakoofa, with a mount near it, was about half a mile on our left. At ten minutes before eleven we came to the Chaldean village of Batnaia, the Kiahya of which came out to meet us, and

* Glass is likewise found in Sassanian and in Babylonian ruins, such as Ctesiphon and Babylon.

invited us to halt for the night*. The country all the way was undulating, being marked by water-courses making their way to the Tigris, and receiving the contributions of secondary or subordinate courses.

At twenty minutes past eleven we halted to let the baggage pass, and to allow of its getting to our station at Telkeif some time before us, imagining that we had still an hour's journey to perform. At noon we marched again, and, ascending the undulation at the bottom of which we had stopped, found, to our great surprise, that Telkeif was quite close to us, being situated in a hollow on the other side. We arrived at a quarter past twelve, having been on the road only two hours and twenty-five minutes.

Telkeif is a town wholly inhabited by Chaldeans, many of whom go to Bagdad to seek work and service. The Kiahya, a very decent old man, told me it contained a thousand houses, in some of which are thirty souls. The number of houses is probably overrated, but it is a considerable place and very full of people, a dirty ill-favoured set, like all the Chaldeans I have seen. The Chaldeans are a dark-complexioned race, and do not in the least resemble the Koords. We observed a great deal of gypsum to-day on the way from Teliskof.

There are two open tanks and some covered reser-

* A mile from Batnaia is the monastery of Mar Abraham, who is supposed to have been a Bebbeh Koord.

voirs here. One of the latter is said to hold water enough for the whole town for more than two months. It is a natural hole of sandstone, which is under the town.

I saw some stones dug out at a distance, and I was curious to find out whether they were taken from any place indicative of ruins, but I found that it was a quarry. They dug about six or eight feet to the bed of sandstone, which they broke up with pickaxes. I asked the Kiahya, and several other people, if they ever found cut stones or any fragments of antiquity in the neighbourhood in digging or ploughing, but they all agreed that no vestiges were ever met with.

There are seven ruined churches here, and one in good repair. For more than twenty-five years there have been no Nestorians any nearer than Amadia, or rather beyond Amadia. Two thousand Kharaj papers * are issued annually for Telkeif, and a respectable body of musketeers may be raised. Telkeif is a Vakuf of Nebbi Yunus. It is a great thoroughfare, and contains a large caravanserai.

I fortunately procured here a fine copy of the Gospels and Epistles in Chaldean, on vellum, of the Alexandrian year 601 †, the oldest manuscript I have yet seen: also some leaves of an historical work of the same character, with some writing in Greek

* The Kharaj is a tax upon all the subjects of the Ottoman empire who are not Mahometans.

† Vide note, p. 75.

capitals. The rest of the latter work had been torn and lost, and probably but for me the remainder would also have soon vanished.

The air of Telkeif is not reckoned good, owing probably to its being situated in a hollow between two hills, and very filthy. Teliskof is, on the contrary, accounted very healthy.

December 23.—There was brought to me this morning a very old manuscript on vellum, in Chaldean; and an Arabic book containing chronological tables. They said they would not sell this, as it was the hand-writing of a saint. Nevertheless they do not seem to have preserved it with any great care, as it was in a shocking state of dilapidation. They allowed me to take it with me to Mousul, and I hope to be ultimately successful in persuading them to part with it.

We mounted at half past nine. An immense crowd assembled to see us off. The women begged Hussein Aga not to drive them off, but to allow them to take their full stare, as they might never see such a sight again.

At half past ten we saw at the distance of two miles on our left the village of Baaweiza, inhabited by Bajilan Koords. The country was undulating, and grew more and more gravelly as we approached the river*. We passed a long string of camels

* From Baaweiza the view over the plain towards Kermelis is pretty extended, but a mist prevented me from ascertaining the

belonging to the Pasha of Mousul, bringing wood from the north side of the Alkosh mountains. At eleven we turned out of the direct road to the right, in order to go to Sheikh Ahmed, where I had some observations to take. We arrived at the village of Sheikh Ahmed at twenty-five minutes past eleven.

December 25.—We returned to our residence at the Pasha's garden yesterday from Sheikh Ahmed, and this morning I called on the Pasha. He informed me that, at Rabban Hormuzd, he himself had found in a cave some bones, and particularly some large skulls. This seems to come in support of my opinion that these caverns may have been dakhmehs or burying-places.

I saw at the palace to-day a Yezid from Sinjar. He was dressed just like the other Yezids, but wore his long black hair in thick locks, and was a fierce-looking fellow. There is now a woman in Sinjar who is believed, both by Turks and Yezids, to be gifted with a spirit which informs her of everything that is to happen. The Turks say this is an evil spirit, but acknowledge the fact. Her name is Bizarra: she is a virgin, and always keeps a veil over her face.

exact point to which you can see. This is however the only spot where a view to any distance can be obtained. From any other not above a mile round can be discovered from horseback in any direction, on account of the undulations of the country.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Sword of Yezid—Ruins of Hatra—Our removal to another Garden—Arabian Jessamine—Alkosh the Country of the Prophet Nahum — Jews to be trusted for local Antiquities — Nestorian Convent of Mar Elias—Description of the Church—Subterraneous Buildings—Matran Hanna, the Chaldean Archbishop—Principal Churches of Mousul—Singular Relic—Hajee Jirjees—Yezids—Tai Arabs—Mount Judi—The Ark—Sepulchral Chamber of Nineveh.

December 26.—THE Pasha to-day sent me a curiosity to look at, which I had long heard talk of, namely, the sword of Yezid, the son of Moaviah. It is of the proper Damascus or light-watered steel, and prodigiously heavy. When it fell into the Pasha's hands it was straight; in short, a proper single-edged broadsword, about four feet long, and three fingers and a half broad. He had the bad taste to cut off about a foot of it, and to have it curved a little in the shape of a *paala* or sabre; yet still it is much too heavy for use. On the blade are the remains of zer-nishan or inlaid-gold writing, the traces left by which may still be read, though with difficulty. They are—"This belongs to Yezid, the son of Moaviah," and a verse from the Koran. The mounting was modern *.

* Yezid, the son of Moaviah, was the second Caliph of the Ommiade race. He is held in peculiar horror by the Persians, on account of the murder of Ali's son Hussein at Kerbela, the

I have tried in vain to bring about an expedition to the ruins of Hatra *, or Al Hadhr, which are

affecting details of which are so powerfully described by Gibbon in the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. ix., p. 343—346. Yezid had been acknowledged Caliph in most parts of the Arabian empire, except at Mecca and Medina, where the family of Ali disputed the succession with him. Yezid died in the year of the Hejira 64, A.D. 683. He is described as cruel, avaricious, and irreligious, but as a man of some genius, and a poet. According to D'Herbelot, the Mahometans still call a man who is without religion, Yezid, and he quotes the following anecdote: — "It is said that the famous Persian poet Jami was of this class; and one day a man of the name of Mezid having walked into the midst of a large assembly at the poet's house, for the express purpose of insulting him, cried out with a loud voice, "May the curse of God rest upon Yezid!" Jami, who immediately understood that these words referred to him, answered in the same tone of voice, "May that curse fall on Mezid." The point in this repartee consists in this, that the words "on Mezid" mean likewise "More and more."

* Hatra appears to have been a strong fortress, or castle, of an Arab chief, called by the ancient writers Barsuma. He and his family seem to have taken part with the Parthian sovereigns against the Romans. This fortress resisted the attacks of Trajan and Severus; and it is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus in his history of the retreat of the army of the Emperor Jovian after the death of Julian. See D'Anville, L'Euphrate et le Tigre, vol. i. 4to, p. 92. The following is a further account of this place by M. de St. Croix:—"La situation de cette ville seroit pour nous un problême si l'on adoptoit l'opinion erronée d'Hérodien qui confond les Atréniens avec les Atramites, anciens habitans d'Hadramaut. D'ailleurs, on voit que l'armée Romaine, après la mort de Julien, ayant passé le Tigre, s'approcha à grandes journées *d'Atres*, située au milieu des déserts. Properantesque itineribus magnis, prope *Hatram* venimus, vetus oppidum in Mediæ solitudine positum. (Amm. Marcel. lib. xxv. cap. 8.) Hérodien nous représente Atres comme étant située sur une montagne entourée de fortes murailles et défendu par un grand nombre d'archers. (Lib. iii.

about twenty-four hours' march from Mousul, in the desert*. That part of the country is too much infested at present by all sorts of Bedouins to admit

cap. 28.) Les Atréniens cédèrent moins à la fortune des Romains, et furent toujours attachés à celle des Parthes. Ils empruntèrent leur nom de la ville d'Atra située au milieu des déserts entre le Tigre et l'Euphrate. Arabes scénites, ils vécurent d'abord errans, du produit de leurs troupeaux, ou du fruit de leurs brigandages—et quoique voleurs de profession, ils punissaient chez eux sévèrement le moindre vol. Ils inquiétoient beaucoup les habitans des montagnes voisines, qui, fatigués de leurs continuelles incursions, finirent par se soumettre, les uns à eux, les autres aux Parthes. Ayant pris le parti de ces derniers, les Atréniens s'attirèrent la colère de Trajan, qui vint attaquer leur capitale, et fut forcé de lever honteusement le siège. Cette ville, selon Dion Cassius, n'étoit alors ni riche ni grande. Moins d'un siècle après, sous Sévère, Atres nous est cependant représentée par le même historien comme remplie de richesses, et avec un temple consacré au Soleil, célèbre par les offrandes dont il regorgeoit. Sans doute que les Atréniens s'étoient livrés dans cette espace de tems au commerce de terre, et par caravanes, et qu'ils avoient eu de grands succès, comme les Palmyréniens, qui, à la faveur d'une position à peu près semblable, furent toujours animés de l'esprit de négoce. Sévère, désirant s'emparer des richesses d'Atres, fit les derniers efforts pour prendre cette ville. L'attaque dura vingt jours, au bout des quels il n'abandonna qu'avec douleur son entreprise. Il étoit parti de Rome pour punir Barzemius, Roi des Atréniens, de s'être déclaré en faveur de Niger.

"Barzemius peut avoir été un nom commun à tous les Rois d'Atres. Il vient de l'Hébreu Beth-semes, Maison du Soleil, divinité tutélaire des Arabes. (Amm. Marcel. lib. iii. cap. 27.)" Académie des Inscriptions, Sur le Gouvernement des Parthes, par M. de St. Croix, tom. i. p. 74.

* Anah is seven caravan days from Mousul, as many from Bagdad, and as many from Aleppo. Caravans used formerly to go from this place to Aleppo through Anah; but this has not been done within the memory of man.

of it. A caravan of Jirba Arabs has just arrived with salt from the vicinity of Al Hadhr *. In former times the Mousul people used once a year to send a caravan for salt, with a strong escort; but this has been discontinued for a long time, on account of the increased danger; and the Bedouins themselves now bring the salt to Mousul, though formerly a Bedouin was quite an unusual sight here; and when Biniyya, the nephew of the Jirba Sheikh Faris, first came to Mousul about twenty years ago, he was so stared at, followed, and persecuted by the boys, that he found it impossible to show himself in the bazaar, without the escort of some officers of the Pasha.

December 27.—We moved to-day to the Pasha's new garden-house, which, for this country, is a splendid place, consisting of haram, and divan khaneh, in a very pretty garden. This he has been pleased to lend us for our accommodation during the remainder of our stay here. The gardener brought us a large bunch of nergheez, or narcissus, in full flower, on our arrival; also chrysanthemums and marygolds. Razki, or Arabian jessamine, will not grow in Mousul in the open air. The winter kills it.

January 2, 1821.—I am ashamed to say a very

* According to Assemanni,—"Nisibin, Dara, and Hadhr, were ruined by Tcharsouli, a Nestorian, first called Barsuma, who obtained permission from the Abbassides to ruin them. He ruined a great number of places, and was killed by the nuns of Deir al Benat, near Dara."

NESTORIAN FAMILY FROM HAKKARI.
of the Jela. Clan

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remarkable circumstance had escaped my notice*, until I was made aware of it to-day by Matran Hanna. Alkosh was the birth-place of the Prophet Nahum, and also his burial-place. His tomb is still shown there, and Jews from all parts come on pilgrimage to it. Nahum was of a Jewish family, who resided at Alkosh during the captivity of Nineveh. On referring indeed to the Book of Nahum, I find "Nahum the Elkosh-ite" in the first verse; and I wonder this never struck me before, especially as I read the Book of Nahum but lately, when thinking over the subject of Nineveh. I must here remark, that the Jews are generally to be trusted for local antiquities. Their pilgrimage to a spot is almost a sufficient test. The unbroken line of tradition which may have been handed down among them, and their pertinacious resistance of all innovation, especially in matters of religious belief, render their testimony very weighty in such matters.

From Alkosh people go in seven days to Urmiah; namely, two to Amadia, two to Julamerk, three to Urmiah. From Julamerk to Kotchannes is one day's journey. The Urmiah road does not necessarily pass through Alkosh, but runs very near it. The territory of Amadia is full of Nestorians, Kotchannes

* Marius, in a letter to Busbequius quoted in Assemanni, speaks of Alcus (Alkosh) as the country of Nahum the Prophet, and celebrated both by Jews and Christians for containing his tomb. Assem. vol. i. p. 525.

being the place of residence of their patriarch*. There are many Nestorian villages on this side of Amadia, whose inhabitants I was told wear felt coverings on their heads, just like the European hat. They are called Gheranmoosi.

* According to Assemanni, Nestorius was condemned by the synod of Ephesus in 431, and banished by order of Theodosius, first to Petra in Arabia, then brought to a convent at Antioch, after four years' residence in which he was finally banished to the Libyan oasis, whence he betook himself to the Thebaid, where he died. There is some doubt as to who propagated the opinions of Nestorius in the East. Assemanni decides as follows: First, there was a school of Persians from time immemorial at Edessa, in which the Christian youths of the Persian empire were taught theology, and a Nestorian became president of it. Secondly, the Oriental bishop who took the part of John of Antioch against St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus, favoured Nestorius, and commended his doctrine about the incarnate word. These were the two sources of Nestorianism among the Persians. The Chaldean writers affirm the principal cause of the propagation of Nestorianism among the Easterns to have been Barsuma, who was with his comrades expelled from the school at Edessa, and was bishop of Nisibin from 435 to 489. Narses, the companion of Barsuma, and president of the school he established at Nisibin, did not cease to propagate those doctrines till his death, which happened in 496. His successor was Joseph Hazita, by whose endeavours Nestorianism was propagated far and wide. In 496, Babæus, archbishop of Seleucia, was elected by the Nestorian party; and in a synod held in 499 he not only confirmed the doctrine of Nestorius, but, following in the steps of Barsuma of Nisibin, made it lawful for all succeeding archbishops of Seleucia to marry. From that time the patriarchate of Seleucia, and all the sees in the East, were occupied by Nestorians. It appears that about six hundred and thirty-six bishops and priests of this sect were sent to India and China.

January 10.—News has just been received from Mardin, that the Vaivode has had another quarrel with the neighbouring tribes, the chiefs of one or two of which have thrown down their tents. This is a signal among the tribes of a *guerre à l'outrance*, and means—"I have thrown down my tent, and will not pitch it again till I have had my revenge."

January 22.—I went to-day to visit the remains of the Nestorian monastery of Mar Elias, called by the Mahometans Deir el Munkoosh, the ornamented or painted monastery. I cannot find in Assemanni the date of its foundation*, but it is mentioned incidentally in the ninth century†. The natives say it belonged to the Roman or Greek Christians, before

* Mr. Rich afterwards discovered the date of the building of this convent in Assemanni. The following is an entry made in his note-book. "At last I have discovered what I was hunting after. Under Jesujabus, Nestorian Catholicus or primate, who began to reign A.D. 581, and who reigned fifteen years, two monasteries were founded; one Saed, near Mousul, the other Mansoor, in the region of Nineveh. This Jesujabus concluded a peace between the King of Persia, Hormisdas, son of Anushirvan, and Heraclius. The convent of Saed (which is our Deir el Mankoosh) was founded by Mar Elia." Deir Saed, as it may be seen from another part of Assemanni, is the same with the monastery of Mar Elia. Vol. ii. p. 415: vol. iii. p. 264.

† The following mention of Mar Elias is made by Assemanni. Joshua Bar nun of Bath Gabar, a village on the Tigris, between Nineveh and Mousul, lived thirty years in the monastery of St. Elias, before he was elected primate of the East, which happened A.D. 824. — Assem. vol. ii. p. 435. Abu Saed was Archimandrite of Mar Elias in A.D. 1028.

the Mahometan conquest of these parts, and that it was usurped by the Nestorians. Dhaher Bibars, the hero of the romance of El Dhaheria, was imprisoned, or said to have been imprisoned, in a subterranean vault under the convent. It was ruined by Nadir Shah.

The convent is situated in a little hollow or valley about two and a half miles south-west of our garden, and is a bare secluded spot, fit for monastic retirement, commanding no prospect whatever. Yet in the spring, when all is green, it is a favourite haunt of the people of Mousul, principally on account of the mineral spring hard by, which is in great repute here. The water fills an oval reservoir, and is sulphureous, the surface being covered with a whitish scum, beneath which it is quite clear and not warm. No tar is produced here, as in a similar spring in the neighbourhood at Hamaum Ali.

The convent is now a heap of ruins. On the east side of the principal court (about which are some foundations of other inclosures, little domed cells nearly sunk below the present level, and some vaulted reservoirs) is a long building or corridor with three open arches, entering from the court. On one of the piers between these arches, on the inside, is a beautifully ornamented niche, and on the corresponding one a tablet inscribed with old Chaldean letters, of such an age, and so placed as to height and light, as

to be extremely difficult to make out. From the north end of this gallery you enter into a small room covered with a dome, yet standing. A tomb is in this, beneath which the Turks say is buried a priest of the monastery, who when they came for Ali's head (Ali alone knows how that came here) cut off his own son's head to substitute for it. He of course afterwards became a Mahometan, and was assassinated by the Christians. On the tomb, however, are the remains of Chaldean writing, but quite illegible. The door is very small, and seems, at least the bottom part of it, to be made up of fragments of cornices, &c., which appear to have belonged to the building in some former state.

On the south side of the court you enter by a small door, into a long, narrow vestibule, running north and south, but not so high as the building, which communicates by a little half-buried door with the churches parallel to each other east and west.

The principal church, which gives name to the monastery, has been beautifully ornamented. There are the remains of the figure of an angel in bas-relief, on one side of the arch over the altar, resembling I think the angel in the catacombs at Dara. The arabesques and figures about the altar are raised white, on a light blue ground*.

Considerable parts of the church remain. It is elegant, not large, high, and a little too narrow for

* A style still practised in some of the kiosks here.

its length. The arch of the roof is round; a portion of it remains, the rest has fallen down, and formed heaps of rubbish on the floor, now consolidated and covered with a bright green mildew*. Standing near the altar, and looking down the church to the west end, I was struck with its great resemblance to Tauk Kesra. Every thing was in the same style, only on a smaller scale, and substituting good stone and gypsum for homely brick. So strong was the resemblance indeed, that had there ever been a Christian king of the Parthian or Sassanian dynasties, I could almost have pronounced the Tauk to have been the imperial or patriarchal church. As it is, this may serve as an additional proof of the derivation of the architecture of these parts from the Sassanian. The arch of the altar is composed of two segments of circles. The vault of the church is pure Sassanian, or circular, and, if it had but a little more space, would be really handsome. The niches, small doors and windows, little niches on the sides of the altar supported by small double pillars, are all correctly *Kesran*†. Of the parallel church, nothing worthy of remark remains. Indeed it seems to have been of an inferior, possibly of a more recent construction. The little west doorway, which is the principal entrance of the handsome church, appears to have been repaired with

* The great damps observable at Mousul must proceed from the gypsum and its salt. The climate will not account for it.

† By which Mr. Rich means in the style of Tauk Kesra.

some fragments of friezes, at least these seem now not to be in their proper places. The stucco of the upper part is drilled with shot-holes, as the idle Turks amuse themselves with practising at it as a mark.

The subterraneous building, which appears to be very extensive, is said to reach as far as Ghizelan on the banks of the Tigris, to the south-west of our garden*. The entrance is by a little low door in the sacristy, on the right hand of the altar. It led at one time, according to the information of a person who had been in it long ago, out into the desert at a considerable distance, but it has now become choked up with rubbish.

In the most ancient oriental churches†, there seem to have been no chapels or altars, other than the great one; and generally only one aisle; but they have very often a parallel church connected with the principal one by a little door.

January 24.—I had some interesting conversation with Matran Hanna about various particulars relating to the antiquities and history of these countries, with which he seems well acquainted. I took my first lesson of reading Chaldean from him to-day.

* Half way between Deir ul Mankoosh and Ghizelan are the remains of another convent. The Syrians say there were two Jacobite convents in this neighbourhood, dedicated to St. Gabriel and St. Michael.

† Several of the mosques in Bagdad were formerly Chaldean churches.

I again visited Mar Elias for the purpose of retouching my sketch, in some particulars in which I thought it doubtful. I now think that the flatness of the arch of the roof may have proceeded from its subsiding. I have had the inscription on the slab in the verandah, or gallery, before the tomb of Mar Elias copied. It imports that it was repaired by Khojah Yusuff Ibn Hindi*, and Kas Ishoua, and Mukdussi abdul Hiyya, and Khan Zadel, at the instigation of Shemas Isa, and the architect was Kas Hormuz, in the year A.D. 1316, of the Greeks 1667†.

February 4.—I went to town to-day to inspect the principal churches, and first that of Mar Toma, or St. Thomas the Apostle, the archiepiscopal Jacobite church of Mousul, which I found worthy of a sketch. I executed it on the spot to the great admiration of the people, who were delighted to see their church thought worthy of such an honour by a European. In the sanctuary are three altars, which are, as usual, mean kinds of *sentry-boxes*, or thrones of painted wood, with canopies of the same over them. The

* This is the family of our old friend the Chaldean Catholic, patriarch of Diarbekir, whose ancestor, Joseph, the first Catholic patriarch of the name, was appointed by Pope Innocent II. The Nestorian patriarchs abandoned Diarbekir on account of the preponderance of the Catholics, and betook themselves to the mountains of Julamerk, about the year 1560, under the patriarch Simeon, which name has been retained ever since by these patriarchs.

† Vide Note, p. 755.

great door of the sanctuary was surrounded by a border of carved marble work, containing certain figures of Christ and the Twelve Apostles in medallions, with twisted scroll-work, which had a barbarous but rather curious appearance. The church is divided into three parts, a centre and two aisles, by three heavy pointed but obtuse arches, supported by octagonal piers. In one aisle near the upper end, my attention was called to a carved stone filling a niche, before which hung a curtain, and which was an object of veneration to the congregation, they scarcely knew why, except that, from its antiquity, they supposed it to have some reference to the Christian religion. They had found it among rubbish in repairing the church, and placed it in its present situation. Upon examination I found very clearly and legibly written around it in flowered Arabic letters, between Cufic and the modern character of the age of the Sahibs, the very chapter of the Koran peculiarly directed against the Christians.

So here had these poor people been devoutly rubbing their foreheads against a monument, of which, had they known its import, they would have had the greatest horror and detestation. I believe the archbishop gave orders for its removal from its present place.

The lower part of the church is railed in for the accommodation of the women. It is manifestly ancient, and at the time of Tamerlane's irruption was, the

natives say, covered over and concealed under heaps of rubbish.

I afterwards went to Matran Hanna's church, which is dedicated to Mar Shemaoon Sava, patriarch of Seleucia in the time of Shapor, who suffered martyrdom under that prince.

The church is a single room, like that of Mar Elias and Rabban Hormuzd, and though very ancient, offered nothing worthy of a sketch. The only remarkable object I saw was the ancient burial-place of the Abdul Jeleels, the family of the present Mahometan governor of Mousul, when they were Chaldeans *.

February 24.—Hajee Jirjees has, at my request,

* The following extracts, relating to the Christians of Assyria, are from Assemanni. They were found among Mr. Rich's loose papers, and are inserted here, in the hope that they may lead those who are interested in the subject to a very abundant source of information concerning the history of Christianity in the East:—"The Chaldeans or Assyrians received Christianity in the time of the twelve apostles—Peter, Thomas (St. Thomas the incredulous, and the apostle of India), Bartholomew, Matthew, and Judas the son of James, and Thaddeus, also called Lebæus. Also Thaddeus of the seventy, and Mark and Ayhæus are called the apostles of the Syrians and Chaldeans. Adæus or Adi *, one of the seventy disciples, was sent into the East by St. Thomas, one of the twelve, and was martyred at Edessa under the son of the celebrated Abgarus, on his return from preaching in Persia, Assyria, and Babylonia. Mark, a disciple of Adæus, proclaimed the Gospel in Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia. He fixed his residence at Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and is called first Bishop of Seleucia; and Seleucia, in this manner, became the head of the Oriental church.

* Qu. Is Adæus the same as Thaddeus?

inquired from a number of Yezids the meaning of the word *Dasini*. In finding out the precise meaning he has failed, but he has ascertained the exact application of it. It is applied by the Yezids to the peasant Yezids under the government of Mousul and the vicinity: never to the Sinjarlis, who are called collectively, Jenu. (q. Jelu?) Some other Yezids in these parts, who are distinct from the peasant race, are called Sheikhanlis. On the frontiers of Jezira, Amadia, and Mousul are the Mussessan and Dinnedi tribes—all true Yezids. The name Yezid is only used by the neighbouring Mahometans; the Yezids themselves never use the term. It seems to be an epithet of reproach, from Yezid, surnamed by

He died, after a ministry of thirty-three years, from A.D. 48 to 82. St. Thomas, whose surname, according to some, was Jude, not only was the apostle of the Syrians and Chaldeans, but also of the Parthians, Persians, Medes, and Indians. It has been doubted whether St. Thomas himself ever penetrated into India; Assemanni decides in the affirmative. Christianity appears at a very early period to have gained ground; for about the time of Papas, Bishop of Seleucia, or from 247 to 326, we find already a great schism in that church, the origin of which is attributed to the arrogance of Papas. Twenty-two bishops are mentioned as having suffered martyrdom under Shapor. When Christianity was first preached in the East, Artabanes was king of the Parthians; Izates of Adiabene; and Abgarus of Edessa. In the first century the churches of the East were already considerable enough to become an object of the Persian kings' persecution. In the second century Trajan persecuted the Oriental Christians in his expedition. In the third century the Manichæan heresy commenced: in the fourth, the persecution of Shapor began, A.D. 330. Nestorius was condemned by the Synod of Ephesus in 431.

the Mahometans "The Accursed." In like manner I have frequently heard the natives of the east abuse each other by the epithets, "Race of Pharaoh —People of Lot—Sect of Nimrod."

There is a branch of the Tai Arabs called Hababat, who more than a century ago, on some quarrel with the rest of the tribe, seceded to Sinjar. Their children became Yezids, and the race are now perfect Devil-worshippers, speaking the language of the Yezids, and in noways distinguishable from them.

February 25.—My obliging friend Hajee Jirjees came again this evening with more information, which he had collected at my request. I set down the principal articles of it, as follows:—

There are two Tirehs, or families of the Tai Arabs, indubitably descended from the famous Hatem, called the Sumbees and Al Hareeth. The Bey of the Tais was formerly a sanjiak of the Porte, and the Sheikh or Bey used to go to Constantinople to receive his investiture: he was of the descendants of Hatem.

One of them was put to death at Constantinople on account of an intrigue with one of the women of the house where he lodged, about which a long and stupid story is told. After him no one went for some time, and there was an interregnum in the tribe. At last a young man of the name of Eshgeer was sent. He was a yeteem or protégé of the Hatem family. He succeeded well at Constantinople, and received the investiture. The chiefs thus

nominated by the Porte then wore the kaouk or Turkish turban, and commanded all the Arabs of these parts. Since the disaster of the Sheikh who was put to death, none other of the family of Hatem have ever been sent to Constantinople, and both its branches have been gradually removed from the government of the tribe. The present family* is very low: the Arabs commonly call them "Sons of Jews," to express their contempt for their ignoble origin.

The only mountain you cross over, or rather go through, on your way from this place to Zakho, is the Zakho Dagh, which begins in Feishabour, passes this side of Zakho, and thence to this side of Amadia. I have not been able to trace it farther down. In going to Amadia you pass over this mountain, and afterwards in half an hour arrive at Amadia. After Amadia there is another smaller range, and then an extensive plain just like Naokor, extending to the frontier of Hakkaria. The difficult and rugged mountainous parts are all towards the north and north-west of Amadia in the direction of Mount Judi †. Eight hours above Zakho on the

* The present Sheikh, whom I know personally, is called Hassan Abdullah.

† The Mahometans universally maintain that it was on Mount Judi the ark first rested, and that *it* is Ararat, and not the mountain to which that name is given in Armenia. Don Calmet, Storia del Nuovo Testamento, p. 275, says, "Monobazes, King of Adiabene, gave his younger son Ozates the government of Keron or Kairoun, a country where they showed the remains of the ark." Calmet supposes from this that the country must have been near

right of the Jezira road is the Yaylak or summer encampment of Zakho on the Zouzan mountains,

Mount Ararat in Armenia:—he is not aware of this tradition, which places the ark on Mount Judi, or Cardoo, which is evidently the Keron here mentioned[a]. Hussein Aga maintained to me that he has with his own eyes seen the remains of Noah's Ark. He went to a Christian village, whence he ascended by a steep road of an hour to the summit, on which he saw the remains of a very large vessel of wood almost entirely rotted, with nails of a foot long still remaining. In the third volume of Assemanni, p. 214, occurs the following expression: "There is a monastery on the summit of *Mount Cardu, or Ararat.* St. Epiphanius attests that, in his time, remains of the ark still existed, and speaks of relics of Noah's Ark being found in 'Cardiærum Regiones.'"

[a] Josephus, on this subject, says, "However, the Armenians call this place Αποβατηριον, the place of descent; for the ark being saved in that place, its remains are shown there by the inhabitants to this day (§ 6). Now all the writers of barbarian histories make mention of this flood and of this ark; among whom is Berosus the Chaldean; for when he was describing the circumstances of the flood he goes on thus:—'It is said there is still some part of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordyæans; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away and use chiefly as amulets for the averting of mischiefs.' Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phœnician Antiquities, and Mnasias, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nay, Nicalaus of Damascus, in his 96th book, hath a particular relation about them, where he speaks thus: 'There is a great mountain *in Armenia over Ninyas*, called Baris, upon which it is reported that many who fled at the time of the Deluge were saved; and that one who was carried in an ark came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved. This might be the man about whom Moses, the legislator of the Jews, wrote.'"—Whiston's Josephus, b. i., ch. 3. (London, 1820.)

In the passage cited by Josephus it is to be observed, that while both his authorities speak of Armenia as the country in which the ark rested, Berosus speaks of its remains being at the "Mountain of the Cordyæans." This proves, and there are many authorities to the same effect, that the mountains of Corduene, or Gordyæan mountains, which Malte Brun places

where the Bey or Pasha of Zakho has a country-house.

Shakh is a town belonging to the Bey of Jezira, who generally keeps his family there. It is situated in a valley between two mountains: a third closes up the valley, from which issues a stream as large as the Ghazir Soo or Bumadus. This stream joins the Tigris above Zakho and the Khabour. In the latter part of its course it is called Feishabour, I believe from the name of a place through which it passes.

Shakh * is situated on a prolongation of Mount Judi; and the town, which is built in the form of an amphitheatre, is three hours this side of Jezira †. The poplar timber which is used in Bagdad all

within the ancient limits of Assyria, were of old sometimes reckoned in Armenia Major. It is here especially worthy of notice, because the fact that the ancient writers place Ararat in Armenia has, apparently without a single additional reason, led some moderns to look for it exclusively within the boundaries by which that name is now confined.—*By a Friend to the Ed.*

* Shakh is commanded by an Armenian Prince who is invested by the Mahometan Prince of Hakkaria. At Shakh is one of the sources of the Tigris. The country is very mountainous as far as the town of Sert, near which the Tigris runs, and unites with the Diarbekir branch at a place called Tela Navroua, which means in Koordish "between the rivers." There also the Betlis and Rodowan rivers unite. Tela Navroua is twelve hours from Sert and two stages from Jezira. There is a castle there on a mount, as the name indicates, and a large village of Koords and Jacobite Christians. From Shakh, which in Koordish means a chain of mountains, to Julamerk is nine hours.—*From a Note Book of Mr. Rich's.*

† Just on this side Jezira, one hour and a half from it, is a hill which makes a high precipice over the Tigris.

comes from these mountains, and is floated down the Feishabour into the Tigris. The Heizil river also comes from the Judi mountains, and joins the Khabour below Zakho. It is a bad ford.

March 1.—Kosrou Effendi, who is most excellent authority, tells me to-day that Bekir Effendi, when digging for stones to build the bridge of Mousul, found on digging into the Koyunjuk a sepulchral chamber in which was an inscription; and in the chamber, among rubbish and fragments of bone, the following articles: a woman's khalkhal, or *ankle bracelet*, of silver covered with a turquoise-coloured rust; a hejil * of gold; ditto a child's; a bracelet of gold beads quite perfect; some pieces of engraved agate. All these articles, and the chamber in which they were found, were seen and handled by Kosrou Effendi. The gold and silver were melted down immediately, the agates were thrown away, and the chamber broken up by the stones being taken out and then buried in the rubbish.

Among many other interesting particulars not noticed in Mr. Rich's Journal at Mousul, was the death of his amiable and accomplished young friend, Mr. Bellino. Though this was too affecting an event to be much spoken of, it was deeply felt by Mr. Rich and all his party. Mr. Bellino was a young man of

* The hejil is likewise an ankle bracelet, but different from the khalkhal in this respect, that the latter has bells attached to it.

a singularly affectionate disposition, whom no one could know and not love. The removal by sickness and death of such a character, therefore, could not fail to make a deep impression upon his surviving friends, especially in the solitude of a foreign and barbarous country. He never recovered the effects of a fever he caught on an expedition he undertook while in Koordistan to Hamadan; and though he received every attention and care that affection, aided by the medical skill of Dr. Bell, could afford, he gradually sunk under the disease, and died at Mousul, in the month of November, 1820.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Departure from Mousul—Kellek, or Raft—Roaring of the water over a Rapid—Ruins of Nimrod—The Larissa of Xenophon—Al Athur or Asshur—Pyramid—Cuneiform or Arrow-headed Inscriptions—Sulphur Springs—Mouth of the Zab—Stormy Night—Ruins—Tai Arabs—Whirlpool—Singular and perfect Ruins—The Robber's Castle—Green Country—Wild Flowers—El Fatt'ha—Pass through the Hamreen Hills—Arabs—Tomb of the Son of Iman Mousa—Violent Squall—Al Hadhr—Tekreet—Prattling Barber—Imam Dour—Eski Bagdad—Samara—Curious Tower—El Sanam or the Idol—Fragment of a Statue—Mounds of Ruins—Kadesia—Date-trees—Villages—Meet the Yacht—Gardens of Bagdad—Arrival at Bagdad.

March 3.—We embarked on a kellek, or raft *, at the Pasha's garden, on our return to Bagdad, at ten o'clock in the morning, and glided smoothly down the river until four o'clock, when we brought to

* A kellek is a raft nearly twice as long as it is broad. It is composed of goat-skins blown up, and fastened close together by reeds; this is strengthened by cross pieces of wood, and over these again are laid others to keep the bales of merchandise out of the water. The only fastenings of this machine are twigs. The skins are repaired and blown up afresh every evening, and during the day care is taken to keep them continually wet, which prevents their bursting. These kelleks are conducted by two long oars, the blades of which are made of pieces of split cane fastened together. The passengers arrange themselves as they can on the bales of goods; and if a person wishes to be very much at his ease, he procures a wooden bedstead covered over with a felt awning, which stands in the middle of the kellek, and serves him for a bed by night and a sitting-room by day.

about four hundred yards above the Zikr ul Aawaze*, the roaring of which we heard for some time before coming to it. No part of it is now visible, but the water rushes over it like a rapid, boiling with great impetuosity. The passage, which is narrow, is between it and the east bank. The dyke crosses the river. They say, at the latter end of summer and early in autumn, about a foot of it is visible above water, and it may then be seen that it is constructed of large hewn stones cemented with lime.

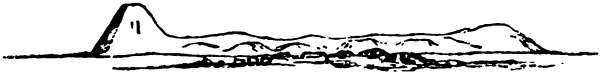
Both sides of the river are highly cultivated all the way from Mousul wherever it is possible, and villages were constantly in sight.

March 4.—It was so cloudy last night that I could not take an observation; the morning was also overcast and threatening a storm, so that there appeared no chance of my seeing the eclipse of the moon. This was, however, at present an object of minor importance with me. I was curious to inspect the ruins of Nimrod †, which I take to be the Larissa of Xenophon. They were sufficiently visible from the shore to enable me to sketch the principal mount.

But I was desirous of a closer examination of

* "The Zikr ul Aawaze is a dam built across the river, which at low water stands considerably above its surface, and forms a small cataract. The inhabitants attribute it to Nimrod."—From Mr. Rich's Journal of his Journey from Bagdad to Constantinople.

† Mousul is six caravan or four horseman's hours from Nimrod.



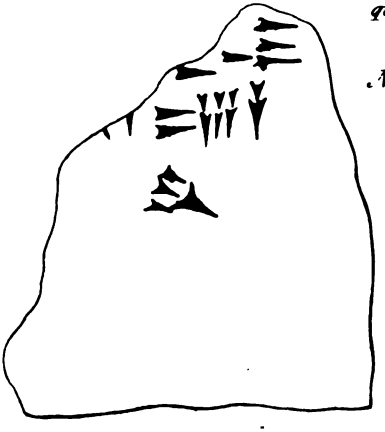
such very venerable remains. I therefore sent the kelleks round the next reach, and set off the first thing in the morning on foot, accompanied by Mrs. Rich, the gentlemen, and a working party to inspect them. We had a walk of forty-five minutes in N. 45 E. at a good hard pace, and my curiosity was amply gratified. The first objects that attracted our attention were a *Pyramidal Mount* at the north-west angle of a parallelogrammic platform or flat mound. Traces of ruins like those of a city were to be seen to the north a little way west and to a great distance east. It is indeed difficult to assign their precise extent, the country all around has been so much ploughed up. I ascended the mount first, as there was a slight clearing up of the horizon, in order to establish its bearings from the distant objects, whose positions I already knew.

A dereh, or ravine, comes from about Khidder Elias, collects all the neighbouring drains, and pours into the Tigris, passing by and washing the south face of the platform. It is sometimes very full of water, and scarcely passable; but is now dry. This ravine is called Seikh Dereh. All around is beautifully cultivated. About a quarter of a mile from the west face of the platform is the large village of Nimrod, sometimes called Deraweish.

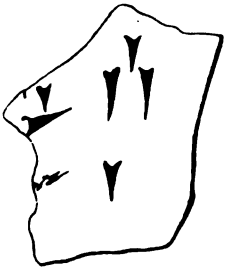
N.º 1 Brick from Nimrod dimensions 13.8 inc square by 4.25 thick. inscription on one edge alone

Letters coarser & deeper than those of the Babylonian bricks the brick also of coarser materials

N.º 2 A broken brick, the following on the face no traces of defaced letters: what remain quite clear.



N.º 3 A small piece of brick with the following.



N.º 4 Another brick from Nimrod 4.5 inc thick, 13.8 long: of the breadth of it only a piece of 5 inches remains its length is entire.

This inscription occupies the whole length of the brick, it has not a margin all round it as in the Babylonian ones.

The Turks generally believe this to have been Nimrod's own city; and one or two of the better informed with whom I conversed at Mousul said it was Al Athur or Ashur, from which the whole country was denominated*. It is curious that the villagers of Deraweish still consider Nimrod as their founder. The village story-tellers have a book they call the "Kisseh Nimrod," or Tales of Nimrod, with which they entertain the peasants on a winter night.

But to come to a description of the ruins. The above-mentioned pyramid forms the north-west angle of the platform, which aligns with the face of the pyramid. At the west base of the pyramid are a few yards of the same kind of concrete building which I had observed at Nineveh. Indeed these ruins singularly illustrate those of Nineveh, and I was delighted to find scattered about fragments of burnt bricks with cuneiform inscriptions on them. I immediately sent to the village to try to procure a whole one, and was successful. I obtained a brick covered with cuneiform writing on the face and the edge; the

* In the name of this obscure place seems to be preserved that of the first settler of the country, and from this spot, perhaps, that name extended over the whole vast region. See Gen. x. 11. "Out of that land went forth Ashur and builded Nineveh," &c.; or, as it has been rendered, "Out of that land he went forth into Ashur," *i. e.* Assyria. The former translation seems the preferable one; and the position of this village is favourable to the supposition of its having received very early a name afterwards to become so celebrated.

writing larger than that at Babylon, and not in the centre of the brick, but covering the face; the bricks thicker than those of Babylon, and indeed much resembling the Nineveh bricks.

The area of the platform does not rise quite to the top of the sides, which leaves as it were a small sort of parapet all round. Torrents of rain have furrowed down openings from the centre to the face of the platform. The faces are aligned; the two shorter east and west, and the longest north and south. From east to west measured, not including the pyramid, five hundred and fourteen feet; north to south is about twice as much. The pyramid on the inside only falls to the level of the platform, and on the outside to the ground. The corners are now so rounded off, as to give it the appearance of being almost circular; yet still its pyramidal form is sufficiently discernible. It is very steep, and the top is small. The height from the ground, or outside, is one hundred and forty-four feet and a half; the circumference, measured with a cord at the ground or lowest base, and over the platform, so as to give a great excess, seven hundred and seventy-seven feet.

Northward the ruins are traceable and aligned with the west face of the platform for about two hundred yards; they then turn east irregularly, and are obliterated or confused by the plough. Eastward the inequalities of the ground show ruins. Tel Seikh, a mount on the ravine at some distance from

the platform, on which stands the pyramid, may likewise be a part of the city. South beyond the platform are no traces; they may have been obliterated by the Seikh Dereh. North of the platform a smaller ravine, called Karadash Dereh, makes its way through the ruins to join the Seikh Dereh before it reaches the Tigris. All the country about is under complete cultivation, and the hills on the opposite side are also interspersed with villages; but there are many mounds and ruins seen amongst them.

We returned to where our kelleks awaited us, in S. 55 W., after thirty-five minutes' moderate walking. We found them in a long reach north and south; and at a quarter past twelve we got under way, and soon after came to another artificial impediment in the river, called a zikr, or dyke. We crossed it near its west end without difficulty, but with some dancing of the kellek, as the water boiled considerably. It is either not so high or has been more ruined than the Zikr ul Aawaze.

About two o'clock we were obliged to tie up the kellek, at the village of Shemoota, on the left bank, on account of the strong southerly squalls. From hence Keshaf, at the mouth of the Zab, was in sight, looking as considerable as the Mount of Arbela; and a little inland from Shemoota was a tepeh, or mount, called Tel Sitteihh.

A few minutes after four we left Shemoota, and

proceeded on our way, the river becoming much broader, and diversified with islands. Tel Sitteihh, and several other artificial mounts, were in sight; and soon after we came to sulphur-springs in the cliffs on the right bank, which are of sandstone, and very much broken.

At a quarter past five we reached, on the left bank of the Tigris, the first mouth of the Zab, of which there are two, separated by a pebbly island. The clear blue waters of the Zab boil up and repulse the muddy stream of the Tigris.

We tied up our frail bark again at twenty-five minutes past five, just below the second mouth of the Zab, on the pebbly bank. Keshaf, at a mile and a half N. 45 E. of us, is a long flat artificial mount, with another lower one beside it. The natives of Mousul say its ancient name was Kharisa; they do not seem to be aware of Haditha *. I was anxious to ascend this mount, in order to obtain a sight of the surrounding country and the course of the Zab, but the weather would not permit. The night too was very threatening; however, I was determined not to move thence till I had had an observation of latitude to fix indisputably this interesting point.

March 5.—The night was very dismal, with thunderstorms and squalls of rain. The path to Keshaf leads through deep soft mud, so that we have

* Probably the same word.

no hopes of getting there. Between ten and eleven the weather began to clear up, sufficiently for me to get an observation for the time; and at noon I was fortunate enough to get a great many circum-meridian altitudes, all unexceptionable. Just at that time some smoke ascended from the ruins of Kyara, which enabled me to set it in S. 15 W.; it is said to be five hours inland by the river.

About noon we got under way. Passing between an island and the left bank, which was high, I observed a bed of concretion near fifteen feet thick, resting on a basis of sandstone, in some places just visible above the water. On the right bank the hills were seen gradually terminating at a point called Murshek, the burial-place of the ancestor of the Albu Selman Arabs, marked by a rude monument.

About one we came to ruins on both sides of us, the Karatchuk hills being visible in all their length, about eight or nine miles off. The country was hence very open to the village of Sultan Abdulla, where the river becomes very broad. Soon after leaving Sultan Abdulla, the river seemed as if it had once run more easterly, from the high and dry banks which were visible, taking that direction.

We passed at half past three Mekook, an artificial mount, with some mounds round it, seemingly like Nimrod, but of less dimensions. The country here was open, verdant, and level.

After crossing the Minshar, a rapid or breaker

across the river, we stopped at a quarter to four for the night, on the right bank two miles from Kyara, where are naphtha-springs, from which we saw a black smoke ascending. Before us was a fine, open, verdant country, with some broken hills in the distance, and the Hamreen in the back ground. A little building was visible on the hills, coming from the north-west to the south-east, bearing S. 62 W., and distant about six miles. We passed a large encampment of Albu Selman Arabs, and of villagers from Karakoosh, Tel Agoob, and Selamia, who had come here for their cattle to graze.

The left bank of the river was something like the country above Mousul, though not quite so much furrowed, except towards the water; the high country or now dry bank, sweeping more east than the present channel, from the top of the reach, and returning to it at the end, about half a mile lower down than our station. The surface of the country was pretty level and open.

At night we had squally weather and much lightning to the east. There was a heavy storm over Karatchuk. The river is evidently rising.

March 6.—We got under way at twenty-five minutes past five in the morning, in order to make a good day's work, but as I had had a bad night, I did not rise until near half past eight. The river was broad, and the country all around beautifully verdant, very open, and here and there fringed with brush-

wood. Tel Geloos, a tepeh or mount, was just behind us on the left bank. We soon after came to an encampment of Tai Arabs, of the Shemamik or Diab division, who were come out to pasture with the Sheikh of Shemamik, Ali'l Hassan, whose large encampment was stretched along the left bank of the river. Our navigation to-day was in some parts very confused and intricate, from the quantity of islands and passages. We stopped for an hour to breakfast on the left bank, which continued the same fine, verdant, level, open country I noticed before, and was covered with a profusion of daisies and wild flowers.

About noon we came to a boiling current and whirlpool, called Khabata, formed by large stones beneath; perhaps it may be building, though the natives say it is not. Just before reaching the whirlpool we passed on the left bank three mounts, called Tulool Agger, near which was an encampment of Arabs of the Albu Hossein and Abu Doula tribes, who are always here. Near their tents was a little jungle.

The river was so very rapid that we were unable to land at Toprak Kalaa, where we arrived at a quarter after twelve. It is a mount of earth surrounded at the foot by a ruined wall, the whole elevated on a platform of ruins.

Heaps of rubbish were scattered about, in which

might be seen lines of stone-masonry with lime cement; on the surface, fragments of building, and large square bricks. We observed one piece of stone carved like the fragment of a statue, or fine ornament, which we saw distinctly through our glasses, as we were close to the shore, but could not land, as I have said above, owing to the violence of the current and the eddies, formed, I believe, by the fragments of building in the water. The men of the kelleks absolutely refused to make the attempt. These ruins are well worth investigation. They form a mass of about twenty feet high, extending north and south along the west bank of the river for nearly two miles, and apparently very far in. The distance from Mousul by land is said to be twenty-two hours. The Hamreen hills are close behind, with several caves, looking like Dakhmehs, or ancient places for exposing the dead, on the summits. These ruins of Toprak Kalaa appear to be most perfect; and from their desolate and out-of-the-way situation, they seem only to have suffered by natural decay, and never to have been disturbed by the hand of man. The Turks call the place Toprak Kalaa; the Arabs, Kalaat ul Shirgath; which mean the same thing—the castle of earth. They all say it was ruined long before the time of Islam.

Here is the southern boundary of the territory of Mousul, on the west side of the Tigris; its boundary on the east side is the great Zab.

We came to the termination of the ruins at half past twelve, opposite to which was a large encampment of Tai Arabs, pitched in an open country as green as an emerald. Not long after we passed the Hamreen hills close on the right bank, which formed an eddy called Khanuza, much dreaded by the kelleks when the river is high, and the current rapid. The cliffs were battered and broken down by the force of the water at the Khanuza. About half past two we glided by a curious lump of concretion in the river called Nemba, said to be covered with ants, whence its name. A few minutes after we came to a very bad rapid, formed by masses of concretion, called Ferraj; and a little after I observed on our right a long low tepeh or mount, on which was the tomb of an Arab Sheikh. At half past three was another rapid named Treisha, and on the right bank ruins called Muk'hol Kalaa, standing on a perpendicular cliff formed of bare strata of rock, the foot of which is washed by the river, which brings down large pieces of it. The principal building is one long room with loop-holes to the river, the roof of which is gone; the left side is buttressed, or supported on a mass of building, in which was a kind of window that seems to show that there are subterranean chambers in it. Through openings in these hills, the Hamreen hills are seen close behind; the front ones, which I before mistook for the Hamreen, being only a branch or screen called the Muk'hol, or

Khanuza mountain, which is like the principal trunk of the Hamreen in every respect, except that it serpentines more, the Hamreen being pretty straight in its course.

I observed here a very curious bank which had been cut down by the river, and in which were very plainly defined, first a horizontal layer of pure soil above four feet thick; secondly, a bed of concretion about eight feet; and under all, inclined strata of sandstone, about ten or twelve feet to the water's edge.

We tied up for the night, at about half past four in the afternoon, on the right bank, and just opposite the mouth of the little Zab; on the banks of which was a large encampment of Alabeid Arabs, under their chief, Hassan Ali. Near us was a little jungle of brushwood, the grass around which was enamelled with wild flowers.

The west bank of the Zab was formed by hills, on which were the tombs of some Arab Sheikhs, and these are the same hills which for the last twenty minutes had formed the left bank of the Tigris. On the east bank of the Zab the country is quite flat and open.

March 7.—We got under way at about half past five in the morning, the wind blowing hard from the south. At six we came to a rapid and whirlpool much dreaded by the kelleks, called Kelab, or the nook; and a few minutes after, we reached the termi-

nation of the Khanuza hills on the right bank. The interval between them and the Hamreen is filled with a confusion of mounts, and débris, seemingly tossed about in a most fanciful and unsightly manner. At seven we passed a place called Musahhaj, or the crumbled, and from hence the tops of several of the mounts above mentioned wore the appearance as if they were crowned with ruins. Through the glass I could only descry indurated earth, and crumbling sandstone. The people say it is a kalaa, or castle, but none of them have ever been ashore here. The remains, whether of nature or of art, cover many separate mounts, and form the ridge or back-bone of many sharp ones, where nothing but a single wall ever could have been. There is in no part of the hills space for houses or habitations, and the pretended remains are solid.

Proceeding on our way, we soon came to Tel Hamlia, a small mount on the left bank, and Kalaat ul Jebbar, or the tyrant's castle, on the right bank of the river, a ruin a little way up the Hamreen, consisting of some round towers, connected by plain walls. Many vestiges of others were discernible, extending nearly up to the top of the mountain. These were merely inclosure walls, as of a city, though the area was steep.

We stopped for breakfast at about half past eight under the Hamreen hills, on the right bank, near one hour below Jebbar, at which place it was impos-

sible to bring the kellek to. Had I been as near Toprak Kalaa, I would gladly have walked to see it; these ruins, however, did not excite my curiosity sufficiently to induce me to go so far to see them. From their appearance they may have been Mahometan. The ground where we stopped, and all around, was beautifully green, and enamelled with wild flowers. Near us were encamped some Arabs of a petty tribe, called Albu Is'hhak; also on both sides of the river some Alabied Arabs. They brought us immense quantities of truffles for sale.

We got under way again at about half past ten, but were soon obliged, on account of the violence of the wind, to bring to at a small island, opposite which, on the left bank, were some strange unsightly hills and mounts, worn into every shape. We got off again at half past one, and in half an hour reached Tel Dhahab on the left bank, called by Thevenot, Altun Daghi; a hill higher than the before-mentioned heaps which surround it. About half has been carried away by the river, the action of which has here exposed the natural line of earth and horizontal strata of sandstone.

At a little after two passed Breij a Bad, a rock, and rapid, at a turn in the river close to the left bank, on a hill near which was an Arab tomb; and at half past two we came to El Fatt'hha, the pass through the Hamreen hills. The river runs through in S. 30 E., and is about one hundred and fifty

yards wide. In the pass on the left bank, among débris of the Hamreen hills, are naphtha springs and nitre. We soon after passed a place where the river forms many islands, and in the beginning of autumn is fordable. The Diyabat horsemen from Sinjar cross here to go and rob in the Kerkook hills, and they follow the Hamreen down from Sinjar.

The river continued broad, the current very strong, and there were many islands. On the left bank were low hills, among the rest one called Leg-Leg, much furrowed by an abrupt turn in the river; and on the right the country was pretty open, but not so much so as to appear alluvial. Albu Hammed Arabs were encamped along the shore.

About six we brought to for the night at an island. All the islands hereabouts were cultivated with Indian corn, &c. by the Albu Hammed Arabs. The country on each side was very like that above Mousul. The Hamreen was visible to a great extent.

Not very long before we tied up, we saw, on the right bank, a place called Khan Khernina, bearing S. 60 W. Two considerable mounts were distinguishable, and under them large ruins: some arches were visible through our glasses. It seemed a very curious place. Just south begins a low range of hills or rather elevated strip of country, with a flat surface, called Jebel Khernina, which runs to Tekreet.

March 8.—We were off in the morning at a quarter to six, but our going was very slow on account of a very violent south-easterly wind. When I began to observe at half past seven Fatt'hha bore N. 10 W., our course was south.

We passed about eight o'clock some water-wheels and cultivation on the islands and left bank, belonging to the Jowaree Arabs. Our going continued extremely slow and difficult, and a little before ten we were obliged to stop, or rather were driven against the left bank, where we remained till a quarter after four.

On the Khernina hills was visible the tomb of Tchereem Abu Khalkhalan, a son of Imaum Mousa.* Several other smaller tombs are about it.

Water-wheels belonging to a little tribe of Arabs, called Albu Mohammed, and subject to Tekreet, were in motion as we passed them soon after getting under way again, which we did, in spite of the south-east wind, which was very strong and greatly impeded our progress.

The Hamreen hills were still in sight at ten minutes to five, even through the mist raised by the

* The seventh of the twelve Imaums revered by the Shiahs. He was born in the year of the Hejira 128, and was poisoned at Bagdad by order, it is said, of Haroun al Rashid. He is buried at the village of Kazemeen, on the right bank of the Tigris, three miles to the north of Bagdad, and the Persians have built a handsome mosque over his remains, the cupolas of which are covered with beaten gold.

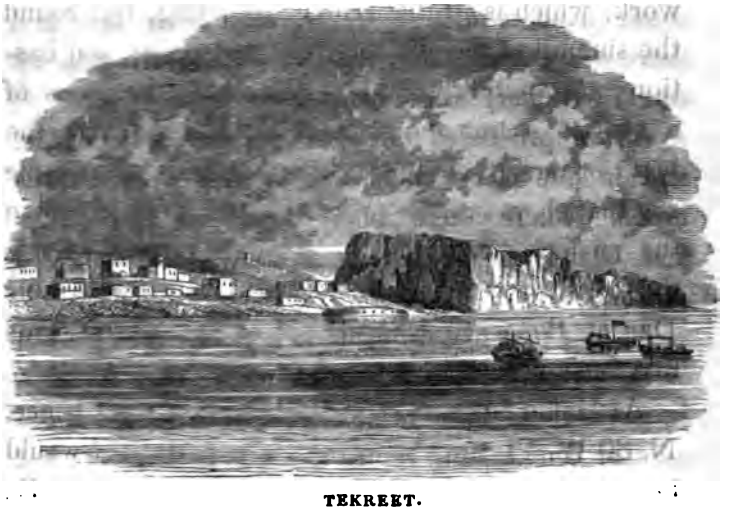
south wind, which, however, soon after fell, and there was a dead calm, the sky fast covering in all round with very heavy clouds.

As we proceeded the river became much wider, and in one place could not be less than a mile broad. There were many herds on the banks and islands belonging to the Albu Mohammed Arabs.

At half past five we came to a place called Selwa, or the Syren, in the Khernina cliffs; then round a cape in these hills, which from the Selwa make another bend in, and return again near Tekreet; but this is in fact only the country cut down by the water, the river having evidently at one time passed by them. From Selwa our course was south. The river has decidedly begun to fall again, the late rise having been only a temporary one caused by the rain.

At ten minutes before six in the evening there came a violent squall from the west, which drove us on the east bank at some distance from the other kelleks. Luckily the bank was low and clear. The squall lasted so long that it was not worth while to get under way again after it was over. The ruins of Tekreet began a little below us on the high perpendicular cliffs.

March 9.—We got under way at half past five, and at six tied up again on the bed of pebbles before Tekreet.



TEKREET.

While breakfast was getting ready, I sallied forth to view the curiosities of the place, which are indeed but few, and consist only of the rubbish of the former town, which covers an immense space, perhaps greater than all Bagdad. The castle (I now well comprehend how it might have been deemed impregnable) is on a perpendicular cliff over the Tigris above 200 feet high, and is separated from the town by a broad and deep ditch, which insulates the cliff of the castle, and no doubt was filled by the Tigris. On the opposite side of the ditch is the town, which was also walled. The area is now covered with heaps of rubbish, principally lime and large round stones, like those at Kasr i Shireen. Vaults and chambers are everywhere discoverable among them. At the foot of the castle cliff is a large gate of brick-

work, which is all that remains standing, but round the summit of the cliff the walls, buttresses, and bastions are quite traceable. There are the ruins of a vaulted secret staircase, leading down from the heart of the citadel to the water's edge. The people say that there are the remains of ten churches in the modern town, but quite ruined. Just outside the north part of the city is a ruin, called in Arabic Dar el Benat, or the "abode of the girl." This may have been a nunnery.

Al Hadhr* is two long days' journey from hence, N. 30 W. I saw the pyramid, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, the Cone of Door, S. 8 E., four hours off. The Hamreen was visible from N. 20 W. to N. 70 E. El Fat'hha N. 10 W.

A caravan was just setting out for Kerkook. It rests for the night at the Hamreen hills, and arrives the next day at the place of its destination.

The modern town of Tekreet, which contains six hundred houses, is built of burnt brick, and is farmed this year for 22,000 piastres.

The barber who shaved me was a terrible talker, but was rivalled by his townsman, an old Seyd whom I met, and who told me long stories of his ancestor Sultan

* From a native I learnt that at El Hadhr there are the remains of a triple wall, and sculptures, and writing. It is on a canal from the Thilthar, which is a river that comes from Sinjar, and discharges itself into the salt lake. In a ravine, near Hadhr, are many slabs of marble covered with writing.—See p. 108, and the note.

Abdul Siteehh. The air of Tekreet seems favourable to prosers, as there is a proverb common in these countries, "To talk like a Tekreetli." If the women exceed the men in this gift, in the due proportion of the sex, he is to be pitied who marries a Tekreetli wife.

We left Tekreet at a quarter past twelve, and proceeded along under the cliffs, which are composed of earth and pebbles—no rock was visible. The country on both sides of the river was well cultivated.

IMAM DOUR.

About three we came to Imam Dour *, on the left bank of the river. It is a considerable town,

* Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits. He set it up in the plain of *Dura*, in the province of Babylon.—Daniel iii. 1. In the retreat of the Roman army from Ctesiphon,

with a few date-trees and a garden or two, and marked by a ziyaret, or place of pilgrimage, with a cone-like spire over it. Behind the town, at a little distance, is a very large ancient mount.

A few minutes after we passed Hheimra, there is a zikr, or obstruction in the river, but not extending far from the left bank. The natives say it is artificial; but I could only see some lumps of concretion, which had every appearance of being natural. Just below Hheimra is another zikr, or obstruction, called Ruweiahh. The river has fallen about two feet.

At a place called Tel el Meheji, on the right bank, very considerable tumuli are observable, but they are some way inland. Alabeid and other petty Arab tribes were encamped there, who pay tribute to the Sheikh of Khernina, Ali'l Fadhah. On the left the people of the kellek pointed out to me a nahar or small stream, said to have been a canal dug by King Solomon, and to go as far as Howeiza. They say there is a bridge not far off, over it, of stones cramped with lead, and a similar one over the Adhaym. It looks only like a natural ravine among

under Jovian, they are described as pitching their tents near the city of Dura, four days after the death of Julian. Here, too, a part of the army, in the silence of the night, swam the Tigris; and the success of this trial, Gibbon says, "disposed the Emperor to listen to the promises of his architects, who proposed to construct a floating bridge of the *inflated skins of sheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and fascines.*"—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iv., p. 208.

the pebbly hills: it is quite dry, very narrow, and some feet now above the river.

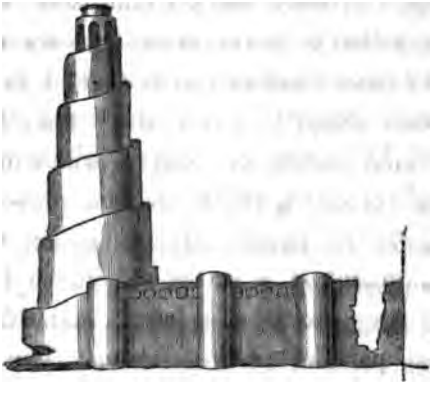
At twenty minutes past four we arrived at the commencement of the ruins of Eski Bagdad, on the high pebbly cliffs of the left bank of the river. They consisted at first of insignificant ruins of pebble-work, mud, and brick, in heaps of rubbish, but of considerable extent, as we were above an hour passing them. A great many islands were scattered along the right bank of the river, and we observed quantities of very curious birds, called in Arabic aajizan, flying about in the cliffs. They had long red beaks, changeable red and green wings, and were rather larger, I think, than a pigeon. The ruins continued till twenty minutes to six, when we came to a square inclosure, just in the style of the other ruins, but more perfect. It is called Thinars; and this seems to be the end of these ruins.

We passed, about six, Kabr u Seyd, a lump of concretion, forming a rapid near the right bank, and soon after some more lumps, said to be the remains of the bridge of the Ashek. At Hawel-ubset, on the left bank, were some heaps of ruins. On the right was Ashek, which reminded me of Sertcheh Khan *. At twenty minutes past seven we arrived at Samara†, on the left bank of the river.

* Sertcheh Khan is about three hours from Nisibis, on the road from that place to Mardin, and is an inclosure framed of thick masonry and faced with large stones.

† In the retreat mentioned in a former note, the Roman army,

March 20.—While waiting for the noon-day observation, I went to see the remains of the great mosque or medrisseh. The brickwork is good; and the size about two hundred yards by one hundred and fifty. The wall is supported by buttresses, looking like towers at a distance; outside of which, on the north of the town, is the barbarous, but curious-looking corkscrew tower, a spiral dividing it into six



towers. It is about two hundred feet high. Ruins and heaps of rubbish are lying about in every direction. The Caliph's palace is a great way off to the north. The modern town is about the same size as that of Tekreet.

"after marching and fighting a long summer's day, arrived in the evening at Samara, on the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Ctesiphon."—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iv. p. 207. Samara afterwards, in the ninth century, became the capital of Motassem, the eighth Caliph of the Abassides, instead of Bagdad, which he quitted on account of the rebellious disposition of its inhabitants.

At half-past twelve we got under way, notwithstanding there was a very disagreeable south-east wind blowing, and the day cloudy and dark. We passed more ruins, still called by the people, Eski Bagdad. At a few minutes before two we came to Nahar ul Ersas, on the left bank, or the head of the Nahrawan canal. On it was a square brick building, seemingly solid, and of the age of the Caliphs. On the opposite shore was the mouth of the Dijjeil, a little below that of the Nahrawan; and about half-past two we passed mounds of ruins at a place called Istablat, and stopped on the left bank at another place called El Sanam or Nabga, where were likewise mounds of ruins, and a fragment of an unburnt brick wall on the bank. Below it, near the water, was the fragment of a statue called El Sanam, or the idol, of grey granite and basalt, consisting of two feet, placed parallel on a pedestal. The length of the feet was thirteen inches, and the same measured over the instep. The design was not amiss; the ancle bone was well traced, but all was much chipped and wilfully defaced. Only a few feet more of the statue remain above the ancles; and all that can be made out of it is that the drapery descended to the ancles, like a petticoat. They say the upper part was cut away by an Imam Doorli, to make pestles for pounding coffee.

We ascended the bank, and immediately saw all around considerable mounts of ruins dispersed about,

covered with pieces of brick, of Sassanian, not Assyrian or Babylonian texture and dimensions. In addition to the other fragments usually found, were pieces of glass or vitrified substance, of green and amethyst colours, in crystals or incrustations. At the distance of half a mile were some walls and ramparts, which I immediately set off to examine, though I was much exhausted by the south-easterly wind, and had hurt my foot considerably. I discovered an inclosure of unburnt brick walls and little towers, which I saw at once to be Sassanian. The area was not very full of rubbish; not so much so as towards the river. I remarked the *inner-work* just as at Ctesiphon and Dastagherda; in short, there can be no doubt of its Sassanian character. The mounds of ruins outside are continued to a considerable extent south-east along what appears clearly to have been the former bed of the river. I did not see any reeds among the building. Aga Seyd, my Persian secretary, told me he had on a former occasion gone round the inclosure in one hour on horseback. I asked the name of the place, and the Arabs who were standing about immediately answered, Gadesia, which I found to be Kadesia*; and here

* The battle of Kadesia, which put an end to the Persian empire, was fought in the fifteenth year of the Hejira, under the Caliphat of Omar, by the Arab General Saad, against Rustum, the Commander-in-Chief of the Perian army, in the reign of Yezdigerd, the last of the Sassanian race. The battle lasted three days, at the end of which the Arabs were victorious and the Persian monarchy

is the place accounted for at once. They said it was a town before Islam. It is curious that the natives of the East, though they sometimes give too great an age to Mahometan ruins, never, on any occasion, attribute more ancient remains to Islam. I asked the same men what were some fragments of brick-work I saw beyond these ruins, and they immediately said, "A town of the Khalifs."

Samara from hence bore N. 20 W., and the building on the Nahrawan, N. 40 W. The Nahrawan runs at the back of Gadesia*, at about a mile's distance.

We set off again at a little after four, but were compelled by the violence of the weather to bring to again at ten minutes before six. The river I observed to be rising again very fast.

March 11.—Off at half past five in the morning. Passed Beled, the principal village of the district of Dijjeil; near it were some date-trees, and a minaret. A little way in from the bank was Ghowadir, another village, likewise among date-trees. The river all this morning wound greatly, and formed a great number of islands and channels. Khan i Seyd visible on the right bank, and a little below it the tomb of Seyd Mohammed. The banks here were steep, and composed of fine pure mould, much shivered by the

destroyed. [See the animated account of this battle in the ninth volume of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."]

* Macdonald Kinneir takes this for Opis, which is quite out of the question.

action of the water. We are now in the alluvial country, and not a pebble is to be seen on any side.

Soon after ten we stopped for breakfast. The wind was from the north and north-east, and so very high as to raise considerable waves on the river, which did not at all suit our very frail barks.

We were off again at half past eleven, passed Mishraga. The high alluvial banks were here worn down, and shattered by the river and the rain. The river has greatly varied its course hereabouts.

At one we stopped at the junction of the Adhaym and the Tigris. The Adhaym is the trunk stream which receives the Kerkook, Taouk, and Toozkhoormattee waters. I landed to examine it. It is now about a hundred yards wide, but is a small stream sometimes even nearly dry, and here runs through a plain of low ground gained from the river, which at no very distant period made a great sweep on the left hand, as may be seen by the high and now dry banks about one mile off. It is beyond these that Opis must be looked for. The reason why Macdonald Kinneir could not find any ruins is quite clear; he looked on ground which but a short time before had been the bottom of the river.

This low ground now pastures many buffaloes, and is the favourite haunt of wild boars. We saw five of them in our walk*.

* A wild boar one day came swimming down the Tigris in sight of our garden house, near Bagdad. He landed in the town,

We got under way again at half past one. There was very little current, and our going was very slow. We passed much ground that had been gained from the river. At a quarter past four the date-trees on the Khalis were in sight; on the left was Tel Khumeisia.

At six we stopped for the night at Sindia, the first village of Khalis, on the Tigris*; and here we

took his way up the bazaar, where he overturned and hurt some persons; he then got into a mosque, to the great terror of a few people who were in it: being dislodged from this asylum, he took refuge in the house of the Seraff Bashi, a Jew; and I believe paid two or three visits of this nature before he was shot.

* The district of Khalis is situated to the north of Bagdad, and takes its name from a canal which is cut from the Diala to the Tigris, and supplies sixty-two villages, most of which are now become mere nominal ones, with water for agriculture; the Tigris itself being unfit for that purpose. The principal of these villages are Yenghijeh, twenty miles from Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris, now almost abandoned on account of the great oppression under which the peasantry labour: Howeish, a village of a hundred houses, famous for its fruit gardens, three miles from Yenghijeh, and also on the Tigris; Dokhala, close to Howeish; Hophopa, about six miles from Howeish in the desert; Mansooria, six miles from Howeish on the Tigris; Saadia, three and a half miles from Mansooria, also on the Tigris; Sindia, Doltova, and several villages on the Diala.

Near Mansooria some cotton is grown; the rest of the cultivation is barley, corn, and grass.

During an excursion I made through this district in the month of March, 1813, I had an opportunity of seeing several specimens of the strange impolicy and savage oppression of the Turks towards their peasantry, one of which is worth recording, as it proves to what an extent the wretched system of *mahhsoobiet* is carried. A poor man at Howeish invited us into his garden, which we found in very bad order. He said he was a Mahhsoob, a dependant, or

met the yacht, which had been waiting for us for the last fifteen days. We got on board at night, and found the change, from the confinement of the kellek to an airy cabin and good deck, a very pleasant one.

March 12.—The yacht got under way at half past five this morning, and when I went upon deck at half past seven, I found we were going south, and were just below the village of Mansooria. The wind was south-east, and the day looked very threatening. Many villages were in sight.

About nine the yacht got aground, but was soon off again; however we were obliged to go very slowly, and notwithstanding all our precautions we got aground again soon after eleven, and could not get off again till noon; after which we sailed on pleasantly enough. About three we came in sight of the Bagdad gardens, the country being quite open on both sides. Soon after we had a tremendous storm of hail, and we were driven against the high bank of the river. At a quarter before six, we came into the reach of Imam Aazem; at six passed the

protected, of the Defterdar or Treasurer at Bagdad; and that some years back, when the Defterdar was oppressed by the Kiahya, the *contre-coup* extended to him, and he was obliged to fly. During his absence his garden fell to decay, and from an annual produce of 6000 piastres, it now scarcely brought him as many hundreds.

All government persons live at free quarters in these villages; a most serious burden to the inhabitants when situated on a frequented road.

The whole district is governed by a Zabit, but each village has, besides, its own head or Kiahya.

Pasha's garden; and in half an hour more we anchored just above the Bridge of Boats at Bagdad.

Mr. Rich, on his return to Bagdad from his expedition to Koordistan, received an offer from the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, of a situation at the Presidency, which he accepted; and as soon as he had settled his affairs at Bagdad, he left it, to the grief of a large proportion of the inhabitants, and proceeded down the Tigris to Bussora, of which voyage the following is an account. Mr. Rich had made the same voyage so many times, that he did not, upon the present occasion, keep a very minute Journal. In order to supply deficiencies, some of his former Journals are given in the Appendix.

CHAPTER XIX.

Departure from Bagdad—The Diala—Tauk Kesra—Scattered Ruins—River winding—Long Lines of Ruins—Mud Fort—Encampment of Arabs—Ruins at Taj—Great Ruins—Building with Arches—Mounds—Treasure found—Swarms of Musquitoes—Arab Tribe of Davar—Defeats the Pasha of Bagdad's Army—Jumbal—Remains of a supposed Bridge—The Village of Koot Al Amara—The Hye—Mountains in sight—Immense expanse of Water—Camp of the Beni Lam Sheikh—Clump of Trees—Ruins—Jungle of Tamarisk—Ruins of two ancient Towns—Dreary Morass—Arab Encampment—Boats loaded with Dates—Fine grove of Trees—Canal—The Hhud—Danger of one of our Boats—Albu Mahommed Arabs—Their Habitations—Wild appearance—Their Canoes—Tomb of Ezra—Albu Mahommed Arabs—Removal of their Camp—The Women—Koorna—The Pasitigris, or Shat ul Arab—Arrival at Bussora.

May 11.—We got under way in the yacht at half past seven, with a south-east wind. The river very full, though not yet at its highest. We passed Hajee Abdulla Aga's garden, which is the last belonging to Bagdad, at ten minutes before eleven; arrived at the mouth of the Diala at one *, and anchored at our old station at Hodheifa, opposite Tauk Kesra †, at half past five.

The weather was squally and threatening, so we did not get under way again that night.

* From the Diala to Tauk Kesra is noted in a former Journal.

† For an account of Tauk Kesra, see the Journal above referred to, which will be found in the Appendix.—*Ed.*

May 12.—We sailed at five. The wind was westerly and pretty strong. Soon after six we were off the mouth of the canal I originally supposed to be the Nahar Malca, but which I now believe to be a cut or opening from it. The real Nahar Malca seems to be in the horizon, and its mouth is at a place called Samera, far below the Tauk. The boatmen called it Ugghur, and told me that formerly, in *very old times*, it was navigable *.

A little before seven we observed on the right bank, at a place called Hharrea, scattered mounds of rubbish to a great extent, and soon after passed Samera, the place where the boatmen had pointed out to us the Nahar Malca.

The wind blowing pretty fresh from the south-east, and the river very winding, we were driven up against the left bank, from whence we could not disengage ourselves for upwards of half an hour. A little after ten we passed Al Hammam on the right bank, near which heaps of ruins were scattered all about.

At three we were in a very long reach running east. On the right bank we observed long lines of ruins, or the banks of an old canal called Davar. Possibly this may be the Nahar Malca. In about half an hour we turned N. 45 E. It now fell dead calm; the barometer dropped to 29° 52′; and every

* Trajan, in his voyage down the Euphrates, is said to have passed into the Tigris through the Nahar Malca.

thing portending a squall, we thought it as well to bring to for the night, which we did in a long easterly reach at four. Soon after a squall from the west and north-west burst over us, with thunder, lightning and rain, which lasted about two hours, when the wind settled again in the south-east.

May 13.—Got under way at half past four, and at a quarter past six we had turned from south-west into N. 45 E. The river winds here very much. Boats are to be seen almost all round the horizon. We passed on the right bank a small square mud fort, or rather inclosure, built by Shufellah, the Sheikh of the Zobeid Arabs, and beside it was a canal dug likewise by him. At a quarter to seven we came to Ruebia—ruins were visible on the right bank—and a small encampment of Zobeid Arabs. The left bank was low and marshy. The liquorice plant was growing in abundance, and a great many buffaloes belonging to the Maddani Arabs were grazing. At ten minutes past eight our course was S. 45 E.; our going was very slow, and we had frequent stoppages, owing to the rapidity of the current, which drove us up against the banks, from whence with difficulty the vessel could be disengaged. Taj was just before us in the reach into which we were turning at a quarter to nine in S. 25 E. Ruins were discernible about three miles in the desert on the left bank, consisting of many mounds, with a build-

ing or fragment of wall on one. The Arabs call them Taj.

At twenty minutes past nine our course was S. 30 W. At a place called Haddara, on the right bank, were more ruins. About ten we got into a long reach S. 80 E., along which we sailed rapidly. At a quarter to one passed on the right bank Zor Abdulla*, where are great ruins. Thence we proceeded south, south-east and east, through a long reach, into N. 45 E., or the reach of Dakkhala. At half past two we were going south-west. The wind was westerly, which enabled us to hoist sail; and we pursued our way with considerable rapidity. At three our course was west; at four it was south: we were still under sail, and going about seven knots an hour.

We soon after passed Zoweiya, an immense collection of ruins, extending as far as the eye can reach in the desert, and down the right bank of the river. On one of the mounds far in the desert was a building with arches. We afterwards came to Humeinya, on the right bank; ruins were still visible, seemingly a continuation of those of Zoweiya. It was on one of the mounds cut down by the river hereabouts, that the great treasure was found in Ab-

* It is perhaps necessary to inform the reader, that the names mentioned on the banks of the river rarely belong to towns or villages now in existence, but rather mark where once they were. Sometimes they are found with ruins, sometimes even the very ruins have disappeared, and nothing but the name remains.—*Ed.*

dullah Pasha's time, consisting of immense quantities of ingots of silver, coins of the Macedonian sovereigns before Alexander, Athenian drachms, and silver Persian coins before Alexander *. On a mound about a mile inland are the remains of a round or rather cylindrical building, like a minaret, but apparently solid; it is much ruined at the bottom, and is faced with fine brick-work. The top is quite ruined, and only a few yards of it are standing.

The reach we were in was north, and pretty long. We were again detained a few minutes by coming against the bank. We passed some Zobeid Arabs; they extend from Hameira to Koot, and inland as far as Affej†.

In rounding into the next reach we were again detained a little by the yacht running against the bank. We had a fine north-west breeze. We came to at a quarter to six for dinner, and set off again at half past eight.

* Some of which, forming part of Mr. Rich's collection, are now in the British Museum.—*Ed.*

† Extracts from a journal of Mr. Rich's in September, 1819. "Bagdad, September 10. Three boats coming from Bussora plundered by the Affej Arabs, who have come to the banks of the Tigris to cut off the Bussora fleet, of which these three boats formed a part. The property lost is said to amount to forty lacs of piastres, and many people were killed or drowned in attempting to escape. I called upon the Pasha, who was very kind, but it was evident to one who knew him well, that he was affected by the late bad news. He did his best to conceal it, and was pretty successful."

May 14.—A fine night, and we have made good way, though not sailing, but I was devoured by innumerable swarms of very venomous musquitoes, notwithstanding I slept on deck. At day-break the Hamreen hills were visible, which I am informed are one long day's journey inland from Koot.

The river winds less. At Ishan we observed ruins on the right bank. The wind was north. We dropped down the reach without sails. The line of the Hamreen hills all along before us.

At half past nine passed Buzheila, a small mud fort on the right bank, belonging to Shufellah, the Zobeid Sheikh, who was encamped near it in person.

At eleven on the left bank were some Arabs of the tribe of Dawar*.

* November 27, 1819.—The Kiahya Bey marched a few days ago against some wretched Arabs, called the Davars, who are subject to a man named the Shat Beghi, who is allowed a small toll on boats coming from Bussora, in consideration of his supplying horses and guides for couriers and government officers who may pass towards Koot, Bedra, the Beni Lam Sheikh, &c. This little body of Arabs, for it does not amount to a tribe, were suspected of having had some share in the late robberies on the river, and the Kiahya Bey in consequence was ordered out to surprise them, at the head of half the Pasha's own Mamalukes, and the strong party of Agalee Arabs, Baratalis, and Tufenkjees, making in all about 2000 men of the supposed best troops in the Pashalik. The Arabs, who had an effective force of about twenty or thirty musketeers, and perhaps 100 men in all, armed any how, with wooden clubs, javelins, &c., being informed of the Kiahya's approach, took post in a small jungle of underwood, where they managed so well that they repulsed the Kiahya with considerable loss—two Mamalukes killed, two wounded (one of them badly),

At five we were in the reach, where Jumbul, the supposed bridge, is. The pilot tells me there is now about five *deraas* or ells of water over it. We have had fine gentle sailing all the day, at the rate of about five knots, with light north-west airs. At seven we wound round into the Koot reach, S. 45 E.; and brought to at Koot al Amara at eight. Since I was here last, a small mud fort has been built, and a new village established about it, a little below the old one. The present village is just opposite the mouth of the Hye, which bears S. 70 W. from it, distant the breadth of the river, which is here very considerable, the reach opening out to the breadth of a mile. There are five companies of Agalee Arabs quartered here, who are allowed a small toll on each boat.

I wished to get under way again as soon as I

and a great number of Baratalis killed or wounded. The Turks were actually not ashamed to return to Bagdad with this loss for their pains. The Kiahya is personally a brave man, but what can be done with such miserable materials as his army is composed of? Last night the Pasha himself ordered a party to be got ready, and this morning he marched with the half of the Mamelukes who had not gone out on the former calamitous expedition, with three field-pieces, the whole corps of the Baratalis, and some Agalee musketeers. The pretext is a hunting-party.

December 5.—The Pasha's expedition appears to have turned out indeed only a hunting-party. He came back to-day. While out, he sent me a couple of antelopes. I sent him seven mule-loads of refreshments, among which were some European cakes, such as Pane di Spagna, &c., with which he was much pleased.—Extract from a former Journal of Mr. Rich's.

had completed my astronomical observations, but the pilot was afraid to take the yacht through the crooked reaches beyond Koot at night, though we had the moon. I believe he and the trackers had no objection to some hours' rest after the trouble they had had with the yacht the preceding night, so I let them have their own way.

Koot al Amara is called half way between Bagdad and Bussora. The swarms of musquitoes were extremely troublesome.

May 15.—We got under way at half past three. The day was cloudy, the wind north-west and rather stormy, with a little rain. We rounded into N. 45 W. At four Koot bore S. 45 W. At twenty minutes past five our course was N. 45 E., and at a quarter to six S. 50 E.

A little after six we passed some ruins on the right bank, where the river rounds up into N. 45 W. again. Here it blew so hard against us that we were obliged to bring to.

There are twelve of these crooked reaches after leaving Koot. We have now passed three of them. The river has contracted itself again.

In the line of mountains which has bounded the eastern horizon since yesterday morning, we can now distinguish two or even three ranges, the first being the low Hamreen, which is a good day's march from Koot. Behind these rise higher hills, forming the mountains of Loristan.

We were off again at twenty minutes past nine. In some of the reaches we went with great rapidity, but in others we had so much trouble that, as the gale too was freshening up greatly, we thought it best again to bring to at eleven.

Off again at four. We soon saw an immense expanse of water in the horizon, extending round many degrees. This is formed by the streams descending from the first mountains of Loristan, the Beni Lam plains being too level to carry off the waters to the Tigris, which, in fact, itself in some places flows into the plains, and contributes to these morasses.

At a quarter to seven we stopped for dinner. We were still in the crooked reaches, of which we have two more to go through.

May 16.—The swarms of musquitoes last night were incredible; they literally filled the air, though there was a good breeze from the north-west, and the wind was cold. It was impossible to obtain the slightest rest for an instant.

We were two or three times detained against the bank. Soon after two we passed through the great camp of the new Beni Lam Sheikh, Ali Khan, extending about a mile along the left bank. At half past three we passed the mouth of the Nahrwan, and soon after heard the roaring of a lion quite close to us in the jungle.

In the morning I could perfectly distinguish the

ranges of the Loristan mountains, of which I made a sketch.

I observe our Arabs pronounce ج like the Saxon g; for example, gibbel, reggil, &c., instead of jibbel, rejil.

At a quarter to nine our course was east, and we were sailing about six knots an hour. At ten minutes past nine our course was S. 45 E., and at twenty minutes past nine we passed Um-ul-beia, a canal on the right, now full. All the country was at the level of the water's edge, and damp and morassy. The horizon looked like the sea.

Both sides of the river hereabouts belong to the Beni Lam Arabs. Just below Um-ul-beia we came to a clump of trees on the right bank; the trees were of the species called by the Arabs ghurrab.

We are now at the nearest point to the Loristan mountains, and beyond the fourth range we can see some points of seemingly a superior range, probably Zagros.

At half past nine, our course being south, we were detained half an hour by the yacht going against the bank on rounding a point. We succeeded in getting round it about ten, and then proceeded east. Soon after we met a fleet of boats coming from Bussora, and at half past ten we came opposite Imaum Gherbi, a ziaret, and grove of trees on the right bank. After passing a contrary reach at a quarter to eleven, we had beautiful sailing, at

the rate of eight knots an hour, until noon, with a strong north-west breeze. Our course was S. 20 E.

At half past twelve we observed a ruin on the left bank, a little inland, and soon after another on the right.

In a part of the Loristan mountains, which has just opened upon us, is a conical mountain, looking very much like a volcano.

The river now became very narrow, and we experienced some detentions against the banks. The shore was here wooded with tamarisk jungle.

We heard that Arar, the deposed Beni Lam Sheikh, has taken refuge with the Prince of Kermanshah, and that Hassan Khan Feili is to be sent with an army to restore him. At four passed the ruins of two ancient towns, Heifli on the left bank and Sioroot on the right. At low water the remains of a bridge which connected them is still to be seen. We came afterwards to a very large camp of the Beni Lams.

At a quarter past six course S. 45 E. The whole country on the right and on the left, but especially the former, a dreary, dismal, and offensive tract of morass, consisting of large pools and lakes of stagnant water extending among tussocks of rank grass and rushes as far as the eye could see. Many encampments of Beni Lams were scattered about.

At a quarter to six we brought to on the edge of the morass on the right bank to get dinner and wait

for the boat, on board of which were the gentlemen of our party, which was greatly astern. Imaum Ali Sherki, bearing S. 10 E., was distinguishable by a large clump of trees. Near the place at which we stopped were two boats loaded with dates, which they had brought from Bussora and Koorna to dispose of to the Arabs on each side of the river, and take ghee, rice, &c. in return. These trading voyages generally last from three to five months. All the boats now going up to Bagdad buy ghee of the Arabs, which they can dispose of at Bagdad for a profit of a hundred per cent.

We were off again by ten, but in about an hour a sudden and unexpected squall from the west drove us on the left bank, where we remained all night, as it continued to blow hard. The musquitoes were dreadful during the night and even in the day. Not even the tough hides of the Arabs and Turks could stand the attacks of these vampires, and no one slept all night.

May 17.—We got under way at half past four. At six Imaum Sherki was N. 50 W. of us. Our course was S. 45 E. The reaches hereabouts consist of one mile each. We were under easy sail, and going about six or six and half knots. At soon after six we observed on the left bank, in a tamarisk jungle, a heap of mud, marking the tomb of Zendeel, the father of Ali Khan, the present Sheikh of the Beni Lams.

At half past seven we tied up to allow the kitchen

boat, which was a little way astern, to come up with our breakfast. We were off again by eight, and at eleven passed Jebeelo, a fine grove of trees on the right bank.

At twenty minutes past one we were going S. 20 W. On the left was Habsia, a small winding canal which goes to the river Hhud. Boats sometimes pass through it. We passed an immense marsh quite full of water on the right, and soon after a camp of Albu Mohammed Arabs on the left bank, all of mat-huts, and many little canoes were laid up before it

At twenty minutes to two, going S. 70 E., we passed Mohammed Abul Hassan, a ziaret on the right bank, with a long grove of poplar, willow, pomegranate and date-trees.

At half past two we reached the Hhud, a branch of the Tigris going off east to the Kerhha and to Howieza. A boat may now go to the Kerhha in five or six hours * through Al Hhud, which is very deep, and as broad as the main stream of the Tigris. I ascertained that the water runs from the Tigris into it; an important fact, as the Hhud has been supposed by some to come into the Tigris. Hence the Tigris is south. There was a wet marsh extending both the sides of the river all the way to Koorna.

For the last hour or two we have just been drop-

* My pilot has himself gone through the Hhud into the Kerhha.

ping down the stream in a very dead calm, which caused us much suffering from the musquitoes, of which there were such incredible swarms as almost to drive us distracted. At half past three we had a heavy shower of rain in very large drops, succeeded by several other showers and a squall from the north. We were detained a few minutes by the sepoys' boat having been sucked into the mouth of a little canal on the right bank, where she was proceeding to bed herself, and would never have been got out again but for the very prompt exertions of all the people of the fleet. Many boats have been lost at this place, and obliged to be broken up. We afterwards sailed well for about an hour; many Albu Mahommed Arabs staring at us, or seen moving about among their mat-huts, which are the most primitive habitations possible. A few reeds are bent into the ground at each end, and thus form an arched crib of a few feet long, covered with common mats; this is their only dwelling summer and winter. They are themselves wild, half-naked savages, living the greatest part of their lives in the water like their own buffaloes, of which by the way there are multitudes here. These Arabs are not well armed with respect to fire-arms; and upon an attack from a superior power, such as the Montefik Arabs, they generally betake themselves to the heart of the morasses. They are all Shiyahs. The Sheikh of the Montefiks invests their Sheiks, and takes tribute from them. They are said to be

rich from the sale of ghee, rice, &c., but their appearance certainly bespeaks the last degree of wretchedness.

At half past six we passed Um al Jemmal, a canal which goes to the Euphrates; along its banks much rice is cultivated. It is said to fall into the Euphrates at Soog es Shookh. We brought to at seven. The river here was not quite a hundred yards over. At half past nine we sailed again.

May 18.—At five this morning we were off the camp of the Sheikh of the Albu Mahommed Arabs on the left bank. These Arabs have a great many light canoes covered with bitumen, which the nature of their country renders indispensable. At twenty minutes to six we passed Abdullah Ben Ali, a ziaret, about half a mile inland from the left bank. The river here was not more than a hundred feet broad. At half past seven our course was S. 20 W.

At ten minutes past twelve we arrived at Ozeir, or the supposed tomb of the Prophet Ezra, where we stopped for an hour, and where there was a large camp of Albu Mohammed Arabs, who attempted to rob Aga Minas's * boat, but were soon frightened away by a few shot over their heads from the yacht.

We saw a large party of these Arabs removing their camp, and it was the most savage sight I had

* The principal native officer of the residency. See p. 6.

yet seen, and reminded me of the plates in Captain Cook's voyages. The march was opened by an immense drove of buffaloes, preceded by a man carrying a flag. Several men of the tribe then sauntered along with their javelins over their shoulders, staring, copper-coloured, and more than half-naked savages, with their hair hanging about them in tangled elf-like locks. Then came parties of women scarcely better clothed, some with children strapped to their backs; others carrying articles of property or household furniture; others tracking canoes containing mats, children, goods, &c. The girls and boys were completely naked. All the women walked extremely well, but it was the regular well-measured pace of a grenadier, not a female step. They properly straightened their knees, which, as none of their clothing reached so far down as their knees, we had ample opportunities of observing.

At half past two going south. We came to Abu Khalkhal, a ziaret on the right bank, and soon after four we passed Abu Muzroon, another ziaret on the right, surrounded by the mat village of Zekia, where the Montefik Sheikh has a custom-house. About six our going was very slow, not more than a knot or a knot and a half an hour, there being no wind, and the tide being against us. The banks of the river below Ozeir are inhabited by the Beni Maliks. At half past six the date-trees of Koorna

were just visible through the glass in S. 10 W. We got our dinner on board without bringing to. At half past eleven we entered the Shat ul Arab or Pasitigris, and continued going all night. We arrived at Bussora at ten in the morning of Saturday, May 19th, 1821.

Mr. Rich was detained in the Persian Gulf longer than he had anticipated. The Pasha of Bagdad had manifested symptoms of encroaching on the privileges of the merchants in his dominions who were under the British protection, and had claimed dues from them which he was in no ways entitled to demand. Mr. Rich resisted this attempt to invade the rights accorded by the Porte to British subjects trading in Turkey. He both acquainted our ambassador at Constantinople and the government of Bombay with the circumstances of the case, and, though with considerable inconvenience to himself, he determined not to leave the Pasbalik or its neighbourhood until some explanation had taken place, and those individuals whose interests he had for so many years carefully watched over entirely set free from any molestation on the part of a rapacious Turkish governor.

At the same time, Mrs. Rich was suffering under an intermittent fever, for which a change of air had been recommended by their medical friends. Mr. Rich therefore left Bussora and proceeded to Bushire,

and there he proposed awaiting the final instructions from his government, which he expected daily to receive. But in this he was disappointed, and after waiting some time, a sea-voyage was deemed indispensable for Mrs. Rich. Under a strong sense of his duty to his government, whose honour he felt involved in the question under discussion, and in the hope of assisting the oppressed merchants at Bagdad, who looked entirely to him for support and relief, he determined upon sending Mrs. Rich down to Bombay by a vessel just ready to sail, and remaining alone at Bushire. The heat however soon became so intolerable at that place, that he found it impossible to continue long there, and accordingly he set out for Shirauz on the 24th of July, 1821. Some account of the journey to and residence at Shirauz is contained in the following extracts from letters written during that period.

LETTER I.

Mrs. Rich's departure for Bombay—Arrival of Packets from Constantinople—Sir James Mackintosh—Lord Strangford—The Cholera Morbus at Bahrein—Defeat of the Kiahya of Bagdad by the Koords—Heat of the Weather—Dr. Jukes—Return of Messrs. Tod and Wilson from Shirauz and Persepolis—The intense Heat—Intended Journey to Shirauz—Arrival of the Teignmouth from Bombay—Dr. Bell—Preparations for leaving Bushire.

Bushire, June 25, 1821.

CAPTAIN Waterman's* abrupt departure was the best thing that could have happened for us both. The worst is over, and I can now bring my mind to dwell on the advantages of your voyage, consoling myself with the knowledge of your being in much better health than when you arrived at Bushire, and with the belief that I shall not be long after you.

The good-natured fat Jemadar† of the guard has just been to pay his compliments, and wish you a prosperous voyage. He seemed very anxious to persuade me that in fifteen days you would infallibly be in Bombay, and that the sea-air would certainly make you well. Poor fellow! I like him.

Dr. Tod has been talking over with me the ad-

* The commander of the vessel on board which Mrs. Rich had embarked for Bombay.

† A native officer of sepoys.

vantages of your voyage down, and indeed the absolute necessity there was for your immediately quitting Bushire; that if the fever had not been put a timely stop to (and the only way of effecting that was by going to sea immediately), it might have degenerated into a complaint which might have forced you to go to Europe. Imagine the misery of that, and let us comfort ourselves and bless God that we are not put to a severer trial.

The pilot has just brought me Dr. Bell's note; it relieves my mind greatly. He (the pilot) desires a bakshish for having taken *the Bee-bee** (not the ship) safely out of the harbour.

June 29.—My head is in a complete whirligig; such a profusion of packets, letters, papers, boxes, are arrived from Constantinople, to perplex my poor brain; nevertheless I will endeavour to give you some account of all that I have received. First of all, letters from F.; thank God, all is well. Your father† has been a little unwell, and what is curious, seemingly somewhat in the same way, but more slightly than I have been affected, viz. by giddiness in the head, which it is still more curious the physicians attribute to the same cause Dr. Bell did mine, viz. the stomach. He is now quite well again, but I think he undertook too much business, at least if I can judge from my own feelings, as

* The lady. † Sir James Mackintosh.

being afflicted with similar complaints. Secondly, dispatches from Lord Strangford*; he had not yet received my last; but from my private note, and the reports he was enabled to gather, he has taken up the cause nobly; what will he do when he gets my reports in full? ———, writes "bring the Pasha to reason, for we stand upon very high ground here." I have no doubt all will be well now: but, to be more particular; it seems the Pasha† had preferred a complaint against me, as I expected, but the best or worst that he could find to adduce against me was, that I had stirred up the Koords and Persians against him. Lord Strangford says, he perceives his accusation to originate in my assertion of British rights; and he voluntarily and gratuitously writes in my favour to Lord Castlereagh, lest a representation against me from the Turkish ministers to Lord Castlereagh direct, should have any prejudicial effect. He sends me a copy of his letter to Lord Castlereagh, a copy of which I enclose‡. All this

* The English Ambassador at Constantinople.

† Daoud Pasha of Bagdad.

‡ Extract of a dispatch from Viscount Strangford to Viscount Castlereagh, dated April 10, 1821.

"I have not had an opportunity of fully inquiring into the grounds of the Pasha's representations; but from the information which I have already collected, it is quite evident to me, that Mr. Rich's sole offence consists in the *manly* and *justifiable* opposition which he has continually made to the exactions and impositions which the Pasha has exercised towards British commerce at Bagdad. "I should

was done before he had got my public reports, or had heard of the Pasha's ultimate aggressions; so we may every day expect something important. My spirits are much raised by Lord Strangford's conduct.

The Russian war turns out to be a Greek insurrection, which will however very likely terminate in one. Poor Scanavi* and his good-natured son-in-law have been put to death at Constantinople, with the Patriarch, many Greeks of distinction, and a crowd of others of less note.

The Kiahya of Bagdad is gone out with an army towards Kizzelroobat, to watch the Koords and Persians.

I am delighted by the way in which our young friend Taylor comes forward to assist me, and he is a very efficient assistant.

I have written till my brain is quite addled; I have been in a continual bustle since the arrival of the packet. I shall give your packet separate to Captain Hill, of the Bombay merchant; he intends getting under way to-night; he is already in the outer roads. There is a bare chance that he may

"I should not have thought of troubling your Lordship on this affair, had I not learned, from good authority, the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires in London will probably be instructed to lay it before his Majesty's government."

* He was governor of Cracovia in Wallachia, when we passed through it in the year 1814, on our way from Constantinople to Vienna; and we were most hospitably entertained by this gentleman and his family.—*Ed.*

overtake you at Muscat, in which case it will be convenient for him to have your packet separate.

Keep up your spirits; our separation, protracted even to its utmost limits, must necessarily now be soon over. Providence has indeed been remarkably seen in the whole affair from its first beginning. It is even well that I had not left this before the receipt of Lord Strangford's dispatches.

* * * * *

I have hitherto, I hope, done well; let me finish my part of the affair with judgment, and then I trust all my troubles are over. To-morrow I must begin my dispatches to Constantinople. I will endeavour to write a few lines to F., if possible; she certainly deserves it.

The weather is getting very hot and disagreeable. I pray God you may not suffer from it. I am more and more satisfied that you have escaped from this in time.

Once more I must conclude.

God bless and protect you.

Bushire, July 2.

The Captain of the Bombay merchant has taken the packets and boxes; but I see he is not yet under way, notwithstanding a fine gale from the north-west, of which he would do well to take advantage. He might as well have let me keep the packet open

till the last moment. However I begin my journal to go by the next opportunity. Poor Ovanness is laid up with a bilious attack, and almost smothers himself beneath the weight of clothing; he is the colour of a stagnant pool of sulphureo-naphthous water. All the rest are well. I begin to get very tired of this place, and must get out of it as quickly as possible before I stagnate altogether; especially as the return of the north-wester with renewed force diminishes the chance of receiving any thing from Bombay speedily.

The fat Soobadar (who by the by belongs to the light infantry company), whenever he comes to me in a morning, and there is a fine breeze blowing, always says, "Fine wind for Madam Sahib, Sir." Indeed I think you have been very fortuuate, and I trust in God that you are now safe at Muscat, and that you have lost all remains of fever.

I have just been looking over a book called "Voyage en Perse," which I received from Treuttel and Wurtz, with Lapie's new map. The author marvels how I established myself at Bagdad at that time, but comforts himself as usual by supposing it was by force of gold poured out with both hands.

July 4.—Still a violent gale from the north-west. I managed this morning to get my long-expected observation of the satellites, which was perfectly successful. I am now in a complete state of misery

always incident to my preparing for a journey; and what is worse, I have no one to help me now, or even to keep up my spirits. Mr. Hyde is spiriting me up for the trip to Shirauz; he has determined to go with me; this will be agreeable, if, after all, I really go, but I had much rather not; I would rather turn my head in a contrary direction.

Taylor is very kind, and always joins me at Tiffin, and we take a walk together on the sands at sunset. Ovanness is better; he implores not to be left behind, if we go to Shirauz. I believe not one of the people will stay behind, not even the Jews; they stick to me wherever I go.

July 9.—Columbus did not look out for the land with greater anxiety than I do for a ship. Dr. Dow has been to hail a ship called the Malabar, just arrived from Bahrein with a very sickly crew, to see what is the matter on board. She is in the outer roads, and the Sheikh* will not allow the smallest communication between her and the shore to take place. It turns out that the complaint is the cholera morbus, which rages at Bahrein, and by which the Malabar has lost sixteen of her crew. They are all ill on board now, but still the fears of the people are not tranquillized, and there is as strict a quarantine as if she had the plague on board. Not a single inhabitant of Bushire would go within half a mile of

* The governor of Bushire.

her on any account. A guard is planted to prevent any one coming ashore or communicating with the other ships; and at the first moment, the people of the town actually talked of deserting the place and retiring to the mountains. This terror at the chance of sickness speaks well for the general healthiness of Bushire, which forms quite an exception to the other places in the gulf. The Malabar is going off for Bussora, where she will not have so many obstacles to encounter.

July 12.—News is just come in from Bussora, which confirms the report of the Kiahya of Bagdad having been defeated by the Koords (of course Ayla was not idle). The Pasha, on hearing of the defeat, threw all the principal Persians in Bagdad into prison, to extort money; that is to say, all he could catch, for I believe a great many had taken care of themselves. Georgians have been marched from Bagdad to Nejjif and Kerbela to do the same. They are determined to show at least that, if they cannot fight, they can plunder. In short there seems to be a general row. I have a letter from Ezra*, but not a syllable of news in it, of course his tone is very humble.

The weather is insufferable; though the thermometer is only 90° at night, yet there is a heaviness and clamminess in the air, causing a weight on the

* The Pasha of Bagdad's Jew banker, and at that time his chief counsellor.

chest, which makes breathing an effort. How rejoiced I am that you have escaped all this! I calculate you must be at Bombay by this, and I trust in God quite free of fever. A tolerable breeze from the south-west has just sprung up. Inshallah! it will bring in the Francis Warden, which a merchantman just arrived from Bombay says sailed seven days before she did, with Dr. Jukes on board, who is made political agent at Kishmeh, with a previous mission to Teheraun.

July 13.—A terrible night again; not a breath stirring; one rises exhausted, unrefreshed, and stupid. The weather is quite dreadful, and they say we are not at the worst of it by any means. I never felt any thing so oppressive in Bagdad as this heavy damp heat, which is quite stifling. Thermometer only 95°, but it is 91° *all night*, as I have an opportunity of ascertaining; for sleep is quite out of the question. Perspiration does not cool one, for there is no evaporation, and every thing is wet with steam as in a hot bath. Indeed I can compare this to nothing but living in a Hamaum. You may imagine the exhaustion that takes place. The hot sulphureous blasts of a Bagdad Saum are quite refreshing compared with it. There seems to be something in the air too, peculiarly favourable to the development of the prickly heat, which I never had so bad before. I am one wound all over my body and limbs down

to my fingers. What I used to suffer at Bagdad was nothing to it. The effects of the irritation spread over so large a surface are terrible. How I bless God you escaped in time! Four-and-twenty hours of this would have killed you.

July 15.—Messrs. Tod and Wilson are just returned from Shirauz. They are quite delighted with every thing they have seen. Climate so cold that the one was obliged to put on a fur jacket, and the other actually suffered from cold. You may ride out at Shirauz, in the middle of the day, without inconvenience. At Dustarjoon they were glad to get into the sun to warm themselves. They spent three days at Persepolis, but were not able to see Shapour, owing to some disturbances in the neighbourhood. In short, they are highly pleased with their trip, but represent the roads between this place and Shirauz as quite dreadful. Dr. Wilson says he never saw any of the worst precipices of Mount Libanus near so bad.

July 17.—Another disappointment. At sunset we discovered a ship far to the southward, and concluded it must be the Francis Warden. This morning we find it turns out to be an Arab ship from Muscat. If she has touched any where in the gulf, the Sheikh will not allow of any communication with the town. A vessel has also come in this morning belonging to the Sheikh himself, with a

great many sick on board. He has made her stand off again immediately, and will not allow even a cask of water to be put on board her. He has put Bussora under quarantine also. The sickness, whatever it may be, has spread up the Persian shore as far as Congoon. At Bahrein they say they have lost by it 4000 persons, or two-thirds of their population! It seems to nestle on the low hot shores of the Persian gulf. I cannot distinctly make out whether they have it at Muscat or not, though I believe they have.

The thermometer all last night was 93°, till three o'clock this morning, when it fell gradually to 90°, which is its lowest point. It is not however the heat I so much complain of, as the steam and closeness, which is very relaxing, and irritating beyond any thing I ever felt or imagined. My poor *Bagdadees* look like ghosts; and even they are covered with prickly heat. "Sir," said Yusuf Aga* to-day, "we can live in fire, but not in a Hamaum." He said this upon my remarking that it was quite delightful to hear the Bagdadees at last obliged to complain of heat.

I bless God every hour of the day that you have escaped this. It cheers my spirits under the smarting and burning of the prickly heat, and the uncommon languor which I feel, and which renders it quite a labour to walk across the terrace.

* One of Mr. Rich's Mahometan servants, and a native of Bagdad.

Dr. Wilson has just shown me some arrows and javelin heads, which he procured at Persepolis. He has found precisely similar ones to some of them in the tumuli at Marathon.

The thermometer 97°. I am now beginning seriously to think at last of going to Shirauz. I have fought it off as long as possible, but I can stand it no longer; so I must needs away, *bien malgré moi*. There are two months more of this kind of weather here, and I do not think I could endure two weeks more of it. The sea itself is so warm and relaxing, that Dr. Wilson, an expert swimmer, tells me he finds the greatest difficulty in swimming a little in it; and Mr. Hyde, who has travelled in the Libyan desert without feeling any inconvenience from the heat, now complains of a most painful sinking and faintness occasionally.

July 19.—Thermometer 97°. A tolerable day, succeeded by the most dreadful night I ever felt. Thermometer 93° all night; not a breath of air stirring. The whole sea seemed to rise to heaven in a mass of vapour; no one closed an eye, not even the Bagdadees; and Mr. Hyde, who thought he might bid defiance to anything in the way of heat, acknowledges himself defeated. Poor Aga Seyd is as much lacerated by the prickly heat as I am. The temperature of the sea this morning at dawn was 90°; and, according to all appearances, we are going to have a dreadful day. I can stand this no longer; I

will to-day order the mules, and be off in a day or two; in a short time none of us would be able to move. Why could I not have gone with you to Bombay? All would have been over now. * * *

July 20.—This morning I had another observation of Jupiter's satellite. Mr. Sturmey counted for me, and Mr. Hyde assisted at the operation. Mr. Sturmey has just said that, if I go to Shirauz, he would like much to accompany me; and I believe Dr. Tod will come also. They both improve very much on acquaintance; and I shall like them very much to be with me on the trip, which I now begin seriously to think of.

July 21.—At length I have ordered the mules, and hope to be off on Monday. This terrible weather quite conquers my repugnance to starting; I now long to escape from this miserable place. Dr. Tod has consented to come with me; this I know will give you great pleasure, for I know how *vessvessi* (nervous) you are about me. My present plan is to make for Shirauz in the first instance, and there stay quiet till the very great heats are over; as, to confess the truth to you, I have no great fancy to be running about in the sun seeing curiosities, and making myself ill. I hope then to get a run to Persepolis, possibly to Darabgherd, and take Shapour on my way back to this place, when the weather will be cooler, and will allow of my inspecting its remains at leisure and without danger.

July 22.—Last night was quite intolerable; there seemed as if a heavy load was laid on the chest. Every one agrees that, had you been here, last night might have been fatal to you. Thank God you are by this time safe. God protect you. How I should have liked to have had you on this journey, but I am more and more convinced it would have been quite impossible. All is for the best. Poor Ahmed Aga has got his Koordistan fever back again very bad; and poor Ovanness looks quite in a stun, but he is evidently quite delighted that Dr. Tod is going with us. "This is very good Sir," said he, "please God nobody get ill; but if get ill, the doctor a very great comfort." I hope we shall be off to-morrow night, which will amuse you, knowing how I hate night marches.

Remember me to Dr. Bell; I miss him much, and should have liked to have had him on this trip.

This is but a dull journal to send you after all, but *neh yapayem* (what can I do?), this is not Paris; and moreover the languor brought on by the heat is enough to stupify and seal up one's faculties entirely. I think it is all for the best I am setting off.

July 23.—I have just passed the mules in review. We are off to-night,—*ç'en est donc fait, je pars*—much against my will. I will now close this journal, and give it to Mr. Hyde.

July 24.—I had closed my journal yesterday, and was proceeding to pack up, when a ship made her

appearance in the south, and proved to be the Company's cruizer, Teignmouth. This of course made me put off my journey for that evening. She came in about five in the afternoon, and brought the Ternat's and Francis Warden's packets, and, more than all, your note from Muscat: a load was taken off my mind; I most sincerely blessed God for his goodness; I did not imagine you would have suffered from heat, still less from running ashore. Tell Dr. Bell I am infinitely obliged to him for his very kind and amusing letter. I cannot adequately express myself towards him and the Watermans for their care of you.

We had a night that is not to be described. It was more terrible than I could have imagined; not a soul closed an eye; the day too is dreadful. Captain Hardy of the Teignmouth says it is warmer on board than in the house. His crew are all ill from sheer heat, and yet they say this is only the commencement of the heat, and that August will bear no comparison with it. Nevertheless the thermometer is only 93° in the night. Captain Hardy says he cannot venture down the gulf with the Teignmouth yet, and that he will pass the great heats at Bussora. Mr. Hyde, however, still persists in his resolution of going down to Bombay, if the Harriet comes in, against the advice of every one.

I am now expecting Lord Strangford's dispatch on the receipt of my report on leaving Bagdad, which

must come in shortly. I hope it will finish my part of the business, and enable me to retire speedily with honour. I think you may rely on seeing me after the breaking up of the heats. In the mean time I am off for Shirauz; we start this evening; it would be death to continue here. Three easy marches bring us into the cool country.

Once more God bless and preserve you.

LETTER II.

Preparations for the Journey from Bushire to Shirauz—Messrs. Tod and Sturmey—Flat dismal country—Village of Tchahkoota—Hot wind—Night-marches—Present of a Chamois by the Khan of Burauzgoon—Guard-house—Sulphur and Naphtha Springs—Daulekee—Heat of the weather—The mountains—Wood of Date trees—The Pass of Kutal i Meloo—Bad precipice—Winding defiles—Zigzag road up the face of the mountain—Plain of Khisht—Narrow glen—Steep road—The Pass of the Kutal i Kemarij—Delicious water—Kauzeroon—Description of the Persians—Ali Esker—His oddity—The Pass of Kutal i Dokhter—Fine road—The Simplon of Persia—Fine scenery—Guard house—Beautiful country—The Pass of Peri i Zen—Stony ascent—Woods of dwarf oak—Caravanserai—Valley of Arjoon—Beautiful spot—Verdant plain—Meet with a Koord—Plain of Shirauz—Arrival in the neighbourhood of the city—The Garden of the Jehan Numa—Civility of the English agent—The Hafizia, or garden of Hafiz—Aga Minas and the people go into the city—Impression made by the first view of Shirauz—Rudeness of the people—Advantages of the situation of this city—The gardens—Cypress trees—Kerim Khan—Climate—Provisions.

Shirauz, August 4, 1821.

ONCE more upon the road, like a perturbed spirit, hurried about by every blast, and destined to find no repose. Once more do I draw forth from their recesses, where I had hoped they would have slumbered tranquilly, my smooth-worn mother-of-pearl eye-glass, my old green leather *roulon*, or writing-case, my pencil and pen-case, patched with a fragment of an old glove at each end, and my

smudged and scribbled note book. Once more do I pack my sextant and the horizon, my canvass-stitched tables, almanac, and greasy journal, into the no less greasy saddle bags. Once more do I suspend my compass by the self-same old red cord round my neck, *endoss* the self-same old tarnished jacket, thrust my chronometer into its snug recess in the breast of my waistcoat, ascend my skin-clad saddle, and again expose my tender face to the scorching blast. You must not expect a regular journal from me; I will just give you a few random notes, which will suffice till we meet.

July 24.—At nine o'clock at night left Bushire with Messrs. Tod and Sturmey; both very kind to me. I was much indisposed, and, add to this, I always dislike night-marches. I soon found, however, the air of the Desert much less oppressive than that of Bushire, though really hotter. The whole country is a perfect dismal brown flat. At one place the high tides make a disagreeable swamp; with this exception, the Desert is as burnt as the worst parts about Bagdad. At a quarter to six in the morning, we arrived at the large but miserable village of Tchahkoota, with date-gardens about it. The place is composed of *Albu-Mahommed-like mat* huts*, with the exception of a mud enclosure, dignified with the name of Kalaa, a Castle, in the doorway of which we were lodged, quite in public. The

* See p. 172.

mountains not far off gave some diversity to the scene.

July 25.—At Tchahkoota, a true burning Saum*, which quite invigorates my *Bagdadees*. Thermometer 110°; notwithstanding which I found myself considerably better. But away with all night-marches. There is nothing to relieve the tedium of the journey; it reverses the whole order of one's ways and habits; and, during the day's halt, leaves one drowsy, languid, and lazy. Besides, I have lost a little bag, your old reticule, containing my pencil, knife, small eye-glass, and all my keys, which slipped from my side unperceived during last night's march; so away with all night-marches: nevertheless, it is the only way to get on now. At half-past eight, we mounted from Tchahkoota: the road rather broken by ravines, and here and there rocks. The mountains were on our right hand. The night was intolerably hot; the ground seemed to send up a hot reflection that almost took one's breath away. At two in the morning of the 26th, we arrived at Burauzgoon, passing through about two miles of plantations of dates and tobacco. We were lodged under the gateway of the caravanserai. Burauzgoon is in the

* The Saum is the hot wind better known perhaps as the Simoom, which prevails over so large a portion of Asia, and of the fatal effects of which there are so many accounts. It was Mr. Rich's opinion, the result of a long course of inquiries, that the hot wind kills by exhaustion, and not by any poisonous quality in itself.—*Ed.*

style of Tchahkoota, but rather better and more extensive; with a caravanserai, which would not be amiss if it were finished. Thermometer 112°, in the coollest place we could find; a true burning Sauna, yet by no means so oppressive as the heat of Bushire. The mountains are not above three miles off; they are stony and bare, crumbled and furrowed, and are much about the height and appearance of the hills opposite Sulimania. It is quite ridiculous to suppose that snow lies on any open part of the mountains between Bushire and Shirauz all the year round, as some travellers have imagined.

The Khan sent us a present of a very fine chamois or ibex, which tasted something like delicate beef.

July 26.—At seven in the evening we mounted, keeping the mountains on our right hand, and gradually inclining towards them. The Khan of Burauzgoon had sent a man with us to take out guards at a post half way, as there was supposed to be some little danger coming near Daulekee. We halted at the guard-house, or Rahdar Khoneh, half way, for about forty minutes, and then set forward again with a few Tufenkjees, who took leave of us, when we approached Daulekee, by cracking off their matchlocks; not quite so good a report as a boy's squib. On coming near to Daulekee, the hills reached down to our road, and we soon perceived the smell of sulphur and naphtha; and passing through the Stygian stream into which the naphtha

springs discharge themselves, I could have fancied myself again in the defile of Toozkhoormattee*, or in the Hamreen. The night was dreadfully close and fatiguing, and by the time we reached Daulekee, at one in the morning, I was quite exhausted.

July 27.—A terrible hot day. The sandstone rocky hills, which almost overhang the little town and caravanserai, reflected the heat, and the glare was intolerable. The people brought us some fresh dates, but they were not near so good as the common Bagdad dates.

We had now to begin the so much talked of dreadful precipices of the Shirauz road. I was anxious to commence them, for I would willingly have gone over the Himmalaya to escape this heat. We left Daulekee at half past six in the afternoon, and I mounted a good mule. We saw a wood of date-trees extending all along the west horizon, looking more considerable than all the gardens of Bagdad. We soon came to the hills, and crossed the first ridge, which was rocky, bare, and burning, but not a bad road. They were very *Hamreen-like*, but higher. We afterwards descended to a valley occupied by a considerable river, the water of which was nitrous, warm, and nauseous; the road sometimes precipitous, but not bad. We then crossed the river by a fine bridge of thirteen arches, and alighted to take coffee, as we had the worst part of

* See Vol. i. p. 35.

the pass, called the Kutal i Meloo, before us. After resting about three quarters of an hour, we mounted again, and moved forwards, winding through narrow rocky defiles, hills of sandstone, and earth crumbling down in ruins; the river still on our right. At one part there was a bad precipice, but for a short continuance, and the road was not narrow. The hills grew more *ruinous* as we advanced. Immense masses of stone almost blocked up the narrow winding defiles. We here lost sight of the river, and began to ascend the Meloo in good earnest. It is excessively steep, and the road, which is much encumbered by loose stones and fragments of fallen rock, zigzags up the face of the mountain, not along a precipice. It is certainly difficult, but by no means so bad as I had been led to expect. In Koordistan, and in parts of Turkey, it would have been deemed very tolerable. It must be bad, however, to come down. At the top of the pass is a guard-house, or Rahdar Khoneh—we (in Turkish) should call it a Derbent—which completely shuts up the road. We now proceeded, without descending, along the fine plain of Khisht, and in less than an hour from the top of the pass, reached the caravanserai of Konar Takhta, where we were well accommodated in the Bala Khoneh, or place over the gate. We arrived at about half past one in the morning.

July 28.—Still the hot wind, and still the date-tree, but the former by no means oppressive. A

weight seemed to be taken off my chest, and even poor old Pietro found himself well enough to begin quarrelling with the servants. We marched again at half past six in the evening; an hour brought us to the extremity of the fine oval plain of Khisht, and we then entered among the hills. We crossed the first line, which was as usual of earth and sandstone, and inconsiderable, and descended into the valley of the Shapour river; on whose banks we stopped to refresh ourselves for an hour, and to allow the baggage to get well on, so as not to encumber us in the pass before us. The water of this river, which comes from Shapour, is very fine, and the banks were fringed with rhododendrons in bloom, which emitted a pleasant odour. We now entered a narrow rocky glen, the scenery growing wilder and wilder as we advanced, and the effect considerably increased by there being only star-light. The cliffs seemed often almost to close over our heads, and threaten us with destruction; their ruins almost choked up the path. It was a wild solitude; nothing was to be heard but the sound of the hoofs of our mules over the rocky bottom of the glen. We were generally on the ascent; but I observed that, even in ascending, the Persian roads keep to the bottom of the ravine as much as possible. Probably the scarcity of streams generally enables them to do this; but in Turkey and Koordistan they would have preferred leading the road along the precipitous sides of the hills. A

precipice was, however, still in reserve for us; for, where the hills seemed to shut up the ravine, we were ascending, an immense chasm had been formed; I should like to say, poetically, by a convulsion of nature, which would be in much better keeping with the scene; but I fear homely truth will compel me to look for the cause of all this havoc and ruin in the more gradual but not less effectual operation of a small stream of water which descends from the plateau above into the ravine, and has cut down its course through the crumbling and shivering sandstone. Whatever be the cause, however, the effect is not less terrific. The road grows steeper, and continues its ascent along the perfectly perpendicular side of the chasm, offering some terrible precipices, whose effect was rendered more appalling by the night. The eye sought through the gloom in vain for the bottom of the gulf, which seemed to lead to the dominions of Chaos and Erebus. The very bad places, however, were not of long continuance, and I do not believe I walked more than a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes; but in one or two spots for a moment it was no bad trial for the head, even on foot. This is called the Kutal i Kemarij. After descending a very little, we arrived at the deserted caravanserai of Kemarij, at half past eleven. The night was delightfully cool, as soon as we began to rise out of the narrow passes. The worst part of the road is now over, and I find its troubles have been greatly exaggerated.

July 29.—We intercepted a load of snow coming from Kauzeroon, and, procuring some airan, or butter-milk, from a neighbouring village, we had a most delicious regale, which reminded me of my dear Koordistan.

The thermometer was 109°, but the wind not heated.

At six in the evening we mounted, and marching through the almost circular valley of Kemarij for about an hour, we entered a narrow, rocky, and winding defile, called Tenj i Turkoon. Here again the road ran through the bottom of the defile, which was dry, and encumbered with large stones. In Turkey or in Koordistan, it would have been up one of the sides of the defile, and have given me a fine walk.

At twenty minutes past eight we stopped at a Rahdari, or Derbent, at the termination of the pass, to refresh ourselves. This Derbent is only one mile from Shapour, and the river just by the guard house afforded us a draught of delicious water, which was quite a luxury to people accustomed of late to the soft brackish water of the Ghermaseer. After a halt of half an hour, we descended by a gentle slope into the fine extensive valley of Kauzeroon, and arrived at that place at twenty minutes past mid-night, where we took up our quarters in a garden outside the town, which is a poor and ruinous place. The Persians were troublesome here from superfluous hospitality, and we had great difficulty in getting

allowed to settle ourselves as we chose. From hence Shapour is four farsakhs off, and I am glad to find that on my return it will be the very proper time to visit it. At present it would be much too hot.

July 30.—Thermometer 80° in the morning, and 105° at the hottest time of the day. The wind was rather heated. This is the first place where the black cap begins to be universally worn.

The Persians are the most noisy, dilatory, and immoveable fellows I ever met with; but the muleteers at least load well, for we have not had a minute's delay with the baggage (among which is the telescope and my tripod) the whole way. The mules too are capital, and our head muleteer, Ali Esker, a most amusing fellow, by the oddity of his ways. Of his person and weather-beaten face it is not easy to give a notion. His head is surmounted by a pointed chintz cap, to which he seems to attach no small value; those of his subordinate muleteers being only of ordinary felt. His voice is hoarse and croaking, yet he is perpetually exerting it; and when riding alongside of you, he speaks as though he were hailing a ship at a mile's distance. Bad as its quality is, it seems to be peculiarly grateful to the ears of the little donkey he bestrides; for when he gets into *a full prose*, the animal runs along with indescribable glee, playing its ears alternately *fore* and *aft*. He has a ridiculous habit of thinking aloud, which has a most whimsical effect; since all the

niaiseries and contradictory flitting notions that cross his mind are instantly uttered in the tone of a boatswain hailing the top in stormy weather. Enough however of Ali Esker, who amused us much on the road.

At seven in the evening we started from Kauzeroon, not without some difficulty; for the muleteers, who were all natives of Kauzeroon, had a great hankering after a day's rest here. We proceeded along the plain, and after night-fall, turning to the mountains which bound it on the south, we stood under the black and frowning cliff of the Dokhter, which seemed to bar all further progress; yet up the face of this we were to ascend; how, it was impossible to say, at least by this light*. We soon however found that an entirely artificial road zigzagged up the face of this perpendicular and gigantic wall. Imagine the Sarmashook†, or perhaps something more, not to be crossed, but ascended up from the plain to the summit, and you will have some idea of the Kutal i Dokhter; but far different are the roads. The Dokhter is a most skilfully constructed road, buttressed, levelled, and *parapetted*, so as not to alarm the most timid, and broad enough to allow of several mules abreast. It is in thorough repair, and is almost worth coming to see. It may be called the

* Look at Dante's description of the rock of Purgatory. I have not time to quote it.

† A mountain road we had crossed in Asia Minor.—*Ed.*

Simplon of Persia. The rocks must afford some fine scenery by day-light, and trees and shrubs in many parts project from the crevices, and overshadow the road. This is the first ascent, or screen of Zagros. After reaching the summit, we proceeded to the guard-house, or Derbent, where we arrived at twenty minutes to twelve; and here we stayed smoking our pipes and drinking coffee till twenty minutes past twelve. Near the top of the Dokhter I had a walk of a few minutes, as my mule went close to the parapet, and I was foolish enough to look down; when I saw the fire-pot of my calioon-bearer* at a very great depth below, almost under my feet. This made my head turn, and I was obliged to dismount before I recovered. From the guard-house we descended by a very gentle slope and excellent road for a little way, into a longitudinal valley of Zagros, between the screen before mentioned, which bounds it on the west and Peri i Zen, which is its east wall. The valley is narrow and well wooded, both in its area and sides, with oak, some of a very considerable size, and other trees which I could not distinguish. The country now became beautiful, and, as well as I could see, reminded me of my own Koordistan. This valley, which is called Desht i Ber, must be of a great elevation, and the night-air was so sharp as

* The servant in Persia who has charge of his master's calioon always carries with him, on a journey, a small iron pot full of fire, in readiness for the calioon when required.—*Ed.*

to make us long to be housed. After proceeding through it for about an hour at a good round pace, we began the ascent of Peri i Zen. The road does not zigzag much, nor are there any precipices; but the ascent is stony, and rises among woods of dwarf oak, hawthorn, and broom, of ten or twelve feet high. The more we ascended, Alps on Alps seemed to arise above us, and show we had yet much more to perform. We met a caravan of Arabs, from the opposite coast, returning from a pilgrimage to Meshed. Continuing to ascend, we reached a caravanserai at three in the morning, and by the pleasure we felt on reaching it now, could estimate the value it must be of in December's snows. It is kept by a few soldiers, and we found an oak-wood fire burning, which was very agreeable. We were not yet half way up the mountain, the whole ascent of which is three hours without intermission.

July 31.—We marched at ten minutes past six in the evening, continuing the ascent almost immediately, the area of the caravanserai itself being scarcely in a level place. As we advanced, new summits seemed still to rise above us, and the ascent appeared to be interminable. From near the top of the pass we saw the lake which terminates the valley of Kauzeroon; and from some of the summits still far above our heads they say the sea is visible. After proceeding for some time along pretty level ground, we descended a little way through fine woods of oak, of

gigantic hawthorn, and other shrubs, which gave out a fragrant odour, into the valley of Arjoon*. It is of a fine oval form, and terminated on this side by a lake. It sparkled all round with the fires of the Eliauts†, some of whom were Arab buffalo-feeders. Wild boars are in prodigious abundance, and lions not uncommon.

The night was so cold as to give me a sharp pain in the temples, and all my Bagdadees got the usual *karn aghrissee*, or stomach-ache. We arrived, to our great satisfaction, at the village at eleven o'clock, and found a warm room exceedingly agreeable. We had only halted thirty-five minutes during the march.

August 1.—We went to examine a beautiful spot we had noticed the night before, about a quarter of a mile from the village. One large and some smaller streams burst from a marble rock, and form a beautiful stream clear as liquid crystal, in a fine grove of tchinars, or plane-trees, and gigantic willows. In the rock are some curious caves. The place is consecrated to Ali, about whom there is a foolish legend. The spot is lonely. Our elevation in this plain, amid the summits of Zagros, must be very great, in which, however, no snow lies openly. Shirauz has been determined, by boiling water, to be 4500 feet; and it is even *visibly*

* Desht i Arjoon, or more properly Arzhen.

† Wandering tribes.

lower than this plain, and there is a manifest descent from hence to Shirauz the greater part of the way. I suppose this can hardly be less than 6000 feet. The plain is verdant as an emerald at this season. We marched at twenty minutes to six, and soon were engaged among the hills, through a beautiful road well wooded with hawthorn, wild cherry, pear, &c. Flocks of koorkoors, or partridges, were running across the road, scarcely deranging themselves for us, and we saw hares pricking up their ears under the bushes. Lions are said also to be not uncommon, and Mr. Tod heard one roaring the last time he passed this road.

We descended to the valley of the Karagatch, a little murmuring river, the glens on each side illumined with the fires of the Eliauts. Two of them came to see us, and we found they were Nanekeli Koords. I immediately got into conversation with them, and they invited us to their tents to treat us with *stuffed lamb*. We refused their hospitality, however, and after halting to take coffee, for forty minutes, we crossed the river, and arrived at the miserable village of Khoneh Zengoon, where there is a filthy caravanserai. We arrived at ten minutes before ten.

August 2.—The thermometer this morning was 55°. We got some delicious butter, which reminded us of that of England. At ten minutes past five we mounted, and rode over a country of open, undulating

downs, covered with bushes, the wood having now disappeared. It was a perfect desert; not a village to be seen in any direction. The descents were considerable though gradual, and our progress was rapid, though we made two halts to allow of the baggage keeping up with us. The first was of an hour and twenty-five minutes, about half way, and the other of thirty-five minutes, at the guard house, in a pass in the mountains which forms the entrance to the plain of Shirauz. We had expected here to have learnt what arrangements Nazar, Mr. Arratoon's agent, had made for our reception; but our messenger returned with a note saying that we were to go to Major Litchfield's garden for the present, until he could see what was to be done. This annoyed me very much.

We marched with great rapidity over the plain, and at ten minutes before two of the morning of the third we arrived at the famous garden of the Jehan Numa, where we found Litchfield quietly established. He had expected us after day-light, and meant to have ridden out to meet us. His reception of us was exceedingly kind and hospitable. He would not hear of our having separate establishments, and pressed his invitation in a manner not to be refused.

The Jehan Numa is close to the tomb of Hafiz, on the opposite side of the road; and we had, before we went to bed, a draught of the "water of Rocna-

bad," clear as crystal, and fully meriting its poetical celebrity.

The English agent here, a Mahometan, Mirza Ali Akbar, to whom I had not written, behaved with greater civility than the Armenian to whom we had been particularly recommended. His secretary was sleeping at the Jehan Numa, to be in readiness for us, and I found he had already spoken to the Vizir, who had ordered Hafiz's garden to be prepared for us, and appointed an officer to be in attendance upon us.

The next morning early he came himself to pay his compliments, and we went to look at the Hafizia. The spot is certainly interesting. The vestiges of genius, even though it be Persian, cannot be visited with indifference. It has as yet, however, "begot no numbers grave or gay," and, after an inspection, we determined on remaining with Litchfield at the Jehan Numa. Minas, Ovanness, Yusuf Aga, and others of our party I dispatched into town.

I will now proceed to give you some general idea of the journey, and the impression made on me by the view of the town and gardens. I have met with no travels which give me a good idea of the country. I have forgotten what Niebuhr says. My companions were agreeable, and the whole journey a pleasant one. I often longed for you, but I also often thought how difficult it would have been to have managed had you been with us. The people

of Fars are the most impudent starers, and the most troublesome fellows I ever knew. You could not have taken a walk in the garden without trouble, and certainly scarcely have stirred out without being closely veiled. The people here are renowned, even among the Persians, for their impertinence.

My expectations were surpassed in the general view of the town and the plain, and disappointed in the gardens. The town certainly presents itself to advantage, perhaps more so on the whole than almost any other Oriental town I have seen—of course excepting Constantinople. The plain is fine, well cultivated, and pretty green even now, but miserably bare of wood, and the mountains are rocky and barren. The gardens do not surround the town, nor are they by any means so numerous as I had expected. They are scattered here and there, and I have not seen anything that can be compared with the Khosroo-abad at Sinna. The Khosroo-abad would make three or four of the gardens here. M. de la Fosse, who is just arrived here, and Aga Seyd, of their own accords, drew the same comparison between the gardens of Shirauz and that of Sinna, so that it could not be wholly fancy on my part. Indeed from what I hear it seems that Aman ullah Khan has copied the taste of the Sefiviyahs, rather than the modern school, in his public works.

Our garden, the celebrated Jehan Numa, is one of the best here, but the house, or bungalow, is in

rather a ruinous condition. There is a fine terrace before it, and then a lower garden, much in the Italian style, but it is only two hundred yards square. The mere pleasure-part of the Khosroo-abad was eight hundred. Three or four walks are planted with cypress-trees, but with the exception of these and some others scattered about here and there in some of the gardens, the cypresses for which Shirauz was once so celebrated have almost entirely disappeared. They have been unmercifully cut down for common carpentry, for door and window frames, &c. The other day the prince wanted some timber to repair the roof of his kiosk in his garden, and cut down some remarkably fine tchinar trees, which had been much celebrated for their beauty in Kerim Khan's time. I have ordered a neat box to be made for you out of the Shirauz cypress wood, but the trees, however renowned in oriental song, are not so fine as those of Constantinople.

It is astonishing how much the memory of Kerim Khan is venerated, even by those in the service of the present government. To judge by such of his public works as have been allowed to remain, Shirauz must have been a splendid city in his time.

The climate is very agreeable, and is reckoned healthy. The thermometer is at 91° for an hour or two, and this only in the hot season. The nights are cool, but I find it most pleasant to sleep in the open air, though many keep to their rooms. There

is a fine bed of fragrant toolsee, or marvel of Peru, just before my window.

Tell Bell we have admirable provisions here—mutton finer than our best Arab, the best nectarines and pears I have tasted *out of England*. Peaches are just coming in, and promise well; kishmishes pretty good; grapes not yet in; capital bread; very delicate cheese; airan, or buttermilk; and snow in abundance.

I have not yet taken a review of the bazars, or seen the curiosities procurable here. The Vizir hinted that he would pay me a visit, and that the prince would be glad to see me, but I mean to avoid both if I can.

August 7.—I have just had a visit from Aga Manutchehr, the brother of your friend at Bagdad, Mrs. Elias, the sister-in-law of Coja Yusuf Andrea. He is a handsome, gentlemanlike young man. The Prince forced him to become a Mahometan once, but seems really to care so little about it, that Aga Manutchehr occasionally goes to the Armenian church. The family anxiously inquired about the sister, and seem highly displeased at her having married a Catholic. Aga Manutchehr seems in high favour here.

I have also had a visit from a little boy, a son of Mahommed Nebbee Khan, by his Shirauz wife, or your friend Bebee Hanifa's *goonnee**, whom the

* The designation of the second wife among the Mahometans.

Prince has married, and so got possession of all the property that remains. * * * *

They are just come to tell me that a cossid, or foot messenger, is going off for Bushire, so I must close my letter rather abruptly, as I wish you to get the news of my safe arrival at Shirauz in perfect health; thank God, by the same opportunity as will convey the other letters.

LETTER III.

Excellence of the climate of Shirauz—Proposed Journey to Persepolis and Morgaub—The Bridge of the Araxes—Plain of Persepolis—The Author's desire in early childhood to visit these ruins—Mader i Suliman, or supposed Tomb of Cyrus—Perfect design and beauty of this Monument, built of white marble—The fidelity of Sir R. K. Porter's Drawings—Return to Persepolis—Peculiar taste of these ruins—Inscriptions—Nakshi Rustum—Return to Shirauz—The Cholera at Bushire—Visit from a Persian Painter—Violence of the Cholera at Bushire—The road towards Shirauz strewed with dead bodies—The disease reached Bussora—News from Bagdad and Koordistan—Preparations for the Marriage of the Shahzadeh's Son—Arrival of the Bride—Procession of Ladies to meet her—Illumination of the City—Fire-works—The Cholera at Shirauz—Death of a Lady and several Slave Girls in the Haram—Departure of the Shahzadeh and his Family to a neighbouring Garden—His Mother seized with the disease—Flight of her Son and his Sister—His example followed by the principal Inhabitants of the City—General terror and dismay—Description of the confusion—Abatement of the malady—Taken by none of Mr. Rich's people—His staying a comfort to the Inhabitants—Persian mode of treatment—Major Litchfield—Arrival of Mr. Fraser—Proposed return to Bushire.

Shirauz, August 11, 1821.

THE praises that have been lavished on this climate have scarcely been exaggerated. The heat of the day is very tolerable, the nights deliciously cool, without being chilly. There is no want of air, and

I prefer this climate much beyond that of Koordistan, as the days are not so hot nor the nights so cold; and when the season begins to cool, the days and nights cool together in an equal proportion. In Koordistan the nights alone grew chilly, while the days remained scorching. The climate here is exceedingly regular. For days together the temperature is exactly the same to a degree. The usual temperature is 90°, at the hottest time, being from twelve till three; 82° at night, when I go to bed; and 71° in the morning, just before the sun appears above the hills. The wind has no tendency to get heated, which is curious considering the bare rocky mountains by which the plain is surrounded; and all winds are alike agreeable. This may proceed from the great elevation of the level. In Koordistan, last year at this time, the thermometer was 96° and 97° at the highest, with a hot wind, and at night it fell to 75°, and was 65° in the morning. The winter here is said to be agreeable and much milder than that of Isfahaun; but the Persian houses seem but bad winter habitations. The water is excellent here. As we live in a garden, among tall cypress trees, we are a little tormented by musquitoes, but not by flies in the day time, and, what is better, there are no sandflies. I think, on the whole, Shirauz is by far the best place in the Gulf for a person to come from India to spend a season; and by landing at Bunder Abbassi they would save the unpleasant

voyage up the Gulf, and have a good road to Shirauz.

They ornament the covers of books very beautifully here. I have seen some that were superb both for taste and execution. I have nothing in my library like some that I have seen, but the books themselves are extravagantly dear, and the old fine copies not to be procured. Whatever I see enhances the value of my own collection greatly.

August 14.—The moon-light nights are now so uncommonly beautiful that I am resolved not to let them slip, but to avail myself of them for my antiquarian excursion. The moon is the only thing that can alleviate the tedium of a night-march. There is besides *something* in viewing Persepolis and the tomb of Cyrus, "by the pale moonlight," especially as I visit them merely for the sake of the impressions I hope they will make on my mind and fancy; and this makes me undertake the expedition, I suppose I ought to be ashamed to say, with more alacrity than I usually do antiquarian excursions. The ruins I propose visiting have been so accurately described, measured, and delineated by our friend Porter, that nothing remains to be done; and I can abandon myself entirely to the luxury of imagination, of which the line, compass, and pencil, and the intolerable labour they bring on, are eminently destructive. There is certainly a great pleasure in discovering, and afterwards showing complete deli-

neations of places which it falls to the lot of very few to see; but at the moment I prefer lying down, and idly contemplating the traces of the march of time, and allowing the fancies to rise and pursue each other, to the preparation of a whole portfolio, and all the glory that might accrue from it. *Tout cela étant*, to-morrow afternoon we propose beginning our trip: first to Morgaub, as that is the farthest point, where I hope to contribute towards settling what seems as yet a very equivocal matter about Cyrus's tomb and Pasagardæ. On our return, we inspect Persepolis and Nakshi Rustum, which will probably find us amusement for a couple of days. Mr. Tod comes with me. Taylor talks of coming, and Mr. Sturmey has not yet made up his mind between business and pleasure, but he proposes at all events to meet us at Persepolis on our return. It may be done at one march; I shall make two easy stages of it.

Persepolis has long attracted my wishes. Other places charm by a knowledge of what they were; but there is something even in the uncertainty of Persepolis that throws a kind of additional interest over it. Poor Bellino! how he would have enjoyed this tour, and what an addition would his society have been on it!

August 31.—I returned last night from my expedition. We set off about sun-set on the 15th. My permanent travelling party was reduced to Mr. Tod,

who was a very pleasant companion. Our first stage was to Zergoon, which we left in the evening of the 16th, and rode along the plain of Persepolis. It was dark when we left the bridge of the Araxes. My expectation was greatly excited. Chardin, when I was a mere child, had inspired me with a great desire to see these ruins, and the desires excited in us in childhood are too vivid ever to be effaced. Their gratification has a relish which motives suggested by reason and judgment are unable afterwards to equal. My late antiquarian researches had, however, also added their interest to my other inducements; and as I rode over the plain by the beautiful star-light, reflections innumerable on the great events that had happened there crowded on my memory. I was in the moment of enjoying what I had long wished for; and what a delightful moment that is! At last the pointed summit began to detach itself from the line of mountains to which we were advancing. Mr. Tod pointed it out:—"Under that lie the ruins." At that moment the moon rose with uncommon beauty behind it. Ages seemed at once to present themselves to my fancy.

We were lodged in a half-ruined garden-house, fronting the ruins, and at the distance of about a mile from them. You may be assured that my last looks at night, and first in the morning (I did not go to bed till twelve and rose with the dawn) were directed to that spot. Yet I took a capricious kind of pleasure

in not going to them, and forcing myself to be contented with this general survey. This may be foolish, but I determined to put off my minute inspection of them till our return, and enjoy for the present the general impression caused by this distant view. Lord Byron would have employed the interval better than I could do.

We set off on the evening of the 17th for the famous and much-disputed ruin of Meshed i Mader i Suliman, where we arrived on the evening of the 19th. I have not yet made up my mind whether this be the tomb of Cyrus or not, and I have very foolishly left my Arrian behind me at Bushire; but I was greatly surprised at its appearance, quite different from anything I had been led to expect. It is evident that it is of the very highest antiquity, but what still more astonished me was, to find it of the *correctest taste* I had ever seen any Eastern building. It is in design a perfect Grecian sepulchral monument, built of white marble, and of a firmness of construction and vastness of materials intended evidently to defy the attacks of ages. I was unwearied with contemplating this venerable edifice, rendered still more interesting by the probability that it may have contained the mortal remains of the most illustrious of oriental princes. Near it are some pilasters with cuneiform inscriptions, and a curious figure, beautifully executed and most correctly copied by Sir R. K. Porter, to the unrivalled

fidelity and character of whose delineations I can in every instance bear ample testimony. Farther on, a hill has been faced or converted into a platform, with prodigious blocks of white marble cut in the rustic taste—a fine monument, and superior to the platform of Persepolis. These ruins are eminently interesting, and I rejoice in having come to visit them. I think they have a character of greater antiquity than Persepolis, as they are superior in taste and simplicity, and one would pronounce at once, on seeing the sepulchral monument, without being acquainted with the conjectures that have been formed concerning it, "this must have been the burying place of some great man desirous of transmitting his name to posterity." The Persians have a great respect for it, supposing it to be the tomb of the mother of the Prophet Solomon, and built by genii at his command.

We returned to Persepolis by partly a different road, and arrived there on the evening of the 22nd. We pitched our tents on the platform, close by the portals, which contain the colossal figures of the mythological animals. You may imagine I could not sleep that night. It was not a situation to steep the senses in sweet oblivion. I watched the rising of the moon, to indulge myself with a solitary ramble among the ruins by her light, so favourable to contemplation; and I was well rewarded. The strange gigantic figures on the

portals near which we were encamped, had a singular and portentous aspect, faintly illuminated by the moon, and by the remains of a fire our people had lighted, which cast a reddish mysterious light on part of them. As I walked among the lofty pillars, numberless were the fancies that arose, and the incomparable ode* at once presented itself to my recollection. I was actually walking among the remains of those very "Persian abodes," but how changed! The fall of my own footsteps, and the cry of the fox from the hills which contain the royal sepulchres, were the only sounds heard, while above the pale moon was pursuing her tranquil course, unconscious of, or at least unchanged by, the lapse of ages.

September 1.—I have been running on, giving you "moods of my own mind," instead of an account of Persepolis. I shall reserve my further fancies till we meet, and indeed my account of Persepolis also; for I am no great inditer of long accounts, and besides, so much has been said about Persepolis, that scarcely anything can now be added, especially when one has seen Porter's admirable drawings. I found I had formed a tolerably correct notion of the ruins, and that I was neither surprised nor disappointed by a sight of them, which is rare in such cases. They are of a taste quite peculiar. The execution and finish are very beautiful. The fault I find is the

* Dryden's "Alexander's Feast."

disproportionate application of vast and ponderous materials to inadequate purposes; narrow door-ways and small windows, formed of blocks that would build a mole, nay frequently even of one single block. There is no correspondence between the object and the means, which gives to many parts of these remains, at least as they now appear, rather a heavy, crowded, and *crushed* effect; and withal something of littleness, notwithstanding the vastness of the materials. The orientals at no period seem to have understood the laws of proportion, and the magic effect resulting from a due attention to them; and this is evident in every part of the ruins of Persepolis. They are, however, very interesting remains; and let us be grateful to the want of judgment of the architect, who unnecessarily employed such immense masses for ordinary purposes; for by it a specimen has been preserved to us of the arts and manners of ante-Alexandrian Persia, when all other monuments of that period have perished by the work of time, and still more the hand of the barbarian. The latter engine of destruction has been at work here, even lately. Many parts have been defaced by the passion for possessing curiosities. This rage has induced some even to chip off *bits of inscriptions!* One has endeavoured to chisel off a very fine head, which was well preserved, and, not succeeding, he has apparently in wrath, thrown his mallet against the head and smashed it.

I dropped a most unfeigned tear to the memory of poor Bellino, when surveying these ruins, which would have caused him such rapture. And notwithstanding my tirade against industry, I was actually diligent enough, after I had satisfied myself with viewing the ruins over and over again, to fall to work at copying the inscriptions; and during the six days we remained at Persepolis, I copied all the inscriptions except one. I have found much to corroborate Grotefend's system, and have admired his sagacity. The labour I have gone through will greatly assist him.

I of course visited Nakshi Rustum, where I saw a singular and most curious fire-temple, beautifully built, and looking as if it had been completed yesterday; the tombs of the four kings of the first dynasty; and the more recent Sassanian sculptures beneath them. These latter are but coarse performances, and clearly indicate a more barbarous age than the Persepolitan. There is *at least* as much difference as between the works of the Augustan age and that of Justinian. One sculpture represents a Roman, in the correct costume, prostrate at the feet of a Sassanian king in his uncouth garb; and at a certain distance it has rather a striking effect. There was something affecting, at the first view of it, to see the majesty of Rome, even the Rome of Valerian, prostrate before a barbarian.

There are some Sassanian sculptures at Nakshi Regeb, a place nearer Persepolis, better finished in the same barbarous style.

We returned to Shirauz on the 30th August.

September 8.—Dr. Jukes is still at Bushire, where the cholera is said to have made its appearance. The prince has put it in strict quarantine. We are, thank God, out of the range of that dreadful visitation, which has made great ravages at Bussora, and will doubtless proceed to Bagdad.

I have retained Dr. Tod with me. He has been a great accession to my pleasure. I have been busily occupied since my return in making fair copies of my inscriptions. The climate now is quite delightful; in short, this is a pleasant place, with the worst inhabitants imaginable. I never was in a place, even in the worst parts of Turkey, where you so much needed the protection of an officer of the local government; and even with one there is no stirring out without being insulted. There are now no more remains of the Koordistan fever lingering among my people; and I am myself quite well.

September 10.—I have just had a visit from Mirza Mahommed Hadi, the most distinguished artist in Persia. I was indebted for this honour to his having heard that "amch'io son pittore," and that I had praised some of his works. He was accompanied by a khan, and one or two of his choicest disciples. He enjoys the highest reputa-

tion here, and the Persians almost consider him in odour of sanctity. I found him an extremely polite, intelligent, gentlemanlike old man. He is full of the spirit of his art, and is passionately fond of flowers. This *Iranian Van Huysum* never works now; and it is almost impossible to procure a specimen of his pencil. They are bought up at any price by the Persians. He has not even preserved a specimen for himself, yet by great good fortune I have got one exquisite little painting of his for you.

September 11.—News from Bushire. The cholera is raging there, and carries off thirty persons a day. It is all over the Ghermaseer; and Mr. Sturmey, on his way down, saw the road from Burauzgoon to Bushire strewed with dead bodies. The Liverpool frigate, which had arrived at Bushire, lost three lieutenants in fifteen hours. The surgeon and a great part of the crew we hear are also dead; and she has been obliged to officer herself out of the cruizers, all of which have lost part of their crews. At Bussora it has carried off seventeen thousand persons. In short, the news is melancholy in the extreme. Now every thing has happened for the best with respect to us! There seems to be a particular providence watching over us, and we ought to be for ever grateful.

Pilgrims have just arrived from Bagdad in thirty-seven days. All is in confusion there, and a Per-

sian war seems inevitable. The Turkish troops are plundering and insulting every one, and the bazaars are quite deserted. The Pasha seizes every one he can get hold of, to extort money; and all who can possibly escape are running away in every direction. He has taken five thousand rupees from the Nuwaub. Some workmen of the Imperial Mint have arrived at Bagdad to coin, as it is said, the bullion taken from the treasuries of Nejef and Kerbela. Mohammed Ali Mirza is at the foot of the Tauk, waiting for troops, which the king is sending him. Aman ullah Khan is ordered to co-operate with him, and it seems the Koords have joined him also. To oppose this hostile demonstration, the Kiahya has stationed himself at Mendeli with the Turkish army, while the Pasha stays in Bagdad.

September 12.—For some time past great preparations have been making here for the marriage of Anushirvan Mirza, one of the prince's sons, with his cousin the Princess of Kerman. A splendid deputation was sent to fetch the bride, and the Shahzadeh says that the rejoicings and show shall surpass any thing that has ever been seen in Shirauz, as it is the greatest marriage that has yet taken place in his family. The lad, moreover, is his favourite son; and, though only twelve years old, has been created a general in the royal army by the king. To-day was appropriated for bringing in the bride. The prince's sister went out to meet her, and got

into the kajava with her ; for it is not the custom of the Kajar* brides to go to their husband's house in a takht-revan, though they may travel in one. The road all the way from the town to the pass through the hills which open into the plain of Shirauz, and a very fine road it is, was lined with spectators, principally women, as the prince had ordered all the Shirauz ladies to turn out to do honour to the bride, and they rent the air with their shrill *lelilias*.

Soon after midnight the Istakbol† began its march in different divisions, keeping up an incessant firing ; and about seven this morning the approach of the bride was announced by an increased discharge of artillery, musketry, and zembureks‡, of which latter there were above a hundred. The Zemburekjees, or artillerymen, were dressed in scarlet, with scarlet caps, and brass plates in front ; and the saddles of the camels which carried the zembureks were covered with scarlet cloth, and a flag attached to each, looking on the whole very showy. Great bodies of horse opened the procession ; but the Persian horsemen do not look so well as the Turkish, or our friends the Koords.

One of the young princes deputed to represent the bridegroom, who had unfortunately just been taken ill, was among these squadrons. Then came four field-pieces, and all the zembureks, firing at

* The name of the tribe of the present royal family of Persia.

† A procession or public entry into a town.

‡ Guns carried on camels.

intervals the whole way, every discharge making the rocks roar like thunder. Next followed a guard of honour, composed of the khans and principal officers of government, with the screaming mehter khana, or band. The travelling takht-revans, not so good as yours, were in the line of march; and then came the bride herself, with her aunt, in a kajawa*, each *basket* of which was covered with a superb Cashmere shawl, embroidered with pearls and spangles. Zeki Khan the Vizir himself led the mule on foot. It was preceded by a troop of Pehlivans†, whirling their *meels*‡ to the sound of their little kettle-drums, and escorted on each side by the Serbazes, not much better in discipline than Aman ullah Khan's, but much cleaner and better dressed. They kept a terrible rattling upon their very bad drums. Close after the kajawa followed the most interesting part of the procession, namely, about twenty Kajar ladies in their full *campaign* costume. They were on horseback like the men, and very well mounted, not led, but seemingly quite at home in their saddles. They had on boots, wore neat cloth baroonies§, and their heads were

* This very uncomfortable kind of conveyance is composed of two baskets or cradles, swung one on each side of a mule.—*Ed.*

† Wrestlers.

‡ Two very heavy oblong-shaped pieces of wood, with small handles, by which they are held and whirled about.—*Ed.*

§ A kind of cloak made of red cloth, and, I believe, trimmed with gold lace, which is worn upon great occasions by the Persian gentlemen, and, as we are informed above, even by the ladies.—*Ed.*

enveloped in splendid Cashmere shawls, embroidered with pearls and spangles, which fell half way down their backs. Their faces were covered with white veils, with *very large* net-work eye-holes, so as not to be at all incommodious to these Amazons. Two of them had on sabres, richly ornamented with jewels. All of them were said to be true Kajars, and ladies of very high rank. The more ordinary females were on mules, in the common Persian costume. The Kajar ladies all ride well, and go armed, according to their fancy. Some carry pistols at their saddle-bows, some bows and arrows, in splendid embroidered cases, and all of them wear sabres ornamented with jewels. But to return to the procession, of which indeed little more remains to be said. Its fag-end was joined in by the crowd, who fell into the rear, and resolutely kept its station in defiance of the hail-storm which the sticks of the police officers unmercifully kept up. A procession of about three hundred pilgrims from Kerbela, with their green flags, and priests singing verses of the Koran, increased the crowd, and formed a contrast to the mundane festivities which were going on around them.

The evening closed with a general illumination, or rather large bonfires lighted on the roof of every house in the town, not omitting the bazaars, mosques, and other public buildings. As the fires were

lighted up, and ran along from house to house, till the city appeared one blaze of light, the effect seen from our garden, which commands a complete view of the whole town, was exceedingly fine. A few blue-lights were occasionally let off, which heightened the scene; and the people passed the whole night with music, dancing, and feasting. Drinking was of course not forgotten; for the Persians here of all classes are, without exception, the most shameless and incorrigible drunkards I ever knew. Yet it is something to the credit of their tempers and character, that outrages are seldom or ever heard of on these occasions.

The lighting bonfires on a marriage is a very ancient custom, retained by the Persians from their fire-worshipping ancestors.

September 15.—On the thirteenth the amusements consisted of a feast or dinner party only; but no amusements at night, except in the harams, it being the eve of Friday. On the fourteenth the bridegroom was taken to the bath, with a crowd of dancers and singers. The prince himself came into Divan at Aasser, under a salute from two hundred zembureks. Rope-dancing, tumbling, and buffoonery commenced immediately, and lasted till sunset. After dark there was a tcheraghoon, or illumination of the meidan, which is the outer court of the palace, and a grand display of fire-works, which had a fine effect from

where we saw them. Some of the hills were also lighted up with lines of bonfires, which greatly heightened the scene, and the zembureks kept up a continual discharge. The Persians are extremely fond of the zemburek, *à toute sauce*. The whole sight was uncommonly fine. Dancing and singing succeeded, with the usual terrible noisy band, scarcely less offensive than the zembureks. The Persians delight in perpetual stir, bustle, and noise.

Minas has just been with me. He was at the exhibition in the meidan yesterday at noon. It consisted principally of a dance, performed by all the most disreputable women of the town, who were drunk. The Shahzadeh, who was looking at them, was drunk also, as were two or three favourites who were standing about him. In short, it was a most disgusting scene.

September 17.—Last night there were more fireworks, dancing and singing as usual; but the principal feasting was among the women. The bride is said to be twenty, and by no means handsome. The bridegroom is only twelve.

October 2.—You will doubtless start at the long interruption this letter has suffered. You will, I fear, start more when you shall learn the cause; but my honesty will, I hope, restore you to confidence. Without any other alarming preamble, therefore, know at once, that the cholera has been here, and that it has gone clear away, El Humd-u-

lilla*. I was unwilling to take my pen in my hand during its continuance, as I would not disguise any thing, bad or good, that happens from you, and I was loth to mention the cholera while it lasted. The diary of the disease would also have been but a dismal sort of a communication to send you. All things considered, therefore, I resolved not to put pen to paper till I could at the same time tell you all is safe and over. I shall now, then, just give you a hasty summary of all that has happened since I left off my Journal.

"Who is it that comes from the bridal chamber? It is Azrael, the Angel of Death." The festivities of the wedding were suddenly put a stop to by the appearance of the so much dreaded cholera. The first death by it happened on the 14th. On the 15th it got very bad, yet still the people seemed to wish not to attend to it, and the marriage ceremonies continued. On the 17th, however, the voice of revelry ceased, and was succeeded by silence and consternation. A lady and some slave girls died in the Haram, whereupon the Prince and his family left it for the gardens in the afternoon. In the night the Prince's mother was taken ill in her new quarters. Her dastardly son, with his sister, immediately mounted their horses and ran away, leaving the poor old lady to her fate. She died before morning.

* Thanks be to God.

The Vizir followed the Prince, and most of the principal people shortly imitated their example. In the morning of the 18th, when the death of the Prince's mother, and the flight of her son and the principal people were publicly known, the terror and dismay became general. The scene that ensued can scarcely be described. Parties of horsemen were seen galloping across the plain, and in different directions; groups of people on foot, women and children, covered the road—going they knew not whither—to escape an invisible, undefined, but mortal foe, which every one imagined to be close at his elbow. Several dropped and died on the road from fright, which in a multitude of cases doubtless converted a slight bilious attack, than which nothing is more common now, into a mortal malady. The town was left to take care of itself, for the Prince and Vizir had gone away in such terror that they had not even thought of any orders or regulations. The flight of the governor did great harm, and increased the public consternation tenfold; indeed it was the most shameless dastardly action I ever knew, and now that the people have come to themselves a little, they openly talk of the Prince with contempt.

On the morning of the 19th, Aga Baba Khan, the first Shirauzee nobleman, much to his honour, returned to town, took charge of the government, and has constantly employed himself in allaying the

popular ferment, comforting the timid, and maintaining peace and order. As soon as order was restored, and things began to get a little into train again, the malady was found to abate, which is a proof how much depended on the imagination. Nevertheless the mortality was considerable, though much slighter than at any other place it has yet visited, and the disease itself was no doubt of a much milder character from the beginning. Thank God, it is all over! None of my people had it. Mules were not to be got at first, and besides where could we have gone, surrounded as we were by the disease? I thought it much better to remain where we were. I understand my staying comforted many people, who were looking to see what I would say and do on the occasion; if so, I thank God for it. But I certainly often thanked God also while the disease lasted that I had not brought you up here. I should have ran away then as bad as the rest. There is certainly a particular providence watching over us.

The third lieutenant of the Liverpool, I now find, died not from cholera but from the heat, which Mr. Hyde, who joined me the day before yesterday, describes as something more horrible than that of the desert of Nubia.

A great many poor fellows in the cholera were doubtless hurried out of the world by the Persian

practice. As soon as a man was attacked, they made him swallow quantities of grape verjuice, called kora soo, mixed with salt, which they said was good to cut the bile and strengthen the stomach, and kept sousing him over head and ears in the coldest water they could procure. If a poor man, they tumbled him headlong into the first tank or pool; if a rich one, they cooled the water first with snow. Numbers died under the operation, and a great many more from the effects of it, which, added to those who died from neglect, and those who were killed by terror, will reduce the real deaths by cholera considerably.

Major Litchfield, who has been uncommonly kind, leaves us this evening for Bushire. As there is no more cholera on the road between this and Bushire, I shall follow him in a few days; but in the mean time, lest he reach Bushire before me, I give him this letter to forward on. He will probably give it to Dr. Jeffries, a gentleman who passed through this place some days ago, and is very anxious to reach India as soon as possible. I did not like to give him a letter when he passed here, because I could not conscientiously say that the disorder was quite over; but now it is, I should like him to take charge of this, that he might tell you all about our going on. Mr. Fraser, the Himmalaya traveller, has been with us for some days, and I find him a great resource.

I hope to take Shapoor on my way to Bushire, for which I shall set out in a few days, please God.

Such was not the will of God. After a few hours' illness, Mr. Rich died of the cholera morbus, at Shirauz, on the 5th of October, 1821, the particulars relating to which are contained in the following letters.

LETTER IV.

Extract of a Letter from James Baillie Fraser, Esq., to William Erskine, Esq., containing the Account of the Death of Mr. Rich.

Shirauz, October 6, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

I did not expect to have occasion to address you from this place, and far less that a correspondence should commence in so melancholy a communication as it falls to my lot to make you. Preparation, could it be made for such intelligence, I generally hold to be fruitless, and now I know not how to set about it. Mr. Rich is no more! He has fallen a victim to the dreadful prevailing malady (the cholera), which has for some weeks past desolated this city. I have just come from paying the last sad duty to his remains, as yesterday at this hour I attended, in company with Dr. Tod, his dying moments. Gloomy and desolate as we all feel after this most distressing event, I lose no time in giving you the particulars, while they are strongly impressed on my memory.

Mr. Rich had, for the whole of the last month, been in rather delicate health. He had, on or about the 2nd of September, made use of the warm bath, which had a severe effect on him, producing a vomit-

ing of bile and violent spasms, which however gave way to the effects of medicine; and though as I have said his health was delicate, he still was sufficiently well to enjoy himself and pursue his usual occupations.

On the 4th of October he felt quite well, and having that day again ordered the warm bath to be got ready in the Prince's Garden, close to where we live, we all, that is Dr. Tod, he and I, went and took the bath. Dr. Tod and I rode out that afternoon, and found Mr. Rich walking about waiting dinner for us, and he ate as usual a pretty hearty meal. After dinner we conversed together, though he was not so full of spirits as he generally was, and about eight o'clock he complained of sickness and disorder at stomach; this increased so much as to force him to retire at nine o'clock. He was followed to his room by Dr. Tod. Mr. Rich had always expressed considerable apprehension of the cholera, and certainly felt more than he expressed. When he had retired and was joined by Dr. Tod, he stated his fears. There was at this time no symptom of cholera, nor was it till about half past ten, when slight appearances of cramp were detected, that any approximation to a symptom of the epidemic could be traced. The first moment was seized to exhibit the usual remedies, which about twelve relieved him. At seven in the morning his pulse was good, and we were in sanguine hopes of his doing well. But soon after a

most rapid and awful change took place; the pulse sunk and disappeared, and Dr. Tod came from him to where I was sitting, saying he feared the worst. I went and sat by him, as did Dr. Tod, nor did we leave him while life remained. He fell from a sweet sleep he had had for an hour into a heavy painful stupor, and was evidently insensible to everything. At half past ten all was over, without a struggle or any apparent pang.

The place of sepulture was a consideration of some difficulty. It was at first proposed that it should be in the Armenian church, within the walls of the city, where Mr. Sheridan, of Sir Harford Jones's mission, was interred; but on making application to the acting governor, Aga Baba Khan, we were informed that no dead body of whatever rank or country could be admitted *into* the city, having died without. Not even was this rule broken in the case of the King's wife and Prince's mother, lately deceased.

The inclosure containing the tomb of *Hafiz* was then suggested; but it occurred to us, that, in moments of fanaticism and popular turbulence, the Hafizeea being a sort of public place, the power of a weak government, even if exerted, might not be sufficient to protect the monument or even the remains from insult. We then proposed that the interment should take place within the garden where he had

lived, and where we now are, called the Jehan Numa, as, if permission were once given for this measure, there was more probability that the spot would be respected in future; and at all events, being royal property, there was little chance of any wanton dilapidation or insult.

Accordingly, a letter was written to Aga Baba Khan, requesting permission for the interment to take place in this garden, which was instantly granted, and measures were immediately taken to perform it the next morning.

We understood, however, that Dr. Jukes, who had remained behind at Kazeroon, was within a day's march, and would be in also the next morning; and it seemed so desirable that he should witness the ceremony, that I dispatched a messenger express to inform him of what had happened, and determined to wait his arrival.

A most anxious and distressing day passed; and in the morning, about three o'clock, we were most gratefully roused from sleep by the arrival of Dr. Jukes, who had come on even more rapidly than was expected.

There were few additional measures, however, to be taken. The Armenian priests and officers were in attendance, the permission of government was procured, and we therefore proceeded to pay the last duties to our departed friend. Everything was

decent and, for the place, imposing. All his own suite and ours attended, with the most respectable Christians connected with the English interests here. I read the funeral service of the Church of England over the grave, and we all witnessed the shrouding the body in its last earthly home.

I have been thus painfully particular in every thing relating to this most melancholy catastrophe, that you may feel convinced that every exertion was made to save our friend when living, and every attention which his friends could wish was paid to his remains. Dr. Tod, who had accompanied him from Bussora, attended him with a tenderness of anxiety nothing could surpass; and the pain he could not conceal at the event showed how sincere the regard was with which the dead had inspired him. The scene indeed altogether is of a nature I shall never forget. I have seen much of death in many shapes, both among those dear to me and among common acquaintances, in the usual course of things, and under circumstances of very striking and awful effect; but I do not remember to have suffered more in any case than in the lamentable one in question. We had been for some days only, it is true, together, but happy and comfortable, mutually communicating our plans for the future, and pleasing ourselves with the hope and prospects *that future* offered. In the space of twelve hours he was all that was pleasing, instructive, and amiable,

and a corpse! and I saw the last struggles of expiring nature in this elevated and noble being. The circumstances of our being alone in a strange inhospitable, almost inimical country, surrounded with a ghastly disease of which we had had such an awful experience, the possible consequence to either or both of ourselves, and the wretched situation of the survivor in case one of us should go—all these things helped to heighten the anxiety and distress of the time.

I can offer no comments or condolence on this most distressing event—the wreck of so many fond hopes and high promises—for Mr. Rich was a man from whom his friends might well look for much delight, comfort, and honour. I saw just enough of him to regret the passing gleam. It is a dreadful lesson to human pride. The blow to his friends must be in proportion to the loss they have sustained.

LETTER V.

Extract of a Letter from Dr. Jukes.

Shiraux, October 13, 1821.

" My last dispatch conveyed to you the sad tidings of Mr. Rich's death. I believe I informed you that I had, by means of a forced night-march, arrived here in time to assist at the last sad ceremonies due to his remains. It had been the intention of Dr. Tod and Mr. Fraser, the only English gentlemen then at Shirauz, to have the body interred in the Armenian church in the town; but by an old established law here, no dead body can be carried into the town to be buried. The controlling authority of Shirauz, however, Aga Baba Khan, had given permission for the body to be interred in the garden where he died, and no place could be more appropriate. Mr. Fraser, though Armenian priests attended, read the funeral service at my request, for I think that in foreign countries, and especially where Armenians are not much respected, these ceremonies should be performed by ourselves. There is always something very solemn to me in the funeral service of our religion, but upon this occasion, where only *three* companions in a strange land were performing these last duties over a brother, there was

something *peculiarly* affecting. All Mr. Rich's servants, with many of my own, attended the ceremony, and many tears were shed. I have caused a tomb to be raised over his remains, and have put a small marble slab upon it, merely to record his place of rest, with the following simple inscription—

'Claudius James Rich, Esquire,
'Died 5th October,
'A.D. 1821.'

" The cypress trees of the garden are appropriate emblems of the tomb, and I think, if the whole empire of Persia had been at our disposal, a more desirable spot could not have been chosen. This event has naturally cast a gloomy shadow around us. Not that there is anything so terrific in the grave to those who live and die as they ought; for everybody sooner or later must feel, I think, that

" This world is not our place of rest,
Uncertain all but sorrow."

* * * * *

SOME

ACCOUNT OF AN EXCURSION

TO THE RUINS OF

THE ZENDAN, KASR I SHIREEN, HAOUSH KEREK,

&c.

ON THE FRONTIERS OF

SOUTH KOORDISTAN,

IN THE MONTHS OF MARCH AND APRIL, 1820.

EXTRACTED FROM

LETTERS WRITTEN BY MR. RICH DURING THE JOURNEY.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

A JOURNAL OF THE BEARINGS AND DISTANCES.

EXCURSION TO THE RUINS

OF THE

ZENDAN, KASR I SHIREEN, AND HAOUISH KEREK,

&c.

Khan i Seyd at Bakooba,
Night of the 18*th March.*

HERE I am, notwithstanding your express injunctions not to go farther than Orta Khan; but I really found the day so fine, the Khan so wretched, and myself so strong, that I thought it would be a pity to lose time in such a hole, and so I ventured on, and do not find myself a bit the worse for it. I feel quite different from what I had done the last two days. I have no signs of a headache, and am so strong that, if occasion required, I could recommence my march immediately; nevertheless, I will take care of myself. The country between this and Bagdad is the flattest and most burnt desert I ever saw. The other parts of the desert, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, are Pelion, and Ossa, and Tempé put together, compared with this. At half-past three we came to the Naharawan * canal, which

* "In the year 590 Chosroes Parviz, King of Persia, marched out of Ctesiphon to meet Bahram, a revolted general, who, with a

was at least as wide as the Diala; and we arrived here at four P.M. Finding that our old friend Hajee Omar had gone into Bagdad the day before yesterday, I resolved on remaining in this Khan, which is an excelleut one. It is on the Bagdad side of the Diala, just opposite the villages of Bakooba and Howeida, which I have no curiosity to visit. To-morrow morning I march for Shehraban. I have had, since I came in, an observation of amplitude,—nine altitudes of the sun, eighteen of Sirius, and eight of Rigel. We then went to dinner.

I must now close, as a caravanjee, who is setting off, promises to give this to you. Pray give him a bakshisk if he performs his promise. I have not yet written my journal, which I must do before I rest.

Shehraban, March 19th.

We left the khan soon after sunrise, and crossed the Diala at the ferry of Howeida. The banks of the river were very high and steep, in most places

powerful army, had appeared before the capital of the empire. A battle was fought at a place called Naharwan, according to d'Herbelot, in which Chosroes was defeated; and what is rather singular, it is added, he was obliged to fly and take refuge *in a monastery*, which could not have been very far from Ctesiphon and Naharwan, as he was soon joined there by his friends. All that country is now one vast solitude, and no traces of Christianity are discoverable in any form.—D'Herbelot, Bib. Oriental, .996."—Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. viii. p. 187.

like a perpendicular wall, and near the banks the ground was singularly cut up and furrowed by the rain. The depth of the river was about eighteen feet. It was eight o'clock before we were all ferried over, though we had been up by day-light. The villages hereabouts were completely embosomed in date-trees.

At ten we passed through what seemed to be an ancient canal, on the side of which was a high mount, with rubbish and bricks, and even small fragments of marble on it, called, I believe, *Lissia*, if the fellow who told me can be depended on; but they are hereabouts extremely variable in their nomenclature. There are many Imaums scattered about the country, said to be the graves of those Mahometan soldiers who died of their wounds on returning from the battle of Kasr i Shireen, each man being buried on the spot where he died, as a shahid, or witness, for Islamism. Along the road I observed some fragments of brick-work, and many pieces of brick were lying all around. We passed some fine meadow land and many canals from the grand trunk stream. Kharnabat and other villages were on our left. At two we came to the bridge of one arch over the Mel'root canal, which runs north to the Diala; and we halted till three at Imaum Seyd Mokdad al Kundi.

We arrived here at four, and I am now extended my whole length along the ground, in order to be

able to see to write. We have had a very unpleasant ride, owing to the terrible strong southerly wind which raised clouds of dust, that very much distressed both men and animals. Tell Minas the mules are very bad; they tumbled down every mile, and it was with great difficulty we got them to the end of the stage. I am promised others here. The stage from Bakooba to this place is called nine hours. The country all the way was entirely flat, and intersected everywhere by canals. We had a very heavy westerly squall, with thunder and rain, when we started; and no sooner had it ceased than a tremendous south-east wind came on, which still continues, and renders it very unpleasant. I am very well, excepting my eyes, which are much inflamed with the wind and dust.

We found here as governor Sadoon Aga, the inhabitant of our old house, who would not hear of my going to a Khan, which I wished much to do, but had a house cleared out for me. Selim Bey is also here, being no longer governor of Khanakeen. They have both been to see me, but not before I assured them it would be perfectly convenient, and Selim Aga sent me afterwards a splendid dinner, of which my people profited, for I had just finished my francolin and curry when it arrived. I had particularly charged Sadoon Aga not to send me any dinner, which did not seem to meet with the approbation of my party. Send and thank his wife for her hus-

band's attention, though it is most likely I shall give this letter to him, to be sent to you through her medium.

After I leave this I cannot, I am told, be certain of good opportunities for Bagdad. The journey would really have been a pleasant one but for the bad cattle. In all Asia Minor you never saw anything so bad as the mules.

It is getting abundantly hot, and the sooner we leave Bagdad for our grand expedition to Koordistan the better.

Shehraban, March 20th.

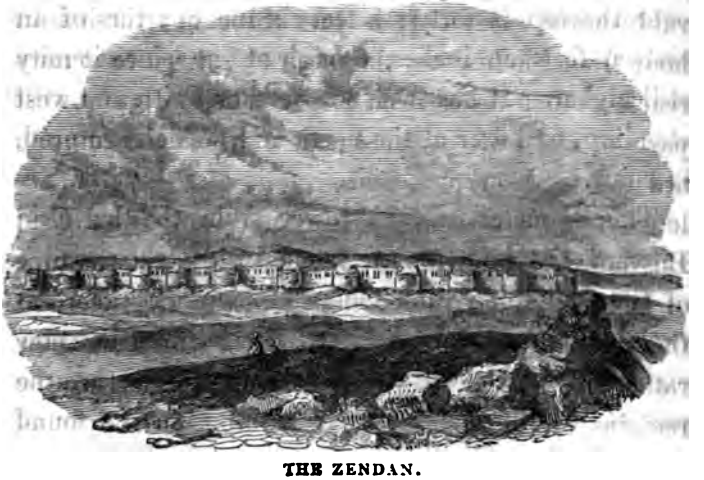
I have made many curious discoveries. My adventures to-day far exceeded my expectations; and what I have seen here, in a geographical and antiquarian point of view, was well worth coming all the way from Bagdad for. I can, however, tell you little about it, as I have had a hard day's work, which was rendered painful by a soft hot south wind. Nevertheless, thank God, I am only wearied, and have no headache.

I set off this morning to examine the ruins called the Zendan, which are about five miles to the south of this place. Half way to it, when I was thinking of nothing less, our guide, the master mason of Shehraban, asked me if I would not turn aside to look at an old castle. I accordingly went over a canal or two, and suddenly discovered the ruins of a

Sassanian town, as large as Ctesiphon—the walls just in the same state and style—the area filled with rubbish and ruins. It is just three quarters of an hour from Shehraban, though its northern extremity reaches much nearer that place. The south and west parts of the wall, at the latter of which we entered, are the most perfect, and exactly like those of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. These ruins are called Eski Bagdad, but are evidently much older than the time of Islam. You will recollect I placed Dastagerd at the Zendan. I was not far wrong; for I am now rather inclined to think that at Eski Bagdad are the remains of the royal city *. Going on we found

* Dastagerda was a favourite palace of Khosroo Parviz, King of Persia, where he resided for many years, in preference to Ctesiphon, which was the capital of his empire. Gibbon, whose geographical descriptions are most masterly, and frequently clearer and more correct than those of eye-witnesses, in his account of the Emperor Heraclius's Third Campaign against Persia in the year A.D. 627, thus points out the probable position of Dastagerda, in his description of the march of the Roman army towards Ctesiphon, after the battle of Nineveh. "Eastward of the Tigris, at the end of the bridge of Mousul, the great Nineveh had formerly been erected; the city, and even the ruins of the city, had long disappeared; the vacant space offered a spacious field for the operations of the two armies.... The Persian cavalry stood firm until the seventh hour of the night: about the eighth hour they retired to their unrifled camp, collected their baggage, and dispersed on all sides, from the want of orders rather than of resolution. The diligence of Heraclius was not less admirable in the use of victory; by a march of forty-eight miles in four-and-twenty hours, his vanguard occupied the bridges of the greater and the lesser Zab; and the cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans. By a just gradation of magnificent

more Sassanian ruins; and half-way to the Zendan, opposite Seyd Sultan Ali, I observed two parallel



THE ZENDAN.

Sassanian walls, running north-east and south-west, about six hundred feet distant from each other, and about as much in length, just like Seleucia. I remarked reeds between every layer of brick. After passing these ruins we came to the Zendan, which is about forty-five minutes ride from Eski Bagdad, a most curious and interresting ruin, totally differing from any thing I ever saw, all of burnt brick and solid masonry. My present idea is, that it was a royal

scenes, they penetrated to the royal seat of Dastagerd; and though much of the treasure had been removed, and much had been expended, the remaining wealth seems to have exceeded their hopes, and even to have satiated their avarice. . . . From the palace of Dastagerd, Heraclius pursued his march within a few miles of Modain, or Ctesiphon, till he was stopped on the banks of the Arba by the difficulty of the passage, the rigour of the season, and the fame of an impregnable capital."—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. viii. p. 248 to 251.

sepulchre. The length of the ruin is thirty-two chains, of the small chain of fifty feet; the breadth over the top is forty-six feet six inches; the height sixteen feet ten inches, though at one place it rises still higher. It has twelve towers, or buttresses, still standing, and four at the north end, which are quite in ruins.

The diameter of each tower from the building outwards is thirty-three feet five inches, the breadth at the wall thirty-nine feet eight inches. The interval of the curtain between each tower is fifty-eight feet six inches. Between each tower are three pair of loop-holes. This is on the eastern face of the building. On the western is a dead wall with

EAST FACE OF THE ZENDAN.

no towers, but with a niche opposite to each tower on the other side; and the last but one of these niches was quite perfect, with a pointed arch. The

height was ten feet six inches, the breadth two feet ten inches; the depth inwards, as far as I measured, forty-one and a half feet, and terminating in a very narrow passage, faced by a dead wall. All the rest have their roofs, or tops, fallen in.

NICHE IN THE ZENDAN.

On the tower side of the ruin we dug into the building, and found that the loop-holes above mentioned led to a passage, or channel, which probably joins the one seen on the opposite side.

The roof of the whole building is formed of many layers of bricks laid flat-ways, as is clearly to be seen on that part of it which is visible on the east side, where all along it is broken and worn away. On the west side, the roof reaches over to the edge of the building, which, in that direction, is generally higher than on the east side where we measured it.

At the fifth niche from the south-west end is a fragment of ruin adhering to the wall, as if there

had been a buttress, or some projection there, possibly an ascent. The north end is quite ruined; many houses having been built at Shehraban and elsewhere, out of the materials found in the Zendan.

At the west side, the desert appears elevated all along the front to some distance, as if there were more building there, and the whole country is covered with broken bricks.

This curious building is of burnt brick, laid in good mortar, and very solidly constructed. There are no inscriptions on any of the bricks I saw, and no clay unburnt bricks, or reeds, were visible. There are many hollows in different places, which are now quite filled with earth and rubbish. It is very singular, but a piece of Chinese copper coin was found in this ruin. I must, however, reserve much that I have to say concerning my discoveries to-day, until we meet, as I have not yet set down my astronomical observations.

To-morrow we start at peep of day for Kizzelrebat, an easy stage. I intend to dispatch this by the return muleteers, as I send back from hence all the bad mules, keeping the most tolerable, and supplying the remainder from the village.

A government messenger has just been with me, who offers to take charge of this letter. I wish I could have heard from you here, as I am now going to strike out of the road, and have but little chance of getting a letter till I come back to the environs

of Bagdad. I have just heard of a route which in all likelihood I shall pursue; it will bring me out through a curious country to Kifri, a line that I have long been desirous to verify, but which I was not aware could be done.

Selim Aga goes with me by way of a party of pleasure; he does every thing he can to amuse me, and has had the village music for this purpose, to the great annoyance of Bellino. They sung "Bir Yazi Yazdum," which Selim Aga remarked all the women of Bagdad were mad after.

Be sure and let me hear from you at Kifri, where I shall be, God willing, in five days. If no one is going off directly for Kifri, dispatch a messenger; indeed I believe this will be the best plan whether or no. The thermometer to-day stands at 66°; it is a delightful-feeling day.

March 21*st.*

We left Shehraban about ten minutes before seven, and were soon agreeably surprised with the sight of the first rising ground we had seen since leaving Bagdad, looking something like a down in England; and shortly after we came to the Bela Drooz canal, a fine large stream, which we crossed by a good bridge of one arch.

At half past eight we reached the Hamreen hills, in no part higher than two hundred feet; the first,

or southern ridge, was composed of bare sandstone in inclined strata, then an area filled with mounds looking like hills in ruin; after which came the north ridge, composed of mere soil and gravel. At the foot of the hills was a small stream which runs into the Diala.

We descended from the Hamreen hills by a gentle slope into a plain called Deshteh, over which were scattered some huts belonging to the Suremeni Koords, who come here at this season to cultivate tobacco. The Khezerj, Beni Rebiaa, and Beni Weiss Arabs* were formerly established hereabouts as cultivators, but they have been lately dispersed.

We asked a traveller whom we met how far Kizzelrebat was from the Diala, and I was amused by his answer, "Bir tchubook itchemeh," that is to say, the time a pipe will last.

Our road was nitrous and miry, and yet notwithstanding there was much cultivation on either hand.

Behind Kizzelrebat a range of hills was visible, parallel with those we had left. They are called the Khanakeen hills, and come from Kerkook, going down towards Loristan.

As we approached Kizzelrebat, where we arrived

* The Khezerj, or Khazerij, is a very ancient tribe, and was in possession of Medina when Mahommed fled there. Abu Osaibi was of this tribe. The Rubina, once the most celebrated tribe in Arabia, is now a small broken clan. The Anazeh Arabs come of this race.

at noon, I saw some very small hillocks of rubbish on the left, but nothing to speak of. There is an artificial mount at the village of Baradan which seems curious.

At sunset I went up to the terrace of the house where we lodged, from whence I could see the Diala about two miles off.

Through the activity of Mahmood Tchaoush*, I heard of some ruins near Kasr i Shireen, which have never been visited by any European. I have engaged a guide to show us the way.

At night I was much entertained by the festivities of the peasants who were celebrating a wedding, and the sword-playing and dancing by torch light made it altogether a very picturesque scene.

The people here speak Turkish and Koordish, and Persian is also commonly understood, but no Arabic.

Kizzelrebat is said to be worth in all about 70,000 piastres per annum.

The thermometer from two to three P.M. 73°. The wind S. Horizon hazy.

March 22nd.

We mounted at twenty minutes before seven this morning, and, at a place called Gharmia, I observed

* One of Mr. Rich's servants.

two insignificant mounts, which, however, appeared to be artificial. At seven we came to the canal of Kizzelrebat. The soil was gravelly and covered with a thin vegetation, making good sheep-walks, in which we saw large flocks of sheep and goats.

At a quarter before eight we reached the hills. The first range were of earth, much furrowed and broken up by rain, then came a ridge composed of gravel and pebbles bound together by a scanty soil, and here and there some sandstone appearing. We passed through a narrow defile, called Sakal Toutan (beard-catcher) on account of the thieves which infest it, into a plain, or I may rather say a basin, filled with remains of broken hills, covered with soil washed down from the higher ridges.

At nine we reached Yenitcheri Tepeh, which is reckoned half way between Kizzelrebat and Khanakeen. Our road wound through hills, and after crossing a second ridge we began to descend by a very gradual slope towards Khanakeen. The hills we had passed are scarcely higher than those of yesterday, and appeared to be more entirely composed of pebbles and earth, the sandstone only here and there appearing in strata inclining towards the centre.

The plain of Khanakeen was verdant and agreeable, and diversified here and there with some lines of little hills. The soil was gravelly. Indian corn and tobacco are grown, and there was much grass.

Higher up on the river Elwan rice is cultivated, which in autumn renders the air very unwholesome. I was told here that the common produce of grain is ten to one of seed. Koordish tribes at pasture were scattered about the green plain in different directions.

We halted in the plain for half an hour while I sent on our konakjee, or courier. On our right were the mountains under which lay the district called Ghilan, before us were the mountains of Persia, behind the Koordish town of Zehav.

Crossing a small eminence we descended upon the little town or village of Khanakeen, where we arrived at a quarter past twelve, and where there is a very good khan built by the Persians; but instead of stopping here we crossed the river Elwan (a rapid mountain torrent, running from south to north and falling into the Diala not far from Kizzelrebat) over a magnificent bridge of thirteen arches, which was built by Mahommed Ali Mirza*, and took up our quarters at Hajee Kara on the opposite bank.

March 23rd.

We have had a very stormy night. This morning the wind is north-west. I have just heard of a

* The King of Persia's eldest son and Governor of Kermanshah. The building of this bridge cost 200,000 piastres. There had been two others, which were both carried away.

route from this place to Karatepeh, which I think I shall follow.

I have been amusing myself to-day in walking about the neighbourhood and sitting in a garden listening to an old musician of the Koordish tribe of Suzmeni, who are all musicians and dancers. This old man played tolerably well on the native violin, or rebab with two strings, which was not at all unpleasant. He came again in the evening to amuse me, and sung many wild Koordish songs.

The thermometer to-day at three P.M. was 66°.

Kifri, March 27, 1820.

Here I am, after having performed a most curious and interesting journey; so curious indeed, and so fortunate in its results, that it is rather like one of those plans we frequently project but are seldom able to execute. We left Khanakeen on the 24th, escorted by Selim Aga, who insisted on accompanying me on my excursion, with a strong party of his yeomanry, there being some danger from the rear guard of Aman ullah Khan's* army, besides the more regular thieves, who have been known to occupy the passes hereabouts, to the number of 500 horsemen. We sent out regularly an advanced guard and flankers, and Bellino, and the Seyd, whose organs of vision are almost as acute as Bellino's, detached themselves

* The Governor of the Province of Sinna in Persian Koordistan.—See volume 1st, p. 200.

on the look-out. The country is hilly, and the ride for about five hours was very agreeable.

At nine we reached Kalai Selzi, an enclosure like a sheepfold, built as a derbent, or guard station, by Abdulla Pasha, the grandfather of Fettah Pasha of Zehav; but it has been long since abandoned.

When we arrived at half past eleven at the Khan of Kasr i Shireen, we found all in confusion, owing to the recent visit of Aman ullah Khan. The poor peasantry, who are Derghezeenli Turcomans, told us a piteous tale of their sufferings. The Khan, we hear, is four hours off, in the Koordish Pashalik of Zehav*, against which he has commenced hostilities.

I pitched my tent on a beautiful green knoll, over the Elwan river. Mr. Bellino quartered himself in the little observatory tent close by, and Selim Aga and his people occupied a less advantageous post in the rear of ours. The yeomanry made a kind of battery with their rifles. The Seyd, Mahmood, the troopers, &c., planted two guards, which gave and returned the "All's well," in high style. The trumpet sounded watch-setting, which made the mountains ring, and our camp bore a most martial and imposing appearance. Happily we had no occasion to display our heroism.

I spent three hours in clambering among the

* The Pashalik of Zehav is dependant upon that of Bagdad, and consists of two divisions; Derna or Zehav, and the mountains in that direction; and the plain of Bajilan.

ruins of the Palace of Khosroo*, which, by the way, not a little disappointed me; but I had but too lately come from Tauk Kesra, and I have certainly seen nothing since which could compare with it. These ruins are extremely coarse, and of no grandeur of design or dimensions. There never could have been a city here, and consequently this is not Dastagerd, but merely one of the hunting palaces of the Sassanian monarchs.

On the brow of the hill, behind the caravanserai, is a square enclosure, like a fort, and surrounded by *globular* looking buildings, if I may be allowed the expression, one of which remains perfect in the inside. It is of small dimensions, and something like an inverted cone. The architecture is of the rudest

* Khosroo Parviz, King of Persia (of the Sassanian dynasty), was the grandson of Chosroes Anushirvan. He married a daughter of the Emperor Maurice's, who is generally supposed to be the same person as the heroine of the eastern romances of Khosroo and Shireen, and of Ferhad and Shireen. This eastern heroine has likewise had the honour of being sung in German verse by M. Joseph von Hammer, in his poem of "Shireen;" and whoever may be desirous of knowing more of this lady, and of the poets who have treated of her history, will find ample details on the subject, in a work just published by that distinguished and indefatigable orientalist, entitled "The History of Ottoman Poetry."

The town, which is supposed to have been built by Khosroo Parviz in honour of Shireen, and to have been called after her, is described as situated between the towns of Holwan and Khanakeen. He is reported to have said to Shireen, "Royalty would be a glorious thing, if it endured for ever;" to which she answered, "If it had endured for ever, it would never have come to us."—*Ed.*

description I ever saw, and seems merely to be composed of round large pebbles, heaped together without any attention to order, in an immense thick bed of coarse mortar.

At the south-west corner, over a torrent, are the remains of a bridge of the same rude architecture, at about ten minutes walk from what is called the town, before coming to which we passed over the ridges of a number of parallel and almost vertical layers of sandstone, which my people wanted to persuade me was building. Indeed it was amusing to see how they were prepared to be astonished at every thing. They cried out "Ajaieb," or "Wonderful," at every bit of insignificant ruin, and often remarked how impossible it would be to build in so fine a style now.

The town is an irregular enclosure of not a mile over, with four gates, and the western one is very perfect. But I will go on regularly with my sketch

KASR I SHIREEN.

of the ruins as we visited them. The first place we came to adjoining the wall, and N. 15 W. of what I call the fort, was a square building facing the cardinal points, each side of which measured fifty-three feet by measurement, and I should think (for I did not measure) about forty high. There was an arched door-way in each face, and above each a narrow window. The roof, which has evidently been a dome, has fallen in. The building is of the rude masonry before described, but has been faced with coarse red bricks, with which also the windows and doors are pointed; part of the facing may still be seen. On the north and south sides are small square courts, with little cells on each side of them, but quite ruined; and on the east is a long piece of ruin, containing long narrow compartments, which appear to have been vaulted.

But the principal ruin in point of surface, which much reminded me of the one at Dara, is situated about the centre of the town. It appears to have been a large platform supported by vaults, forming very narrow passages and cells. On the western end of the south side is what looks like a ruined portico, with a gate at each end. On the north side it is open, and consists of cells and compartments alone, but I think that it must once have been covered by the platform. On the east and north, and on the east part of the western face, the platform remains entire, and has on each side one double staircase, underneath which the vaulted support of

the platform is clearly seen. I do not think that any front is more than two hundred feet in length, and from eight to ten feet in height, in the highest remaining places. The masonry is of the same kind as the rest of the remains.

In front, and extending to the eastern gate, is an oblong enclosure, composed of round stones heaped together, the area of which is now under cultivation. At first I felt doubtful whether this enclosure was ancient or modern; all the people of the place maintained that it was ancient, and I am inclined to believe they may be right; it may have been a tank or reservoir of water in front of the palace. The wall is most perfect on the east side, but in no part has it been flanked by towers. It seems to have been a simple enclosure without defences. The outer gate has a double portal, which has been domed over, and there is a room similarly roofed, on each side. The wall is all built of sandstone, cut into an oblong form. The arch-way is formed of very large pieces of sandstone. The breadth of the gateway is fifteen feet three inches; and it might have been somewhat less than twenty feet high, when not encumbered with rubbish.

I took two sketches of these ruins. The latitude of Kasr i Shireen, by rough computation, is north 34° 30′ 39″.

The next day (after a piercing cold night) we marched for the hitherto unknown ruins of Haoush

Kerek, in the Koordish Pashalik of Zehav, which had been first mentioned to me at Kizzelrebat. I rose by peep of day notwithstanding the cold, and while the tents were striking, I went to look at a ruin which we had forgotten yesterday. It is beyond the fort going from the Khan, but is situated on the highest mount or eminence, on the brow of the hill which overlooks the Khan. This mount is circular on the top, and has been built round, or cased, and contains hollows. The masonry is of coarse red brick; might not this have been a Persian Dakhmeh, or place of exposure of the dead? The hills in the neighbourhood are composed of gypsum; the soil is red and in many places nitrous. Between the foot of the hills and the Khan are many traces of foundations, but I am persuaded there never was a town here, but only a hunting palace; nor do I believe there was ever any building within the enclosure, except the palace above described.

We mounted at seven, and proceeded over wild hills, and among Koordish tribes, who seem to be of a very superior race to those of Mardin*. We passed the prince of Kermanshah's camels grazing, and encountered many parties of Zengheneh Koords with their families. Whenever we passed a party

* Mr. Rich and his family, during their residence at Mardin, on a former journey from Bagdad to Constantinople, had been placed in circumstances of difficulty and even danger, by the wandering Koords in the neighbourhood of that town, who are a turbulent, lawless, and treacherous people.—*Ed.*

of Koords or an encampment, Selim Aga always insisted on the trumpet sounding; he said it was *heibetli*, or dignified; and indeed I can assure you, I found my trumpet added more to my dignity than an addition of fifty men would have done. The Koords said, they knew me to be an *iltchee* or ambassador by my trumpet, especially those among them who had known Generals Malcolm and Yermoloff. *À propos* of Yermoloff; an old Koordish fiddler played me a Cossack dance, which he had picked up from Yermoloff's band; and *à propos* of the trumpet: at Haoush Kerek, my horse suddenly reared up erect, and attacked another horse near him, who received him in the same way. The trumpeter was on foot between the two horses, and was knocked down among the loose stones. People thought his brains had been knocked out, and congratulated him on the escape of his head. "I did not care for my head," said he, "I was only thinking of my trumpet, for fear that should be bulged;" he was not hurt.

We arrived at the ruins of Haoush Kerek at half past nine. The road wound much among the hills, but the general direction was N. 80 W. from Kasr i Shireen. Haoush Kerek is exactly similar to Kasr i Shireen, but is less ruined, and consequently we were better able to make out the plan. Here some Bettarawend Koords, subjects to the prince of Kermanshah, and an uncommonly handsome, lively, well-behaved people, brought us some admirable

yoghourt and fresh cheese, which afforded us a very pleasant regale, before we commenced our inspection of the ruins.

The ruins of Haoush Kerek consist of, first, an enclosure of stone walls of irregular shape, following the nature of the ground, of less extent than that of Kasr i Shireen, and with no ruins in it. At about a hundred yards south of the enclosure is the building which I chiefly came to inspect, and which properly is called Haoush Kerek. Some of the Koords say it was the place where Kesra bred his colts, and that he brought milk for them through an aqueduct cut in the rock, some remains of which are to be seen about an hour from Kasr i Shireen, but we did not think it worth while to go and see it. The Betarawend Koords who were with us, observed of Haoush Kerek, that it was a Kasr or castle built by Shapour. The style of building is precisely the same as at Kasr i Shireen, and being in rather a more perfect state, we could better comprehend it, as well as Kasr i Shireen.

Haoush Kerek consists, like the above-mentioned place, of a platform supported on vaults which form little vaulted rooms, or rather cells, which are a celebrated rendezvous now-a-days for robbers. The most perfect of these cells are on the north side, and are black with the fires of those who take shelter in them in winter. This platform, which is aligned on the four points, is of an oblong form. I measured

its northern side, which was three hundred and forty feet, including the building, on the west face. The height of the platform is fifteen feet and a half; its breadth, north and south, may be about half as much as its length east and west. At its western end are the remains of the building or Kasr, which was entered by a slope for a horseman to ride up. On each side of the slope is a small court with vaulted rooms on the ground. The building or Kasr is also a heap of ruins of small rooms, all built of the round rolled sandstone, with which the whole country is covered in incredible quantities, till you descend into the plain of Binkudreh. At the east end of the north and south face is a double stair; from the foot of the south face the ground is built up level, and a little higher than the ground for the breadth of a few yards, all along the south face. Aga Seyd said, this reminded him of the kind of buildings erected by the King of Persia, when he encamps with his army. About a hundred yards on the north-west, and adhering to the wall of the enclosure, on the outside, is another curious building, quite open on the top, the walls not above ten feet high. It consists, first, of an open court on the east, about seventy feet square, with archways all round. Secondly, two very narrow passages, which have evidently been arched over in many parts, the spring of the arch remaining. Thirdly, an open court like the first, and then a still larger enclosure. On the

north are two narrow passages, the boundary of the last being the enclosure wall. Whether the whole of the building was once terraced over like the platform of the palace, is difficult to say. In the courts I saw no quantity of rubbish that one could conclude to proceed from the terrace having fallen in; but the passages had certainly been vaulted over.

My people immediately said this was the haram, and, indeed, there have been many worse conjectures. The whole building is, like all the rest, built of sandstone. All that I have yet seen of the Sassanian works gives me no high idea of their taste or magnificence. I conjecture these, as well as the ruins of Kasr i Shireen, to have been one of the many hunting palaces and parks which we know the Sassanian kings to have possessed. When richly painted, gilded, and ornamented, they might have been worth seeing; in their present state of ruins, they are certainly not imposing. There are no other ruins or traces of building here than what I have described.

We did not remain the night at Haoush Kerek, but mounted at eleven and marched through the plain of Bajilan in the Pashalik of Zehav, which enabled me to establish a number of interesting geographical points, and solve difficulties no other means could have cleared up, especially the complete tracing of the Diala. We continued our way over the tops of the hills till one, when we descended into the plain, through which we saw the Diala winding

far on our right, with a high artificial mount called Shirwaneh, on its banks. The plain appeared to be well cultivated, and here soil began to predominate over the rolled sandstone above-mentioned.

At ten minutes before two we arrived at Bin Kudreh, a large village belonging to Hassan Aga, a Koordish chief of Bajilan. He came to see me in my tent, and was most splendidly accoutred in a gold-flowered gown and ermine pelisse, put on evidently for the occasion. He spoke Turkish fluently, was very hospitable, and would not hear of my purchasing anything in his village, insisting that I was his *musaffer*, or visitor. At night he and the whole village turned out to dance the Tchopee, to the sound of the big drum and zoorna; and, to our no small amusement, they made Selim Aga fall in with them. Before the festivities began, Hassan Aga came to see me, and we agreed that he should prepare some sort of kellek to enable us to cross the Diala, which is about half an hour's distance from this place*.

We mounted next morning at seven; and here I took leave of my agreeable conductor Selim Aga, who returned to Khanakeen, while I marched with the head of the district to the Diala, which we were near an hour in reaching, the intermediate

* From Bin Kudrek to Zehav is nine hours: to Khanakeen, direct over the hills, three hours. Bin Kudreh is about S. 80 W. from Haoush Kerek, and is considered to be in the Persian territory.

space being a morass, formed by the overflowing of the river. We observed many willows and arbor vitæ. Just after leaving the village we came to some large heaps of ruins called Kattar Tepessi, or partridge-mount, which, they told us, was the place where Anushirwan kept his mules. There are many vestiges of building all along the Diala.

As soon as we arrived at the Diala, our horses were swam over by some Arabs, and a kellek or raft was got ready to cross ourselves and our baggage. The raft was small; and we were obliged to make so many trips, that the passage detained us five hours. The main stream was about four hundred yards broad; but when overflowing, the chief informed me, it covers a space of a mile and a half, besides flowing into the morass above-mentioned. In the neighbourhood I observed cotton and tobacco were cultivated. Arabs of the tribe of Beni Ajeel and Al Uzzi were encamped on its banks — the kellek on which we crossed being worked by some of the latter tribe. This ferry is farmed by Hassan Aga for between two and three hundred piastres. We were all carried safely over, notwithstanding the frailty of our bark and the strong current of the river, which rushed as from a sluice.

Ahmed Aga*, who was in very great terror at the idea of the undertaking, when he found we were all safely over, blubbered out—for he was almost

* One of Mr. Rich's servants.

crying—"Oh, sir, I would rather have gone round five days' journey than see you (Qu., himself?) cross that horrible river." Tcheyt Sing * *quavered* out—"Bismillah irrahman arraheem—Bismillah irrahman, arraheem!" all the time of the passage.

We mounted again on the right bank at half-past one, and proceeded first over hills, and then into an alluvial and, occasionally, inundated country, to Zengabad †, the native village of the Keywanni's ‡ son. He was not there, but his Vakeel was very civil. About three miles from it I saw on the left bank, just under the ridge of hills, Dekkeh, which is reckoned one hour from Zengabad.

We arrived at a quarter past four, and found the governor had, in true border style, gone out to steal sheep. Zengabad is farmed for 55,000 piastres for the year. It is about one mile, in a direct line, from the Diala, which we had winding on our left, at a small distance, from the time we passed it in the neighbourhood of Bin Kudrek. It flows off in an easterly direction, in the neighbourhood of the village of Zengabad.

Zengabad, which is the capital of the district, is a miserable, half-abandoned, and more than half-ruined village, with vestiges of having once been in

* A servant of Mr. Rich, who from a Hindoo had become a Mahometan.

† In S. 30 W.

‡ The title of the principal female servant, or *duenna*, in the haram of the Pasha of Bagdad.—*Ed.*

a better condition, such as the remains of a hamaum and a mosque, which was built by Suliman Pasha, the grandfather of Abdurrahman, Pasha of Sulimania, and in which we took up our quarters. It was the first time its walls had ever heard the name of Christ invoked.

Northward, and a few hundred yards from the village, we remarked a high square mount, called Kalan Tepessi, with a small one adjoining it. It looked like a Babylonian temple. No bricks are dug out here, but many on the other side of the village, among mounds of ruins, called Khist-ken, or the place where bricks are dug out. There has evidently been an ancient town here.

The air of these low grounds is reckoned very unwholesome, owing to the morass and quantity of water. A couple of miles to the west of Zengabad is Manativa, another similar village, embosomed in date-trees, the air of which is particularly unwholesome. There are many other villages in this district, but they are merely an assemblage of wretched mud huts, thatched with reeds.

We suffered this day greatly from the heat. I felt more fatigued after a march of three hours than I have often done after one of ten.

We left Zengabad a little before seven, and at nine came to Kiushk i Zenghi, which appears to have been named from the Atabeks, where we heard there were ruins. We found them very insigni-

ficant, consisting only of some vestiges of coarse red brick, and brick foundations, on the summit of a circular tepeh or mount. We were told of some ruins at a little distance, where much marble was to be found, but we did not go to see them. The tradition of the people may generally be trusted with respect to the age of ruins in these countries; so far at least as two great divisions of history are concerned—the time before Mahomet, and the time since. They have only these two ages—Ghiaour and Mussulman—and they rarely, if ever, ascribe the works of the former to the latter.

Keeping the hills close on our right, we proceeded to the Kifri Soo*, or rather one of the many torrents that flow from these hills into the plain of Kifri, and are there lost, being used to water the cultivation. We arrived at eleven at the river, which consisted of an immense bed of pebbles, with two or three limpid rills running through it.

The above-mentioned hills hereabouts crossed our road; and we observed many very large beds of torrents coming down from them, now chiefly dry, some of them being several hundred yards broad.

We continued our way through the hills, noticing on our right Ohn iki Imaum, where there are naphtha springs, about one hour and half from this place, (Kifri,) where we arrived soon after noon, much exhausted by the heat; and I had scarcely refreshed my-

* N. 30 W.

self a little, before I sat down to tell you my story. The two last marches have been dreadful from the heat, though we arrived here by half-past twelve. All the people are quite exhausted; yet, God be praised, I am very well; but I am very prudent, proportioning my exertions to my strength.

We are lodged here in the same place as when on the road to Constantinople; and I almost cried when I saw the tree by the side of the little canal, in the court where we dined together on that memorable expedition *. Kifri is much dilapidated and diminished in population since we were here last. The people were astonished at my recognizing a little mount I had not seen for seven years, and then had viewed from a different road. A small spring of naphtha has lately been discovered, about a mile from the town.

Are you almost ready to set off on our expedition to Koordistan? We have no time to lose, for I am roasted with the sun already; and travelling by night I will not hear of. The thermometer to-day in my tent, between two and three in the afternoon, was 90°.

A man is going off to-night or to-morrow morning—Mahmood Bey, the master of the house yclept the palace; and I hope he will give you this. He is

* This refers to a journey of 1500 miles, from Bagdad to Constantinople, made by Mr. and Mrs. Rich, on horseback, in the years 1814, 1815.—*Ed.*

in some difficulty or other: see what it is, and whether any one can help him. He is a poor, good kind of fellow. Thermometer in my tent 90°.

Kifri, March 28th.*

I am just made the happiest man in the world by your letter of the 23rd, just after your gay party. Our passage through the country was so *meteoric*, that your Arab went hawking after me I know not where, till at last Selim Aga picked him up somewhere, and sent him on to me with a guard and a very polite note, and has thus added a very considerable weight to the obligations with which he has already *cumbled* me. I can't think of the right word in English, and therefore gallicise or anglicise one. My spirits move faster than my pen can follow. I think, from the context of your note, that you must have written me another of an earlier date, in answer to mine from Bakooba. If so, Ismael Cossid has it, and will have carried it direct to Willock, or else some Arab may still be looking about for me in the desert, or have been taken prisoner by Amanullah Khan and his Koords. Indeed, we have glanced so like wildfire o'er hill and o'er glen, that it would have been difficult to have caught me after I left

* Kifri is situated just at the pass into Koordistan, and is defended by a mud wall.

Khanakeen. I may say I dived at Khanakeen and came up again at Kifri.

Minas accompanied your note with a large box of biscuits. Koord Oglou's grim countenance gave a horrible contortion, meant for a smile of contempt, when he saw the contents of the box he knocked open, and which had been sent express from Bagdad.

The very night you had your storm, we had also a tremendous one, from the south-east, at Khanakeen. We had a fine north-west wind the moment we left the Pashalik of Bagdad at Khanakeen, and the instant we re-entered it at Zengabad the south-easter came on again, and has been intolerably hot ever since. Thermometer to-day is 89°.

To-day I walked out to the favourite promenade of the Kifri *folk*. It is a few hundred paces behind the town, where the principal streams of the Kifri Soo form the defile which leads into Koordistan, by cutting a passage through the gypsous ridge of the Kifri hills. On the north side of the pass the stream has cut the hill down into an almost perpendicular cliff of nearly two hundred feet high. Another stream, said to be of better water, purls along the same bed of pebbles, though from a different source, about an hour off, and joins it at the foot of the cliff. These streams are now inconsiderable rills, but from the immense bed of pebbles which occupies the whole breadth of the defile, it is evident that the sudden floods must be great and

violent. Large blocks of gypsum, some I suppose a ton weight, are brought down by these floods. On the Kifri side the ridge of rock is steep, and terminates at once in the plain, but it is more gentle on the Koordistan side.

The Kifri water is much praised, and said greatly to facilitate digestion. May not this proceed from its passing over nitrous and gypsous ground, which gives it a slight purgative quality? The water is extremely light and agreeable, without being hard like rock water, and it has no taste.

Some buffoons of the Delli Doman caste insisted on performing before us to-night. These people are, I believe, of the gipsy race. They are called in some parts of Persia "*Tat*," and resemble the Bazigars in India. Their buffoonery is mere coarse obscenity, which mightily delights the Turks; but there are also good musicians among them.

Your Arab wants my letter, that he may begin his journey back soon after nightfall; he certainly has used uncommon expedition. My present plan is to observe the eclipse to-morrow here; the next day to set out on our return home, and pass the night at Karatepeh, and so on, gradually making short stages to avoid the heat of the day.

March 29th.

I sallied out this morning to inspect the gypsous ridge, and I clambered up to the top of it, whence,

notwithstanding the horizon was thick, I got several bearings with the large surveying compass.

The hills which we crossed on our way here run out to the south of Kifri, and the Bagdad road crosses them there, soon after which they sink gradually into the desert, at the spot where we crossed them, and beyond Ohn iki Imaum. The Kifri ridge is abrupt and steep on the Bagdad side, and throughout there are subordinate hills on the opposite side, all the way to Toozkhoormattee *. Hereabouts the hills are gypsous, with a very scanty soil and vegetation in some places on them. On the opposite, or south-east side of the defile, the summit is composed of soil and pebbles, large masses of which have tumbled down into the defile. The pebbles are of many different sorts, and so cemented by the soil as to form almost a conglomeration. This coating of soil and pebbles is supported by gypsum. A great number of wild flowers grow around, some of which have a pleasing odour. There were many wild poppies of a beautiful crimson, all of which contained fire or jungle flies.

The best grounds in the district of Kifri for the purposes of agriculture are at Eski Kifri, those hereabouts being too stony to admit of much cultivation. In spring, till the harvest is got in, most of the inha-

* Toozkhoormattee is watered by the Aksoo, a little river which rises in Koordistan, and passes by Ibrahim Khanjee.

bitants of Kifri encamp under black tents, with their wives and families, at Eski Kifri.

Last night there was a fresh breeze from the south-east, and to-day it blows a perfect gale from that quarter, with clouds of dust, which makes me fear for to-night's observation. Thermometer in my tent 91°, at the hottest time of the day.

March 30th.

We left Kifri at a quarter before seven this morning, and crossed over two hills in S. 22 W. Soon after eight we passed two little mounts called Telishan, and then crossed the Kifri Soo, now quite dry, over an immense bed of pebbles. The plain hereabouts was as white with nitre in many parts as if it had snowed. A little before ten we came to Tchemen Kiuprissi, a good new bridge over the Tchemen, a sluggish, ugly puddle of a stream, so full of reeds, near fifteen feet high, that the water was scarcely discernible. It is full of leeches, so that Wordsworth's philosopher might have found full and easy employment here. The interior part of the green reeds, near the bottom, are eaten by the natives. We passed some Arab encampments with their flocks.

We halted for half an hour at the Tchemen Kiuprissi, and then continued our journey in S. 15 W. to Karatepeh, passing two ranges of hills, with a

valley or basin between them. At the foot of the last declivity Karatepeh is situated, where we arrived about a quarter before twelve. The stage is called seven hours. We saw a large flock of antelopes to-day. On our left hand, as we entered the town, noticed the burying ground, which for the number of little domes in it looked like a village.

Karatepeh is this year rented of government for forty thousand piastres. It is watered by a cut from the Diala, above Zengabad. The principal produce is cotton and daree, or Indian corn; a small quantity of rice is grown likewise.

The people of Karatepeh call themselves Turcomans, and Turkish is the only language used. There are some of the people called Ali Ulahees, Ismaelians, or Tcheragh Sonderans, residing here. A fine cool day, with a refreshing north-west wind. Thermometer, 82°.

March 31*st*.

We mounted this morning at a quarter before seven. All appearance of cultivation soon terminated, and was succeeded by a bare plain, with here and there some scanty grass, but most generally covered with nitre as thick as if there had been a fall of snow. We journeyed due south to the bridge of the Nareen, where we arrived about eight.

It is a good bridge of six arches, built by Suliman, Pasha of Bagdad. We then proceeded S. 15 W. towards the Hamreen hills, keeping between them on our right, and the Nareen on our left. We continued going in a south-west direction to the foot of the hills, at which we arrived about half past ten. The first part of them was composed of soil and pebbles, and was of very gentle ascent. We reached the summit at twenty minutes before eleven, which being the highest ground hereabouts, I got several sights with the compass. The appearance from the top of the hills of the surrounding country was very singular. The whole chain of hills, which look like the ruins of a mountain, appeared broken into little hillocks, or large waves, and looked like the sea suddenly fixed. Not far from the pass, the Diala was visible, meandering and receiving the Nareen. As we proceeded, sandstone began to make its appearance, always in strata inclined towards the north side of the hill, and in many places the external parts and fragments were rounded and waving as if they had been washed by the sea. In some places I observed a coating of talc, specimens of which I brought away. The sandstone at last predominates, and the hill terminates in a great number of parallel successive ridges, or ledges, some just appearing, others rising from the ground to the height of ten or twelve feet; the south side, always an abrupt face, and inclining down into the earth on

the north side. Through one of these ridges a Turkish Pasha cut a narrow road a long time back. His name, as far as I could make it out from an inscription on the rock, now almost entirely defaced, was Hassan. Nitre was to be seen in some places.

At noon we left this unsightly mountain, our road through which had been about south, and keeping its southern face on our left, we proceeded in S. 40 E. to Adana Keuy, where we arrived at twenty minutes past one. The stage is called eight hours.

Adana Keuy, which is near the cut of the Khalis canal and close on the Diala, is a large village, which has been much more flourishing than it appears to be at present. It has a mosque, with a minaret. It is farmed this year for 20,000 piastres.

Our quarter-master had taken a house for us, where a great number of silk-worms were at work; but the smell so affected my head, I was obliged soon to leave it for a garden, where we pitched a tent, and were very comfortable.

The people of this place are of the Turcoman race, and are composed of Sunnis, Shiahs, and Tcheragh Sonderans. Here the Turkish language terminates, all beyond towards Bagdad being Arab Fellahs or peasants. We met on our march to-day some of the Arab tribe called Mehdewy*; and in the plain of

* All the butchers of Bagdad are of this tribe.

Karatepeh saw an encampment of Khirewez Arabs, the chief of which, with half-a-dozen men well mounted and accoutred, came out to escort me as a guard of honour, but I dismissed him with thanks.—Thermometer, 82°.

April 1st.

Left Adana Keuy at half past six. I observed a very curious effect of refraction which inverted distant objects. There were swarms of locusts on the ground of a bright yellow colour. Just after leaving the village, we observed in the Diala, along the banks of which we were travelling, detached beds of brushwood, which formed dams to stop the water and turn it into the various canals with which this district is intersected in every direction. We kept westerly with the Khalis, which is the largest canal I have ever seen, on our left, and the Diala just behind it, and we passed Seyd Mubarek, a Ziyaret, or place of pilgrimage.

Soon after eight we reached Delli Abbas, where there is a bad bridge over the Khalis, and the villages of the district of this name soon began to rise in succession from the horizon. The villages of the district of Khorassan on the other side of the Diala were likewise in sight. Our road was first S. 55 W., then S. 20 W. At half past ten we came to

Tchubook, a wretched Arab village, with a bridge over a little stream, which is formed by the overplus of the Khalis and comes from Serajik. It discharges itself into the Diala opposite Buyuk Abu Seyda, which is close by the Diala, being only some yards from Tchubook. This stream is a kind of vent for the Khalis on sudden and great rises of the Diala. It is then opened to let out the force of waters, which would otherwise damage the Khalis canal and overflow the country, to the destruction of the cultivation. The superfluous waters of the Azemia also discharge themselves into this stream at Tchubook.

April 2nd.

We were obliged to keep a sharp look-out all night against thieves, this place being infamous for them. With the morn a fine breeze from the north-west sprung up, which completely changed the air, and we started at half past five with renewed vigour and elasticity, directing our course towards Musabbah Khan, which lay to the south-west of us, and keeping the Diala, which winds much, close on our left.

At a quarter before eight we arrived at Musabbah Khan, where we alighted to take coffee and make some observations with the compass. About half

past eight we left the Khan, and soon after ten we perceived the magnificent Naharwan, running straight N. 10 W. and S. 10 E. Kharnabat was due E., distant one mile. In another hour we came to some dry canals, parallel with the Naharwan, then to Seyd Muhhsen, a place of pilgrimage, on a small stream from the Khalis, and at noon we arrived at Toprak Kalaa, a square mount of no great dimensions, and called likewise Mujelibeh. On the north of it at a small distance we observed ruins, from which we found men extracting bricks to be sent to Bagdad for Yusuf Bey's* garden.

A few of the bricks had something like the impression of *five fingers* on them, and others had a rude circle, apparently drawn with the finger while the brick was yet wet. They were coarse and not of *Babylonian* dimensions, but there seemed to be an immense quantity of them. I take these ruins to be Sassanian. I remarked in them some very singular coincidences with Kalan Tepeh at Zengabad, and other artificial mounts hereabout.

We arrived at the village of Howeish at twenty minutes before two. The road we have come by is very unfrequented, and is mostly a very dreary bare desert, along which we saw little or nothing

* The Pasha of Bagdad's eldest son.

to remark, but an immense wild sow, with six pigs after her. We had a delightfully cool day.

Thermometer—77°.

April 3*d.*

We left Howeish at half past six, and at noon reached the residency at Bagdad.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

Observations at Arbil.

(Referred to at p. 15, Vol. ii.)

1. At our camp. Base corrected, 100 yards. A, at my tent, where all the astronomical observations were taken. B, about N. 25 E. from it. Minaret bore from A, S. 2 E. Castle signal, S. 55½ E.

The castle was difficult to set, on account of its being a large circular mound, with houses all round its edge. At last I discovered a small staff, with something on the end of it sticking up above a house in the S.W. face of the circle of houses which crowned its summit, near the W. end. This I found was distinguishable from every station, and I accordingly selected it for the signal at the castle. The ends A and B of my base were marked by spears.

Troughton's sextant; angles corrected for instrument error.—

Station 1, at A.

1. Angle (mean of 3), minaret, and B, 112° 16′ 25″.

Note.—Rather a difficult angle, as the wind made the spear at B vibrate a little.

2. Minaret and castle, 52° 54′ 15″.

Angle taken several times with no variation.

The point of the minaret chosen was the N.W. or nearest edge of the octagonal base. This was the best defined line.

Height of the minaret above the horizon, 2° 37′ 15″.

3. B, and the castle (mean of 5), 59° 31′ 54″.

STATION B.

1. Minaret and A, 63° 00′ 30″.

Angle taken several times; no difference.

2. Minaret and castle, 52° 52′ 30″.

Angle twice taken; no difference.

3. A, and castle; castle on the left of A (mean of 6), 115° 53′ 55″.

Difficult angle, A vibrated a little.

Height of minaret, 2° 31′ 45″.

STATION AT THE MINARET.

N.B. The minaret is, by measurement, 119 feet 10 inches to the remains of the gallery, and 1 foot 6 inches of broken wall on the top; 121 feet 4 inches in all. Circumference of the shaft, 51 feet 8 inches. It stands on an octagonal base, each face of which is 9 feet 11 inches. Height 30 or 40 feet. I took my station at the angle of the base, which I had set from the other stations.

1. To determine the position of Mount Makloube, seen in the distance on the Mousul road.

Afternoon altitudes of the sun for the time:—not corrected for instruments' errors.

Observations.

Double alt.	⊙ N. Limb. Time.
40° 35′ 30″	1° 41′ 3″
40° 25′ 00″	—41′ 35″
40° 17′ 00″	—42′ 00″
39° 42′ 45″	—44′ 14″

Azimuth angle, between Mount Makloube and the sun's nearest or N. limb.

N.B. The mountain being a considerable body, I had great difficulty in determining what part of it to set. I at last made choice of the highest, or western part of it; but I fear this will cause some little uncertainty in the result.

Angle mountain, and ⊙ N. limb, corrected for instruments' error.

60° 36′ 30″
— 31′ 30″
— 24′ 45″
— 20′ 15″

Bearings from the minaret with the surveying-compass.

Highest part of Makloube, N. 46 W.

Castle signal, N. 62° 30′ E.

Rewandiz, N. 24 E.

No other objects were sufficiently marked to be set; only general directions were pointed out.

In the morning on looking over my ground, I found I had taken the following angles with my pocket sextant. These are not now likely to be of use.

At the minaret.

Castle signal, my tent, 63° 37′ 30″.

Green tent, 64° 22′ 00″.

I found it was impossible to see the signals of my base from the minaret, as they were thin spears of a brown colour, which projected themselves on the ground. The third angle must therefore be concluded.

The Koordish Pashalik of Keuy Sanjiak.

Routes procured at Arbil, both from the Koords and Arbil people.

The direction of Keuy Sanjiak pointed out due E. from our camp at Arbil.

ARBIL TO KEUY SANJIAK.

Arbil to Hajee Yusuf Agatcheh*, 7 caravan hours.
Keuy Sanjiak . . 8

15 hours.

Hills; no considerable mountains; all these hills are a continuation of the tract of Shuan.

ANOTHER ROUTE FROM ARBIL TO KEUY SANJIAK.

Derbent Gomespan 8 hours; a pass through the hills.
Keuy Sanjiak . 8

16 hours.

ANOTHER.

New Hareer, 5 hours, horseman's; among the broken hills so often mentioned.
Eshkaf Saka 8
Keuy Sanjiak 8

21 hours. The road between the hills and the Azmir.

The Banner of Hareer consists of six districts, namely,

* This is a tree in the district of Bestora, in the hills; the road is through the pass called the Baghtchi Bogaz.

Hareer, Koreh, Deireh, or new Hareer, anciently called Diween*, Zirari, Baherka, and Gerdeh.

The capital, or New Hareer, now called Deireh, is N. 10 E. from our camp at Arbil, in the broken hilly country, a continuation of Shuan. Old Hareer, the capital of the Soran family, but now in ruins, is N. 15 E. of our camp, over the first range of mountains, and the continuation of Azmir. Behind it again is a very high mountain, I *believe* Zagros. Then comes the district of Koshnav, separated from Hareer by the high mountain.

Great care must be taken in collecting information from these people, to distinguish between Old and New Hareer.

When they say Hareer, they generally mean the modern capital of that name.

Shaklawa is a Chaldean village *over* the broken hills. Between them and the Azmir range, about N.E. from our camp.

Harmoota is another Chaldean village, half an hour from Keuy Sanjiak.

With respect to the relative positions of the principal places to the East, the best of my information is as follows:—

Old Hareer is about three hours and a half from the Zerb or Zab.

From Keuy Sanjiak, fourteen hours for a horseman, through difficult mountains.

From Arbil, twelve horseman's hours.

The Zab separates Hareer from the territory of Akra, in Amadia.

* In Chaldean, spelt *Adebin*. In Armenia Major there was likewise a city of this name.—*See* Assemanni, vol. iii. De Syris Nestorianis, p 2.

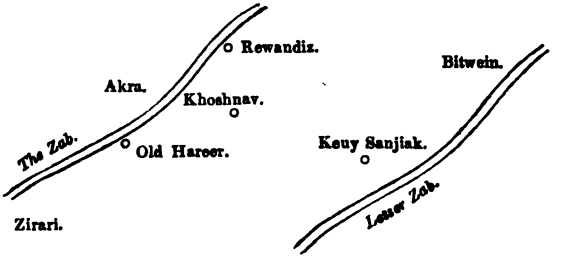
On the banks of the Zab, opposite the territory of Hareer, is the castle of Akra.

The castle of Rewandiz is on the Zab, above Hareer.

The territory of Khoshnav adjoins both Hareer, Rewandiz, Keuy Sanjiak, and Bitwein.

The district of Bitwein is inhabited by the Bulbassis, and is on the Altoon Kiupri river, or the Lesser Zab, beyond Keuy Sanjiak.

Omar Aga drew the following sketch with his finger on the ground.



Between Rewandiz and Khoshnav is a mountain.

II.

Notes on the Battle of Arbela.

(Referred to in p. 15, Vol. ii.)

[The following fragment of a proposed complete comparison between the ancient descriptions of the battle of Arbela, and the face of the country where it was fought, which was undertaken by Mr. Rich on the spot, with Arrian and Curtius in his hand, but which he left unfinished, is given in its present very imperfect state, as it may be interesting, and even useful, to some future traveller.]

Arrian says, that Alexander crossed the Tigris without opposition from Darius, but with difficulty, from the rapidity of the current, and that there he rested his army awhile, and sacrificed on account of the eclipse of the moon. Marching from the Tigris (*i. e.* the Ford) through Assyria, he had the Sogdian (Curtius says Gordyæan, *i. e.* Koordish) mountains on the left, and the Tigris on the right.

On the fourth day after the passage, the scouts discovered the enemy's advanced guard of cavalry. (Lib. iii. c. 7, p. 194.)

Do these four days include the time of halt at the Ford? and how long was that halt?

Quintus Curtius indeed says, that the affair of the advanced guard occurred immediately after the Ford; that Alexander encamped two days in that place, and continued his march on the third. He also says, that the eclipse of the moon took place in the first watch of the third night; that Alexander marched at the second watch, and that at

day-break the scouts thought they perceived the army of Darius, but it turned out to be only the advanced guard of Mazæus's corps.

Quintus Curtius has evidently made two affairs of one; and the one he has described as the last is clearly the same as the one mentioned by Arrian, who attributes to it the incidents related by Curtius of the first encounter; which therefore must have taken place a few hours' march from the ford of the Tigris. Alexander, we are told, galloped on with the Pæon advanced guard, and some other of the light horse, to disperse this party, ordering the army to *come on* leisurely. The enemy fled, and Alexander pursued them. Some of them falling into his hands, informed him that Darius, with the grand army, was not far off, being encamped at Gaugamela, *on the* Bumadus, about six hundred stadia from the town of Arbela, in a very open and level plain; the Persians having levelled those parts which were too rough for the manœuvring of chariots.

Alexander, upon hearing this, entrenched his army four days in the very place where he received this intelligence. In this fortified camp he left his baggage and incumbrances, and then marched, at the second watch of the night, to attack the enemy, with whom he expected to come up at day-break.

The camps were sixty stadia distant from each other, but were not visible to one another, on account of intervening hills. Curtius makes the interval to be one hundred and fifty stadia, and agrees that Alexander remained in his fortified camp four days. He also agrees as to the time or distance, given by Arrian, from the ford of the Tigris to the entrenched camp; that is to say, first, from the second watch till day-break; and secondly, from thence slowly, to the place of halt, to which Alexander had pursued the ad-

vanced guard of the enemy with his light cavalry; but the two authors differ about the distance of this spot from Darius's camp: and from the time of the halt of four days, the movements are differently reported. Arrian here, however, seems the best authority.

Curtius (lib. iv., p. 454) says, that *after* having encamped four days, letters were intercepted from Darius, offering a reward for the assassination of Alexander, and that the very same day Alexander marched. "*During the march*," Curtius adds, "a eunuch came to inform him of the sickness of his prisoner, the Queen of Persia, and immediately after, another came to announce her death; whereupon he instantly went to *the tent*, where the mother of Darius was sitting by the body of her daughter-in-law." There seems to be a contradiction here. We are told that he was actually marching at the moment when he heard of the Queen's illness. Immediately after, he heard of her death, and then he went to her tent, though nothing is said of the encamping in the meanwhile.

However, Curtius, by making another march, will bring the distance nearer to that assigned by Arrian, for the interval of the two camps; after which another movement is mentioned by Curtius before the final position preceding the battle. The only difference then between them will be in time, which here happens to be of no consequence. But on the whole, I must again repeat, I rely most on Arrian.

We have now to establish the position of Darius's camp, concerning which our data are rather more positive than those we possess as to Alexander's, since the situation of the ford of the Tigris, from which Alexander's subsequent movements are to be calculated, can only be conjectured (partly from those movements); whereas it is positively asserted that Darius was encamped on the Bumadus.

We now come to the establishment of positions by the termination of the affair. Curtius (lib. iv. p. 51) says Mazæus's corps of cavalry retreated not by the straight road, *i. e.* to Arbela, but by a longer, and therefore safer, circuitous one (non recto itinere, sed majore, et ob id tutiore circuitu, Tigrin superat), by which he passed the Tigris, and retreated to Babylon. It would seem therefore that the battle was not fought near the Tigris.

Darius passed the Zab, and traversing a very considerable tract of country, "ingens spatium fugâ emensus" (p. 513), reached Arbela at midnight.

Alexander moderated the pursuit, and arriving at the bridge of the Zab, found it covered with the flying enemies. It has been observed that the crossing of the Bumadus is not mentioned after the battle, and the inference drawn is that the battle was fought between the Bumadus and the Lycus or Zab. But to one who has been on the ground, the reason of its not being mentioned is clear. It afforded no difficulty in passing, not being above the horses' knees, and being fordable anywhere there, on foot or horseback, without the slightest inconvenience; and therefore it would not be worth mentioning but as a station, where it marked the position of Darius. Darius encamped on the Bumadus. The action must clearly have taken place beyond that stream, unless he made a considerable retrograde movement as soon as he saw Alexander advancing, in order to allow of space for the battle,—a supposition which cannot for a moment be entertained. Besides the same objection concerning the non-mention of the Bumadus holds good respecting the advance as well as the retreat, for it is nowhere said that Alexander crossed the Bumadus in marching to Darius.

But to return from this digression: Alexander returned

APPENDIX.

III.

SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS

In the Collection of the late Mr. Rich, now deposited in the British Museum.

1. The Pentateuch, made up from fragments of three very ancient manuscripts. In quarto, vellum.
2. The Pentateuch, written probably in the fifteenth century. Two hundred and sixty-two leaves, in quarto, cotton paper.
3. The Pentateuch, written probably in the sixteenth century. Two hundred and seventy-two leaves, in small quarto, paper.
4. The Pentateuch, written in A.D. 1724. Two hundred and ninety-two leaves, in quarto, paper.

5—7. The Old Testament. In three volumes, folio, written between the years 1812—1820, at Telkephe, or Keif, near Mousul, paper.

8. The Prophets, a very ancient MS. One hundred and eighty-nine leaves, the greater part vellum. In quarto.
9. Ruth; an extract from the Second Book of Samuel, and the Song of Solomon. Nineteen leaves, in quarto, paper.
10. The Psalms, as read in the churches of the Jacobites, written A.D. 1204. One hundred and eighty-two leaves, small quarto, vellum.
11. The Psalms; a copy prepared for use in churches, written A.D. 1220. Fifty-three leaves, in quarto, vellum.
12. The Psalms; to which is subjoined a collection of

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(Referred to at p. 15, Vol. ii.)

1. At our camp. Base corrected, 100 yards. A, at my tent, where all the astronomical observations were taken. B, about N. 25 E. from it. Minaret bore from A, S. 2 E. Castle signal, S. 55½ E.

The castle was difficult to set, on account of its being a large circular mound, with houses all round its edge. At last I discovered a small staff, with something on the end of it sticking up above a house in the S.W. face of the circle of houses which crowned its summit, near the W. end. This I found was distinguishable from every station, and I accordingly selected it for the signal at the castle. The ends A and B of my base were marked by spears.

Troughton's sextant; angles corrected for instrument error.—

Station 1, at A.

1. Angle (mean of 3), minaret, and B, 112° 16′ 25″.

Note.—Rather a difficult angle, as the wind made the spear at B vibrate a little.

2. Minaret and castle, 52° 54′ 15″.

Angle taken several times with no variation.

The point of the minaret chosen was the N.W. or nearest edge of the octagonal base. This was the best defined line.

probably in the thirteenth century. One hundred and four leaves, in small quarto, vellum. Incomplete.

22. The Gospels, in the Philoxenian translation. Written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Two hundred and fifty-three leaves, in small quarto, cotton paper. Imperfect.

23. Fragments of the Gospel of St. Matthew, in the Philoxenian translation, written probably in the sixteenth century. Fifteen leaves, in small quarto, cotton paper.

24. Lessons from the Old and New Testament, read in the Nestorian churches on the Sundays and festivals throughout the year, written probably in the thirteenth century. One hundred and eighty-seven leaves. In quarto, cotton paper.

25. Lessons from the Gospels, read in the Jacobite churches, written probably in the twelfth century. Two hundred and forty-nine leaves, very large folio, vellum.

26. Lessons from the Gospels, read in the Jacobite church, written in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Two hundred and sixty-five leaves, very large folio, cotton paper.

27. Lessons from the Gospels, read in the Jacobite church, written A.D. 1173. One hundred and forty-six leaves, in quarto, vellum.

28. Lessons from the Gospels, read in the Jacobite church. This volume is made up of fragments of two manuscripts, which appear to be both at least of the fourteenth century. One hundred and seventy-five leaves, in folio, cotton paper.

29. Lessons from the Gospels, read in the Nestorian churches. One hundred and thirty-one leaves, in folio, vellum.

Azimuth angle, between Mount Makloube and the sun's nearest or N. limb.

N.B. The mountain being a considerable body, I had great difficulty in determining what part of it to set. I at last made choice of the highest, or western part of it; but I fear this will cause some little uncertainty in the result.

Angle mountain, and ⊙ N. limb, corrected for instruments' error.

60° 36′ 30″
— 31′ 30″
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Bearings from the minaret with the surveying-compass.

Highest part of Makloube, N. 46 W.

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40. A Commentary on the Gospels, by Dionysius Bar Salibi, written A.D. 1516. Three hundred and twenty-eight leaves, in folio, cotton paper.
41. A Commentary on the Apocalypse, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of the New Testament, by Dionysius Bar Salibi, written probably in the fourteenth century. Two hundred and thirty-seven leaves, in small quarto, cotton paper.
42. The *Horreum Mysteriorum*, a Commentary on the Sacred Scriptures, by Gregorius Bar-Hebræus, written probably in the fourteenth century. Two hundred and twenty leaves, in quarto, cotton paper.
43. Some Orations of Gregory of Nazianz, written probably in the tenth century. One hundred and eighty leaves, in quarto, vellum.
44. Fragments of a very ancient collection of homilies, written probably in or before the ninth century. Forty-six leaves, in quarto, vellum.
45. Theological Discourses, ascribed to Hierotheus, written probably in the fifteenth century. One hundred and sixty-seven leaves, in folio, cotton paper.
46. A collection of theological tracts by various authors, written probably in the thirteenth century. Three hundred and seventy-five leaves, in quarto, vellum.
47. Fragments of the controversial tracts of Peter the Younger, Patriarch of Antioch, against Damianus, written probably in the tenth century. One hundred and seventy-three leaves, in quarto, vellum.
48. Fragments and short treatises, chiefly theological, written probably about the tenth century. Seventy-seven leaves, in quarto, vellum.
49. The "Book of Treasures" of Jacob Bartelensis, written

Hareer, Koreh, Deireh, or new Hareer, anciently called Diween*, Zirari, Baherka, and Gerdeh.

The capital, or New Hareer, now called Deireh, is N. 10 E. from our camp at Arbil, in the broken hilly country, a continuation of Shuan. Old Hareer, the capital of the Soran family, but now in ruins, is N. 15 E. of our camp, over the first range of mountains, and the continuation of Azmir. Behind it again is a very high mountain, I *believe* Zagros. Then comes the district of Koshnav, separated from Hareer by the high mountain.

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Harmoota is another Chaldean village, half an hour from Keuy Sanjiak.

With respect to the relative positions of the principal places to the East, the best of my information is as follows:—

Old Hareer is about three hours and a half from the Zerb or Zab.

From Keuy Sanjiak, fourteen hours for a horseman, through difficult mountains.

From Arbil, twelve horseman's hours.

The Zab separates Hareer from the territory of Akra, in Amadia.

* In Chaldean, spelt *Adebin*. In Armenia Major there was likewise a city of this name.—*See* Assemanni, vol. iii. De Syris Nestorianis, p 2.

IV.

Journal of Bearings and Distances, &c. from Bagdad to Sulimania; to the frontiers of Persia; from Sulimania to Nineveh and Mousul; from Mousul down the Tigris to Bagdad; and from Bagdad down the Tigris to Bussora.

Bearings of the Compass, Distances, &c., between Bagdad and Sulimania.

April 17.—Left Hajee Bey's garden at $7^h\ 15^m$, A.M., and arrived at our camp near Dokhala, at $12^h\ 45^m$. Yenijeh hence bore S. 20 W.; Howeish, S. 60 W.; Dokhala, N. 70 W., half a mile distant.

April 18.—Mounted at $6^h\ 15^m$, A.M.; road to Toprak Kalaa. At $8^h\ 45^m$ alighted at Seyid Mukhsen Pauk, a little imaum on a canal from the Khalis. At $9^h\ 45^m$ mounted again; and at $11^h\ 45^m$ alighted at an old dry canal. From Toprak Kalaa, the general direction of our road N. 10 E.; but we often turned out of it to avoid the deep mire.

Bearings with the small surveying-compass from the camp—

Imaum Mujedid, S. 72 W., half a mile.

Musabbah Khan, N. 86 E., distant less than a mile.

Abdullah Ben Ali, S. 43 E., in the district of Khorassan.

Hediet, S. 43 W. in the district of Khalis.

Nahr ul Aswad, S. 51 W., in the district of Khalis.

Hopehop, S. 63 W.

Doltova, N. 86 W.

Bash Tchaier, or Kior Yenijeh, N. 53 W.

⊙ N. Limb., N. 70 W.

APPENDIX.

From the top of the mount at Karatepeh I got the following sights:—

Sidalan, S. 45 E., one hour and a half off.

Baradan, S. 18 E., five hours.

Table Hill, over Shehriban in the Hamreen, S. 7 E.

April 25.—Marched at 5h 30m A.M., N. 10 E., over the gravelly hills, on the western declivity of which Karatepeh is situated; slope extremely gentle; descended then into a small valley; then over an arm of the hills; from which we descended by a long slope to the Tchemen bridge at 7h 30m; thence N. to the broad torrent at 8h 30m; over a plain and by Telescian. At 9h 10m alighted, just after entering on another elevation, also by a very gentle slope. At 9h 40m mounted again; and at 11h arrived at Kifri.

April 26, 27.—Halted at Kifri.

April 28.—Mounted at 5h 40m, A.M.; our road S. 75 W., across a range of gravelly hills proceeding from the Kifri hills. In like manner subordinate gravelly hills branch out from Hamreen above Karatepeh, and from the Zengabad range. At 6h 30m our course W., still in the hills. At 7h left them, and entered the Beiat plain, which slopes down very gently from the Kifri hills to the basin of the Tchemen; course N. 85 W. At 7h 30m, a ravine, with a small stream of rain-water in it; thence N. 80 W. At 8h, N. 55 W. At 8h 20m, Kuru Tchai, a broad torrent bed, with a little rain-water in it. Halted at Beiat camp. Mounted again at 9h, road N. 45 W. At 9h 30m, Kizzel Kharaba, a ruin on the road. From Kizzel Kharaba, N. 50 W. At 10h 30m another tepeh, or ruin; 10h 45m, large Beiat village; 11h 10m, another large village. We have now lost sight of the Hamreen hills, which were on our left all day, by their running off more W. Toozkhoormattee now came in sight, bearing N. 20 W. About a quarter of an hour before coming to

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The castle was difficult to set, on account of its being a large circular mound, with houses all round its edge. At last I discovered a small staff, with something on the end of it sticking up above a house in the S.W. face of the circle of houses which crowned its summit, near the W. end. This I found was distinguishable from every station, and I accordingly selected it for the signal at the castle. The ends A and B of my base were marked by spears.

Troughton's sextant; angles corrected for instrument error.—

Station 1, at A.

1. Angle (mean of 3), minaret, and B, 112° 16′ 25″.

Note.—Rather a difficult angle, as the wind made the spear at B vibrate a little.

2. Minaret and castle, 52° 54′ 15″.

Angle taken several times with no variation.

The point of the minaret chosen was the N.W. or nearest edge of the octagonal base. This was the best defined line.

the chain appears again to bend westerly. At 7h, N. 45 W. Here the gypsum range appears, but I believe does not really terminate, or rather it becomes a low range of gravelly hills, inclining towards the W. At 7h 20m our road N. 20 W. At 7h 40m the Minaret of Taook became visible. I went to a little hill, part of the gravelly branch, and had the good fortune to see both Taook and Toozkhoormattee at once, at the extreme N. and S. points of the horizon. Taook, N. 15 W.; Toozkhoormattee, S. 15 E. Hence also I saw that the gypsous range appeared suddenly broken down at its north extremity, the western edge of which sends out the gravelly line along which we have been travelling for an hour. On the east of the north abrupt termination, it sweeps off easterly. The intermediate space is a basin, filled with pebbles or gravelly hills. At 10h we reached Taook Tchai, which rises in Koordistan a little on the right of our proposed road, and passing by Kara Hassan is there turned off into several streams. It forms the Adhaym when full of water, but when drawn off for irrigation it scarcely reaches the Tigris.

We entered Taook at 10h 20m.

The Ziyaret of Zein ul Abedeen, on a mount, bore N. 65 E. from our house. Distant two miles.

May 2.—Marched at 6h 15m, A.M.; our road N., leaving the Kerkook road on our left to the foot of the hills. The Hamreen just in sight on our left. At 7h 20m arrived at the village of Jumeila. We now began to ascend the range of hills; that is to say, the western range of the fork, sent out by the Kifri hills, at the place noted in my journal yesterday. They run N. W. to the village of Matara, from which they take their name*, a place noted in a former journal;

* The elevation of the Matara hills is, I think, less than that of Hamreen.

Azimuth angle, between Mount Makloube and the sun's nearest or N. limb.

N.B. The mountain being a considerable body, I had great difficulty in determining what part of it to set. I at last made choice of the highest, or western part of it; but I fear this will cause some little uncertainty in the result.

Angle mountain, and ⊙ N. limb, corrected for instruments' error.

60° 36′ 30″
— 31′ 30″
— 24′ 45″
— 20′ 15″

Bearings from the minaret with the surveying-compass.

Highest part of Makloube, N. 46 W.

Castle signal, N. 62° 30′ E.

Rewandiz, N. 24 E.

No other objects were sufficiently marked to be set; only general directions were pointed out.

In the morning on looking over my ground, I found I had taken the following angles with my pocket sextant. These are not now likely to be of use.

At the minaret.

Castle signal, my tent, 63° 37′ 30″.

Green tent, 64° 22′ 00″.

I found it was impossible to see the signals of my base from the minaret, as they were thin spears of a brown colour, which projected themselves on the ground. The third angle must therefore be concluded.

on our left all the way. At 7h 30m we descended into a valley formed by a little stream, which rushes down to join the Leilan. Here we halted for half an hour, and then rode on, and arrived at Yusuf Aga's camp at 8h 30m. Our whole stage, deducting the half-hour's halt, was two hours and a half.

May 4.—We mounted at 5h 30m A.M.; road N. along the valley of the Leilan water. At 6h 15m, road N. 40 E. At 6h 30m, N. 55 E. At 7h, N. 25 E. At 7h 20m, N. 60 E. At 7h 45m, N. 80 E. At 8h, N. 75 E.

We now left the Leilan, which has its source hard by, and crossed the range of hills going about N. W.; and what I call the plateau having risen gradually to near its summit, these hills differing in no respect from the plateau. Here the streams run down to Koordistan. At 8h 50m we descended by a direct but not difficult descent, N. 70 E., which in twenty minutes brought us to the first *landing-place*. Hence we descended by an extremely gentle slope, in N. 45 E., to Tchemtchemal. At 10h halted at Tchemtchemal.

I had some good sights with the surveying-compass, and there was luckily a horizon which enabled me to take an amplitude for correcting the observations.

The observations were as follows:—

The pass of Derbent N. 54½ E. Var. 7° 21. True bearing N. 47° 9′ E.

Summit of Goodroon, N. 60 E.

Keuy Sanjiak, over the Khalkhalan mountans, N. 22½ W. Distant twelve hours in a straight line.

Derbent i Basterra, or Basirra, in the Karadagh mountains, S. 67½ E.

Seghirmeh, S. 53 E.

Dilleo mountain, S. 39 E.

Hareer, Koreh, Deireh, or new Hareer, anciently called Diween*, Zirari, Baherka, and Gerdeh.

The capital, or New Hareer, now called Deireh, is N. 10 E. from our camp at Arbil, in the broken hilly country, a continuation of Shuan. Old Hareer, the capital of the Soran family, but now in ruins, is N. 15 E. of our camp, over the first range of mountains, and the continuation of Azmir. Behind it again is a very high mountain, I *believe* Zagros. Then comes the district of Koshnav, separated from Hareer by the high mountain.

Great care must be taken in collecting information from these people, to distinguish between Old and New Hareer.

When they say Hareer, they generally mean the modern capital of that name.

Shaklawa is a Chaldean village *over* the broken hills. Between them and the Azmir range, about N.E. from our camp.

Harmoota is another Chaldean village, half an hour from Keuy Sanjiak.

With respect to the relative positions of the principal places to the East, the best of my information is as follows:—

Old Hareer is about three hours and a half from the Zerb or Zab.

From Keuy Sanjiak, fourteen hours for a horseman, through difficult mountains.

From Arbil, twelve horseman's hours.

The Zab separates Hareer from the territory of Akra, in Amadia.

* In Chaldean, spelt *Adebin*. In Armenia Major there was likewise a city of this name.—*See* Assemanni, vol. iii. De Syris Nestorianis, p 2.

N. 75 E., and immediately ascended the hill, which we had kept on our left all day; and at $9^h\ 45^m$ arrived in the vale of Sulimania. Sulimania was visible under the hills which bound the valley on the E., and which are the range of which Goodroon is a part. Our road was now S. 50 E., and at 10^h we arrived at our place of encampment.

In the evening, from the door of the tent, I had the following sights with the surveying-compass.

Summit of Goodroon, N. 2 E.

Kerwanan, the ruin on the little hills which appear to close the vale of Sulimania on the north, N. 6 W.

Sulimania, S. 76 E.

The Avroman mountains (about the centre), S. 50 E.

Kilespeh, the artificial mount distant half a mile, S. 45 E.

May 7.—At $5^h\ 50^m$ A.M. we mounted, and directed our course towards the Goodroon chain, in an oblique direction. Our road lay over hills sent forth by the Goodroon range, and interrupted with valleys. At 8^h we crossed a broad but shallow torrent called Tchaktchak, which descends from Goodroon. In five minutes more we came to the Sertchinar. The Sertchinar is only separated from the Tchaktchak by a little eminence. On the east of Sertchinar, separated from it by a little hill, in like manner as it is from Tchaktchak on the W., is another stream, but less than either of the others. This and the Tchaktchak are only torrents, which are I believe dry in the summer. They all unite in the plain.

May 8.—Marched at $5^h\ 40^m$ A.M., and pursuing our way gently along the foot of the hills, with much ascending and descending, arrived at our camp before Sulimania at $6^h\ 40^m$.

Bearings of the Compass distances, &c. between Sulimania, Sinna, Bana, and back to Sulimania.

JOURNEY TO KIZZELJEE.

July 17.—Left Sulimania at $3^h\ 40^m$, A.M., and took the Giozeh road to pass the chain of bare hills which bound Sulimania on the east.

We reached the foot of the hills by a gentle ascent all the way from Sulimania, at $4^h\ 15^m$, and immediately began the ascent, first in the dry bed of a torrent for a few minutes, and then on the steep face of the hill. At $4^h\ 50^m$, by a very steep path, we reached the summit; hence Sulimania bore S. 75 W.; before us was the plain—I call it so merely to distinguish it from the hills (for, strictly speaking, there was not a level spot in it) of Suarojik and Shehribazar, terminated on the south by a defile, whence either *our* mountains, or a branch of them, turned round and bounded it on the east*.

Our descent was N., along the east face of the wall; we arrived at the bottom at 6^h; thus the ascent occupied thirty-five minutes, and the descent one hour and ten minutes. The rest of our journey was N. 50 E.

We halted at Benawillee at $6^h\ 15^m$, and mounted again at $6^h\ 45^m$. At $7^h\ 30^m$, descended a steep hill, and arrived at our *Konak*, the village of Gherradeh, in the district of Shehribazar.

July 18.—At 4^h, A.M. we set off, shaping our course

* This is the Kurree Kazhav, running towards Kizzeljee.

due E. to the hills, or rather mountains. At 4^h 30^m we went N. 50 E., on a ridge with a small dell on the left, and a very deep and large glen on the right, which glen runs nearly E. and W., and at its eastern extremity is shut up by a *col*, which divides it from another similar glen, and the south sides of both these glens rise at once into a high mountain, part of the range mentioned above.

Our road gradually ascended. At 5^h we reached the hills at an opening in them, corresponding with the *col* or east head of the glen on our right. Hence mount Goodroon bore N. 60 W.

We now descended by a steep road, and kept winding in a defile of the mountains. The general direction N. 50 E. At 6^h 20^m we alighted. Mounted at 7^h. Our road the rest of the way, N. 80 E. At 7^h 20^m, crossed the Tenguzhee river.

From the banks of the Tenguzhee we rose immediately by a very steep ascent, which occupied thirty minutes at *a good hard pull*. On our right was the Tenguzhee, which has cut a passage for itself through the mountain. The descent, which commenced immediately, for what we crossed was a ridge, occupied half an hour, but was more gradual than the ascent. Our level was consequently much higher. We now wound among the hills, ascending and descending, and at 9^h 40^m, having turned out of the road south for a few minutes, arrived at the village of Doladreizh. On our right, and not far from us, were the high mountains of Kazhan, or Kurree Kazhav. The face of the country was mountainous.

July 19.—At 3^h 45^m, A.M., mounted, and in a few minutes were out of the little valley of Doladreizh. The general direction of our road was a little S. of E., but we wound much among woods. We soon began a steep ascent; I think

the highest and steepest I had yet seen; we attained the summit at 6^h, the ascent having occupied forty minutes, for half an hour of which it was almost perpendicular. Hence the Kurree Kazhav mountain bore due W., and seemed to run in a S. E. direction. Goodroon reared its bare rocky head in N. 65 W., above all the other mountains. We immediately began to descend into the plain, through which meandered the river of Kizzeljee, which afterwards ran through a vale on our left, and taking a north course, goes through the district of Siwel, and discharges itself into the Kiupri Soo. Its source is at the foot of the Persian mountains; that of the Kiupri Soo is at Lajan. In about forty minutes we reached the foot of the mountain, which runs nearly N. and S. here, or rather N. W. and S. E.; and here the road branches into two, that on the left going N. E. to Beestan, the capital of the district of Kizzeljee, two hours off; and that on the right, about south to Ahmed Kulwan, the proposed place of our residence.

We rode S. along the foot of the hills. At $7^h\ 30^m$ we arrived at our cantonment under the hills, about one mile N. E. of Ahmed Kulwan.

FROM KIZZELJEE TO BEESTAN.

August 1.—We set off at $5^h\ 15^m$, A.M., and keeping the hills close on our left, at 6^h arrived at the river of Kizzeljee, where it forces itself a passage through the mountains. This place is N. from Ahmed Kulwan. We now left the mountains, and stretching across the plain, came to a line which branches out E. from them. Crossing this, we saw a vale, through which a river winds; a similar line of hills bound it on the other side. The river is called Tatan, or the Beestan river. Keeping the mountains we had just crossed

on our right, we arrived at 7^h 30^m at Beestan. Beestan lies N. 10 E. by the compass from Ahmed Kulwan. Banna N. 10 E. of Beestan, five hours distant.

FROM BEESTAN TO PENJWEEN.

August 13.—Left Beestan at 5^h, A.M.; and riding through the plain of Tatan, or Beestan, crossed the hills which surround it, and descended into that of Ahmed Kulwan, or the plain of the Kizzeljee river; crossed it easterly, and arrived at Penjween at 9, A.M., having been delayed a quarter of an hour on the way. From hence, our old station at Ahmed Kulwan bore N. 55 W., distant one hour's good pace of a horseman. The old castle of Kizzeljee N. 45 W. Caravans go in eight days from Penjween to Hamadan, to Sinna in four.

FROM PENJWEEN TO SINNA.

August 20.—I resolved on setting out for Sinna, in which I have for my object the visiting the chain of Zagros, with its hitherto unknown pass of Garran, and fixing the position of the capital of Persian Koordistan.

We set out at 5^h, A.M.

At 6^h we entered Persia. The Kizzeljee river soon disappeared to the right, behind the hills that now separate the plain, which turns more S. On ascending a little eminence at 7^h 30^m, we saw the lake Zeribar; in the background were the wild rocky mountains of Avroman.

Hitherto our general direction was about S. 70 E. Hence to Kai Khosroo Bey's tents bore S. At 9^h 15^m we arrived at the camp of Kai Khosroo Bey, about two miles S. of the lake. Surena bears N. Ardbaba, the peaked summit over Banna N. 10 W. The bare precipices of Avroman bear due S., and extend westward, overlooking Shehrizoor,

whose plains are separated from us by the hills which come down from Ahmed Kulwan to Penjween, and thence to the lake, and down to Avroman, which hills we have kept on our right all day.

Between Avroman and Zagros is a narrow valley, through which runs a direct road to Kermanshah, called the Shamian road. Its direction is S. 35 E. Through it runs a little river, which comes down from Garran.

The chain of Zagros is bare and high. It is visible at intervals from Ardbaba and Surena, which I am now satisfied are part of Zagros, N. 10 W., and N. to S. 30 E.

Hajee Ahmed, the part of Zagros to which the Jofs retire in summer, lies N. 60 E.

August 21.—Mounted at 5^h 30^m, A.M., and proceeded down the valley formed by a prolongation of the hill of Merivan on the S., and of the hills of Zeribar on the N., in the general direction noted yesterday, viz., N. 85 E., and 7^h 30^m arrived at Gueiza Kwera.

August 22.—We were off by 5^h, A.M., and proceeded through a hilly, but open country, till 6^h, when we came to the entrance of a narrow valley formed by two stupendous cliffs. The small river of Asrabad, or Garran, flows through the pass. It flows into the Diala. Our direction to the bridge, N. 70 W., thence S. 70 E.

At 7^h 50^m we came to the foot of a very steep ascent, still in the same direction, the road not winding much; at a slow progress it occupied us forty-five minutes in ascending. At 8^h 35^m we reached the top of the *col*, and almost immediately began to descend. At 9^h 5^m we reached the foot of the pass—halted. This pass is called Garran. The pass of Ardbaba to Banna is easier.

At 10^h 35^m we mounted again. Our road S. 70 E. At

11h, 20 E. At 11h 45m we came to a little river, called Kakor Zekria. It falls into the Diala. Hence N. 70 E.

At 12h 15m, N. 50 E. At 12h 55m we struck out of the high road up a very narrow valley, and at 1h 5m arrived at the village of Jenawera.

August 23.—Mounted at 5h 30m, A.M., S. 50. E. till we reached the road in half an hour. The general direction then S. 80 E. all day.

At 6h 50m an artificial mount in a narrow valley. After having ascended almost all the way from Jenawara, we descended about a quarter of an hour, and arrived at the foot of the descent at 8h. We immediately rose again by a very steep ascent, of which we attained the summit at 8h 30m, and had a fine view of the line of Zagros. The descent was inconsiderable.

At 9h 10m we arrived at the tents belonging to the villagers of Berruder, in a narrow valley.

August 24.—At 5h 30m, A.M. we mounted. Soon after leaving the village we crossed a pretty high hill. Our road all the day wound through very narrow valleys, among the hills, through which ran a little stream, whose course was *easterly*. It goes towards Gavro and falls into the Diala. The Kakor Zekria runs westerly. It goes to Shamian, and thence round in the direction of Gavro, and falls into the Diala.

At 8h we alighted on the banks of the little river. At 8h 40m we mounted again, and at 9h 40m arrived at the village of Doweisa.

Our stage to day was three hours and twenty minutes. The direction northward of east.

Sinna bears S. 10 E. of Doweisa, distance three farsakhs.

August 25.—Mounted at 6h 30m, A.M. The country

more open. The level, as we approached Sinna, descended to it. Behind the town it again rose, and after several breaks and hills, terminated in the high ridge of the Bazir Khani hills, running N. and S. The roads to Hamadan and Teheraun go over this range, which is of no great length.

We proceeded slowly. When we came near the town we turned off to the right to the garden of Khosrooabad, which is less than a quarter of a mile from the town, in S. 60 W. We arrived at the gate of the garden at $9^h\ 50^m$.

FROM SINNA TO BANNA.

August 30.—At $5^h\ 45^m$, A.M. we quitted Sinna, immediately after leaving which we rose, and continued gently ascending all the march. At 8^h, on our left, saw the village of Sarukamish. At $8^h\ 30^m$ began ascending the height of Allah u Khodah, whose summit we reached, by a gentle acclivity, at $9^h\ 45^m$. This mountain joins or forms the Bazir Khani range, and winds from Zagros, which we saw towering above all the other parallel ranges on our left. Before us were still hills; also on our right, or east-south-east. N. 60 E. of us were the plains of Ban Leilac in the distance, with the tops of some high mountains just appearing. Above us on all sides were craggy summits. We wound along the side of the hills for some time, and at $10^h\ 20^m$ began to descend by a very gentle descent. This mountain runs N. E. At $11^h\ 10^m$ we reached the village of Baienkho, in the province of Hassanabad. Our general direction to-day due N. (allowing for variation). Our stage to-day called four farsakhs, which I find in this part of Persia is more than the hour.

August 31.—Mounted at $5^h\ 40^m$. N. 45 E. to a dell. At 6^h, N. 15 W., up the dell. At $6^h\ 15^m$, N. 15 E., over

a hill. The rest of the way due N. At 9h 40m arrived at the tents of the villagers of Gulaneh. Gulaneh, a frontier village, between the provinces of Hasnabad and Kara Towrow.

In the evening got the following sights with the surveying compass; as also an amplitude for correcting them.

A table mountain. On the other side of it is the town of Bijar, the capital of the district of Geerroos, in Aderbijan, dependent on Abbas Mirza. Bijar, distant eight farsakhs. Mountain, bearing N. 77 E. This mountain is part of the chain of Aivan Serai. Kara Towrow, a long flat mountain, where is the capital of the district of the same name, belonging to Sinna, N. 42 E., five farsakhs. On the N., bounding the horizon, and coming round to Bijar, is the line of the Aivan Serai hills. Aivan Serai is a Koordish corruption of Ayub el Ansari, whose tomb they pretend is in these hills. Between us is a broken plain, looking like a troubled sea, that had suddenly become solid.

⊙ North limb at setting, N. 72 W.—Var. 7° 11′ W.

September 1.—Mounted at 5h 30m, A.M., and directed our course N. 70 W., to the hilly tract on our left. We had several ascents and descents. At 6h 50m, a very steep descent to the Kizzel Ozan. Its head is about two farsakhs off to the left, or W., in the Abbas Bey mountain. It runs easterly, and goes hence to Maiendoav.

Immediately after passing the Kizzel Ozan we ascended again. We are now evidently at a great elevation above the sea. All this part seems to be a plateau intersected by ravines.

At 8h 30m, N. 15 E., in a valley which gradually narrowed into a ravine. At 9h 30m we ascended the extremity of it; then N. 15 W. to the village of Kelekowa, situated in a valley, into which we descended, and arrived at the

village at 9h 55m. Passed through the village, and proceeding N. 40 W., up the valley, came to its termination, where the tents of the villagers were pitched. Here we halted at 10h 10m. We are now in the district of Hobetoo, and still on the Tabreez road, which we quit to-morrow.

September 2.—We mounted at 6h, A.M. The valley continues in a north direction, and through it runs the road to Sakiz and Tabreez. Our road lay over the hills which form the valley, in N. 70 W., in which direction we continued the whole of the day, though with some windings.

The country rose gradually, but very perceptibly, from the moment we left the village. We were on a plateau, and surrounded by craggy summits and lines of hills terminating in the plateau. One on our left adjoins Hajee Ahmed, and covers it from us. Hajee Ahmed is about S. W. of us, distant four farsakhs. All the line of hills appear to run N. E. and S. W. to Zagros.

At 8h we descended by a steep road, which occupied about a quarter of an hour, into a narrow valley winding between high hills, in which we continued the rest of the march. We alighted at 9h 30m at a little spring. Mounted again at 10h, and at 11h arrived at the village of Soormoosi, in the district of Khorkhoora.

September 3.—Mounted at 6h A.M., and continued winding in the valley about N. 60 W. At 6h 45m we left the valley, which continues on to Doulet Kalaa, and struck over the hills which bound it on the S. Much winding; first N. 80 W. We wound round the mountains. At 7h 30m we descended into a narrow glen, and immediately rose again; and at 8h 20m turned W., in which course we continued, winding considerably the rest of the way. At 8h 45m, we descended to a little stream called the Khorkhoora river, Tchaltchemeh, a considerable mountain, where the stream

which falls into the Kizzeljee rises, was on our left. Khosroo Khan, a chain of mountains, on the side of which, under the summit, is the village we are going to, before us. Sakiz is about N. W. of us, on the other side of the Khosroo Khan. The course of all the mountains is from S. W. at Zagros, to N. E., where most of them lose themselves in the plateau we have passed. Hence we ascended up the sides of a rocky glen, and at ten o'clock arrived at Kara Bokhra.

Sakiz, the capital of the district, is due N. of us, distant six farsakhs, by a very bad road; or seven, by a rather better one. It is on the other side of the Khosroo Khan mountains. From Kara Bokhra to Serkhuari i Shelal, the capital of Teratool, four hours. Thence to Beestan, four hours.

September 4.—We left the village of Kara Bokhra at $6^h\ 15^m$, A.M.; and, quitting the glen, ascended the hill which joins the N. side of it to the fort, in N. 25 W., which we attained in ten minutes. We then wound along the tops of the hills W. for five minutes, and then S. 35 W. At $7^h\ 5^m$ we began to descend in S. 20 W., and reached the bottom at $7^h\ 35^m$. Here we found ourselves in a narrow rocky valley among the hills, in which, and in its ramifications, we continued the rest of the day. The road continually ascended and descended.

From the mountains we saw mount Khelli Khan, with Zagros, or a part of it. From the foot of the mountains, S. 60 W. At 8^h we reached a village named Hajee Mahommedan; thence rising a little, we suddenly descended to the village of Soota. Here we stopped at $8^h\ 30^m$. At $9^h\ 45^m$ we mounted, direction S. 40 W. At $9^h\ 50^m$ N. 80 W. At $10^h\ 30^m$, S. 70 W. Here we descended, and crossed the little stream which occupied the bottom of the ravine, and at $10^h\ 55^m$ reached the village of Seifatala, where we halted. At $11^h\ 30^m$ we mounted again. At $1^h\ 30^m$ halted:

at 2^h mounted; and at 2^h 15^m, N. 40 W.; we arrived at the village of Meek at 2^h 45^m. Meek is in the district of Sakiz.

September 5.—At 7^h, A.M., we left Meek, and ascended a hill by a long path, which occupied ten minutes, to a point which bore S. 20 W. from the village. Here we wound the hill to the place from whence the descent to the village of Bayandereh commences. Halted. At 10^h 30^m mounted. At 11^h 45^m, having ascended considerably, we reached the top of the steepest ascent we had yet seen. It occupied above half an hour. It is called Kelli Balin, and is just a col joining two mountains, which are part of Zagros. The two mountains here form a valley, which goes to Banna. Our general direction to-day was S. 70 W.

At 1^h 15^m we arrived at the village of Surene. Surene is situated in a valley formed by two branches of Zagros. The west one seems to be the hill we crossed laterally, coming to the vale of Bayandereh. From the col to the village it is about S. 70 W.; it then turns off more south, and returns again to Banna. The three points which we saw from Ahmed Kulwan and Zeribar are about S. 50 W. from Surene, and Banna lies in N. 83 W.

September 6.—Left Surene at 6^h 5^m, A.M., and proceeded through the valley. At 7^h passed on our right hand the village of Bjae. Soon after the valley and mountains wound more southerly. At 7^h 35^m a pass opened through the mountains leading to Kizzeljee. At 9^h 35^m we arrived at our station at Ahmedabad, on the Ardbaba hills, part of the west chain of Zagros, just ten minutes' walk of a horse, S. 20 E. of Banna.

Our tents were a little way up the hill of Ardbaba, the peaked summit of which is just over us S. 20 W.

The following directions were pointed out to me from our Camp:—

Sakiz N. E.; distant six farsakhs.

Saook Boulak N. 10 E.; thirteen farsakhs.

Serdesht N. 25 W.; six farsakhs.

DEPARTURE FROM BANNA.

September 10.—We left Banna at $12^h\ 30^m$, P.M.; road N. 45 W., through the plain. At 1^h, entered a narrow valley. At $1^h\ 45^m$, N. 80 W., still in the valley. At $1^h\ 45^m$, W.; ascended a little ridge out of the road; reached the village of Swearwea at 2^h; S. 68 W. of us is a high curiously-shaped mountain.

September 11.—At $7^h\ 30^m$, A.M. left Swearwea; and returning to our yesterday's road, which we reached in ten minutes, we proceeded in N. 75 W. through the valley.

At 9^h, where a vale opened into it, we struck off our road in N. 15 W. to the village of Nweizhgeh, situated on the hill that bounds the vale on the W., which we reached at $9^h\ 30^m$; our road to-day mostly level.

Bearings at Nweizgheh:—

Ardbaba, pointed summit, S. 49½ E.

Place where our camp was, at Banna, S. 53 E.

Another pointed mountain, S. 70 E.

September 12.—We marched at $7^h\ 25^m$, A.M., and proceeded S. 15 W. to the road we had quitted yesterday, which we reached at 8^h. We then went S. 50 W., and soon began to ascend. At $8^h\ 40^m$, halted for twenty minutes. At $9^h\ 40^m$, halted again on the summit. The mountain we are crossing is called Bloo, and runs nearly N. and S.

At $10^h\ 30^m$, after a short halt, we mounted again; and

in a few minutes came to the top of the mountain, from whence we descend into the Bebbeh territory *.

Our descent occupied above two hours, with very little interruption: it was very steep. At $12^h\ 30^m$ we arrived at the bottom, at the Berrozeh, or Banna water. It separates Persia from Turkey. It runs N. a little W., and falls into the Altoon Soo, above the Karatcholan water†. We did not quit the river much, but kept it on our right. At $1^h\ 45^m$ arrived at the village of Merwa, in the district of Aalan. The mountains here run about N. E. and S. W. Beyond a cleft called Bree they increase in height; and under this height lies Beytoosh, in N. 35 W.

September 13.—Set off at 7^h, A.M., and immediately commenced ascending the hill, towards the summit called Gimmo.

At $8^h\ 15^m$ reached the village of Deira. Halted. Mounted again at $9^h\ 10^m$. We continued ascending, but gently; and at $9^h\ 45^m$ reached the highest part, which forms an Alpine summit. The spot is called Hazar Kanian or the one thousand springs. Innumerable springs start from the ground; those on one side run down to the N. towards the Berozeh water, while a little farther on they escape down to the S., and join the Siwel water. We are now in the district of Siwel, which began on our leaving the village of Deira.

We had attained the highest part of our ascent; but still at a considerable height above us was Gimmo, and its fellow summit. We continued along under them. No road could have been better chosen to give me a notion of the chains and connexions of mountains. Parallel with us was the Soorkeo range, which, as I suspected, forms the Kizzeljee,

* That is to say, out of Persian into Turkish Koordistan.

† The Karatcholan water joins the Altoon Soo near Shinek.

or Tariler mountain. It sends forth a branch, which sweeps round from the Serseer mount, and then joins or forms that on which we now are. Our road due S. all day. Behind, or S. of this, is the Kurreh Kazhav mountain, running about S. E. towards the Tariler. The country between broken hills, ascending to either range respectively. At $10^h\ 25^m$ we halted; the southernmost of the two summits was just over us. Gimmo just before Hazar Kanian. Detained till $11^h\ 30^m$. At 1^h we began descending, where the line of hills diminished before meeting Serseer; and at 2^h arrived at the village of Kenaroo, in the district of Siwel.

Serseer, due S. of us, distant about a mile. Our road to-day was along the back, or ridge, of the Siwel mountain.

September 14.—At $6^h\ 30^m$, A.M. we mounted; road due S., down a glen to the foot of Serseer. At $6^h\ 45^m$ turned out of the glen to cross the continuation of our chain of yesterday, where it joins Serseer in S. 30 W. At 7^h, descended to the Siwel river, which runs by the foot of Serseer, then turns N. a little W., and joins the Karatcholan river at Mawrutt; after which they both run to the Altoon Soo.

We continued in the same direction until 8^h, when we descended S. 10 W., into the plain of Shehribazar. We now recognised our old friend Goodroon, and the Giozeh hills bare and regular, extending like a rampart, as far as the eye could reach. On the N. W., high, rocky, and bare mountains, apparently connected with Goodroon, and running towards Serdesht.

At $8^h\ 40^m$ we descended into a deep valley formed by the Karatcholan river, where the town of Karatcholan, the old capital of Koordistan, was situated. We alighted at Sulimanava, a garden-house just outside the town.

N.B. The Siwel water is formed by the Kizzeljee and

Beestan streams. It runs by the north side of Serseer. The Karatcholan river is the same as the Tenguzee, which it joins in the direction of Doladreizh, and runs through the Kurree Kazhav mountains. Just opposite the site of the old city, it receives the Tchungura, which comes from Surotchik.

Bearings from Sulimanava, near Karatcholan :—

Karatcholan, S. 70 E., half a mile.

The top of Azmir road, S. 30 W.

Serseer (the centre), N. 65 E.

Goodroon, N. 75 W.

Koorka, a high round mountain, in the distance N. 43 E.

Koorkoor, N. 30 E. These are both connected with Azmir, and form the line we saw from Merweh. On this side is Ghellala and Shinek; on the other Merga. Azmir runs to Khoshnav. Gavian is about N. 80 W.

The province of Shehrizoor winds round easterly.

Giozeh, or Azmir, touches Avroman, and then is said to run through Zehav to the Tauk.

The Kurree Kazhav begins at Giozeh, and slants south-east up to the Tariler.

September 15.—We mounted at $6^h\ 10^m$, A.M. Our road, after leaving the valley, or hollow bed of the Karatcholan river, ascended gently the whole way. At $7^h\ 30^m$ we reached the foot of Azmir, and in ten minutes began to ascend the steepest part, by a road which zigzagged up the face of the hill. At 8^h we reached the summit; our direction has hitherto been S. 35 W. We now went S. for five minutes, on a level along the top of the hill; and at $8^h\ 5^m$ began to descend, still S. At $8^h\ 30^m$ we reached the bottom of the principal descent, and proceeded still S., and descending gently through a narrow valley formed by the mountain. The level descends from the foot of the principal descent to

Sulimania, in about the same degree as it rises from the Karatcholan to the foot of the principal ascent.

At 8h 50m, S. 45 W., through an opening in the mountain, into the plain of Sulimania, in which we arrived at 9h. Hence Sulimania bore S. 20 W. At 10h we reached our tents at the Tcharbagh, or Pasha's garden, at Sulimania.

I have thus finished a journey productive of much advantage. I have inspected a most curious and interesting part of Koordistan, scarcely any point of which is known; and the routes I pursued, which often depended on mere accident, always turned out to be the best for giving me a general idea of the country, and the very ones I should have chosen to survey it, had I previously known enough to form a general plan of proceeding.

Journal of Bearings and Distances, &c. from Sulimania to Nineveh and Mousul, through Arbela.

October 21.—Left the Tcharbaugh at Sulimania at 6h 45m, A.M. Course N. 80 W. At 7h 30m, N. 60 W. At 7h 45m at the Tanjeroo, about a mile and a half below Sertchinar; it runs S. At 7h 50m, N. 80 W. At 8h 30m, N. 60 W. At 8h 35m, village of Barun-mirdeh: thence, S. 70 W., to the village of Kelespee, watered by a little stream going S., a little E., to the Tangeroo or Sertchinar river. Goodroon just opposite. The W. range of hills about two miles and a half off. They grow higher as they proceed southwards. Farther on, behind Goodroon, appears Koorkoor. Halted for the day.

Bearings, from our station, with the surveying-compass:—

Lower part of the Giozeh road, and Sulimania, S. 81 E.
Summit of Giozeh, S. 82° 30′ E.
The garden of the Tcharbagh, S. 80 E.
East extremity of the Avroman mountains. That part seen from Zeribar; which bore the same appearance hence, only it was brought in one with Zagros, S. 62½ E.
Hallebjee, about S. 46 E. } Not sure—direction pointed
Khulambar, S. 50 E. } out.
The plain runs about S. E., winding.
Azmir, the summit, about N. 75 E..
A sharp point of Goodroon, N. 3 E.
Summit of ditto, N. 4 E.
Kerwanan, N. 20 W.
The place where to-morrow's road crosses the mountains, N. 65 W.

October 22.—Mounted at $6^h\ 20^m$, A.M. Course N. 70 W., on account of a morass. At $6^h\ 40^m$, N. 80 W. There is a road to Keuy Sanjiak which passes by Kerwanan, and keeps through Soordash, along Goodroon; distant fourteen hours. At $7^h\ 10^m$ came to Taslujee Mount. The ascent very gentle: the descent something greater; the vale of Bazian, into which we had now come, being lower than that of Sulimania. We arrived at the bottom at 8^h, but continued N. 80 W. till $8^h\ 10^m$.

At $8^h\ 10^m$, N. 20 W., keeping the hills close on our right. At 9^h, N. 60 W., across the vale to the line of hills which divide it. At $9^h\ 40^m$ reached the line of hills, and kept it on our left. Course N. 40 W.

At $10^h\ 25^m$ turned S. 80 W. to the village of Derghezeen. The division hills also turned nearly in the same direction, and soon gradually finished. We arrived at Derghezeen at $10^h\ 50^m$, and occupied our old ground.

Bearings with the surveying-compass :—

The flat or perpendicular crest set from Sulimania, whence it bore 65° 56′, and put down as Avdalan. N.B. Avdalan is a village, the *other* or Sulimania side of it. N. 32 E., to N. 22 E.

Goodroon, under the summit, N. 57 E.

Karadagh, highest summit, S. 39 E. Distance ten hours.

Seghirmeh, S. 34 E.

Derbend i Basirra, S 35 E. Distance five hours.

Keuy Sanjiak was in about N. 35 W.

Bitwein, N. 20 W.

One road to Keuy Sanjiak goes through Derbend i Bazian. Distance said to be little more than to Kerkook, or about fourteen hours.

Another road leads up the valley of Sulimania, by Kerwanan, along Goodroon, through Soordash, and out at Derbend, N. of the Derbend i Bazian, and called Derbend i Khalti-ban.

N.B. Both the Derbend and Taslujee hills join and terminate at Khalkhalan.

October 23.—Mounted at 6^h 30^m, A.M., N. 20 W., up the valley formed by a small line of hills just behind Derghezeen, and another similar one opposite, also coming N. W. from Derbend, and running to Bazian. At 6^h 40^m, N. 80 W. At 6^h 50^m, S. 70 W. At 7^h 20^m passed through Derbend.

From the pass of Derbend we continued S. 70 W. Before us rose the little furrowed line of hills of Gheshee Khan, and Kara Hassan, running N. W. and S. E. On our right hand the level of the country sunk at once, as if it had fallen in, to the depth of more than one hundred feet.

At 7^h 35^m we descended into this bottom, in N. 25 W., and kept in it the remainder of the way. At 7^h 50^m,

N. 40 W. At 8h 20m, the village of Sheikh Weisi. Here we found we had come a little out of our way, and we turned to S. 45 W. At 8h 45m reached the true road, N. 75 W.

At ten, N. 45 W. At half-past ten the village of Ghozalan. At eleven, S. 45 W. The level begins to rise again. Road broken and hilly. At 11h 40m, S. At 12h 10m arrived at the village of Ghulamkowa, in the district of Shuan. Time of the march five hours and forty minutes.

The Karadagh runs up to Derbend i Bazian, and thence, after running a little way straight, like a wall, it turns a little W., and forms the hill of Tchermala, which we left behind us. Thence it turns more W. and forms that of Khalkhalan, on our right. The road to Keuy Sanjiak is over Khalkhalan. The Karadagh diminishes in height all the way from the Seghirmeh, which is very high, and towers above all the other mountains, in the distance. Tchermala and Khalkhalan are inconsiderable.

Bearings, with the surveying-compass, from the height above the village of Ghulumkova :—

Derbend, centre of the pass, due E.

Summit of Goodroon, N. 76½ E.

Karadagh, the saddle back, S. 50 E.

Dilleo mountain, S. 40 E.

Ibrahim Khanjee, S. 35 E.

Khalkhalan, the centre, N. 7 W.

The Kerkook hills appear hence like a flat plateau, descending by a step, broken and furrowed, into the tract of country between them and Derbend.

October 24.—Mounted at 6h 15m, A.M. Course N. 70 W. Ascended out of the narrow ravine in which Ghulumkova is situated. The whole country cut into deep abrupt ravines. We passed two very deep and difficult ones; the ascents

more considerable than the descents; and, still rising, we reached the village of Ghuilkowa, in the district of Shuan. From Ghuilkowa our road S. 70 W., winding along the tops of this furrowed and *hillocky* country, which resembles, and is indeed a continuation of, Kara Hassan. At 7^h 30^m a road branched off a little S. of ours to Kerkook. Our road still S. 70 W. At 8^h 15^m halted; Keuy Sanjiak hence due N. At 8^h 40^m mounted again; road N. 80 W. At 9^h 50^m arrived at the village of Kafar, in the territory of Kerkook. Here we quitted Koordistan. Time of the march, three hours and thirty-five minutes.

In the afternoon, from a mount behind the village, got the following bearings with the surveying-compass:—

The rock Avdalan—I could not make it out clearly; it was only pointed out to me—N. 85 E.

Kandeel, a part of Zagros, N. 25 E. Keuy Sanjiak in a line with it.

Goodroon, N. 85 E.

Derbend, S. 85 E.

Khalkhalan, centre of, N. 40 E.

⊙ North limb, at setting, S. 83 W. True amplitude, 14° 40′. Observations ditto, 7° 16′. Variation, 7° 24′ W.

To the S. of the Kybeer hills was quite a level surface, though furrowed and broken towards us. On the W. were two long, low lines of hills; those nearest to us were the Kybeer; those next to them, the Kashka Dagh, or Hamreen hills. Kybeer continued in N. W. Behind was Karatchuk. Hence to Khalkhalan an open horizon.

The waters here run to the Kerkook river, or the Khasseh.

October 25.—Mounted at 6^h, A.M.; road N. 30 W., descending into a valley watered by a stream. The valley

gradually widened out into the plain of Gieuk Dereh. At 6h 30m, N. 60 W.; still in the valley. At 7h 20m, village of Omar Bey Keuy. At 8h entered the fine wide plain; road N. 60 W. The Kybeer hills, stretching from our left up before us; the plain extending to the foot. On our right a continuation of the broken hilly country we have just left, stretching N. W., as does also the Kybeer. The latter winds or bends a little.

At 10h 30m N. 35 W. Gieuk Tepeh, a village, and artificial mount on our left, due W., less than a mile from the road.

At 10h 40m, N. 55 W. At 11h 15m another mount, close on our road. At 12h 30m arrived at Altoon Kiupri. We descended to the river over immense beds of pebbles. We passed over the high sharp bridge, then through the town, over the other bridge, and encamped on the flat open space to the N. W. or *right* quarter.

Time of march six hours thirty minutes.

October 26.—Marched at 6h, A.M., N. 35 W., through the *area* left between the river and the broken hills, or higher country, which begins above Altoon Kiupri. At 6h 20m the road to Shemamik broke off on our left; our road N. At 6h 30m came to the termination of the area. At first detached sand-hills, then the level of the country rising; on our left furrowed, sloping up to Kybeer. On our right, at a greater distance, a continuation of the broken hilly country we had left, here called Hallejo Bistana, a province of Keuy Sanjiak. Behind this again the prolongation of the Azmir mountain; higher mountains peeping behind. The village of Makhsuma on our left, and close by us a little river, running into the Altoon Soo; thence N. 15 W. At 7h 30m, N. At 9h, N. 15 W. At 9h 30m, N. At 10h, N. 10 W. At 10h 45m, the camp of Faris Aga, the chief of the Dizzei

Koords. At 11h 30m, halt. At 12h 30m, mounted again, road N. At 1h 40m came in sight of Arbela, bearing N. 10 E. At 3h 40m, arrived at Arbela, and encamped at Hajee Cossim Aga's kareez, or water-course, S. 60 W. of the town.

Time of the march, nine hours forty minutes.

Karadagh here appears to divide itself into two hills, but in the same line. The centre of one bears S. 20 W., the other, S. 50 W.

The Christian village of Ankowa, due N. two miles.

Shemamik, an old castle, which gives name to a district under Arbil, lying along the Tigris, S. 80 W., distant six or seven hours.

Kushaf, where the Zab falls into the Tigris, is twenty hours off.

The plain, in some places, gently undulating, but no elevations or depressions worth mentioning.

Mount Makloobe appears alone in the distance, bearing N. 46 W.

October 29.—Marched at 5h 45m, A.M., N. 60 W. At 6h 40m the village of Reshki on the left hand of the road. The country a little more undulating than that to the S. of Arbil. The mountains retire and form a bay eastward. They then advance again about the Zab to the westward. I can now distinguish several chains of mountains.

From Reshki we marched N. 20 W. At 7h, N. 60 W. At 7h 20m, village of Jalghamata, N. 20 W. At 7h 40m, N. 60 W. At 7h 50m, N. 30 W. At 8h, N. 65 W.

Weather cloudy, so I could not set the minaret at Arbil as I had hoped.

At 8h 45m, Girdasheer, a little fort, N. 60 W. This is called half way to the Zab. At 9h 10m, Little Girdasheer on the right of the road. Course N. 70 W. At 9h 25m,

S. 70 W. At $10^h\ 30^m$, W. Our level seemed now to descend. The Zab on our right. The village of Elbesheer on it. At $11^h\ 5^m$, the village of Kellek, on the high pebbly banks of the Zab. The opposite bank retires, below it advances, and this bank retires, leaving a plain of from one to one and a half miles in extent, in which the Zab divides itself into two or three streams. We descended into this plain in S. 40 W., and passing two branches not above a few inches deep, at $11^h\ 40^m$ arrived at the main stream, under the right bank. Crossed on a raft. On the cliff is the Yezid village of Eski Kellek, where we halted for the night.

The mouth of the Zab is at Kushaf, five hours off.

The junction of the Ghazir, or Bumadus, with the Zab, three hours off.

Bearings with surveying-compass.

A mount on the high bank of the Zab this side, called Zeilan *. The junction of the Bumadus is in this line, beyond the mount, in S. 33 W.

Kushaf and the mouth of the Zab, S. 30 W.

Elbesheer, N. 56 E. } one hour.
Hinjiroke, N. 60 E. } Both on this bank.

The frontier of Amadia is just above Elbesheer.

New Kellek, N. 62 E. The other bank.

A pointed summit of a mountain, said to be near Julamerk, where the Zab rises, N. 42 E.

The Bumadus, or Ghazir, rises about three hours beyond Akra, and joins the Zab three caravans, or two horseman's hours below Old Kellek.

October 30.—Marched at $6^h\ 25^m$, A.M. The country rises by two steps to its proper level from the river. We

* Where there are ruins of a town.

marched N. 60 W. for ten minutes, then having ascended to the level of the country, N. 35 W. At 7^h due W. The country between the rivers undulating, but not broken or abrupt. At 7^h 50^m we came to the Bumadus or Ghazir Soo. Like the Zab it has a high pebbly bank alternately retiring, and leaving a plain between it and the ordinary bed of the river. We still kept W. through this plain, with the river on our right; the village of Minkoobe was above on its banks. At 8^h 10^m we forded the river. The village of Zara Khatoon at a little distance below the ford. The W. bank is not so high as the E., and the country gradually subsides into an immense plain, perfectly level as far as we could see. From the river, N. 50 W.

At 8^h 30^m, N. 68 W. We have brought Mont Karatchuk in one with Makloobe, which it covers.

From the Bumadus we proceeded more rapidly than before. We arrived at the Chaldean village of Kermelis at 9^h 50^m.

The march from the Zab to the Bumadus is called two hours and a half.

From the Bumadus to Kermelis, two hours and a half.

Behind the village, about half a mile N. 80 W. of our tents, is a high mount. I ascended it to take some sights. I succeeded but indifferently, the evening was dusky and squally, distant objects were imperfectly visible, and the needle not very steady. I could have taken angles with the sextant had the atmosphere been clearer, and the sun visible. However this is not of much consequence, as the bearings cannot be much out for ordinary purposes; and for a more particular survey, I propose visiting this spot again, as it seems to be a good station.

From the mount, with the surveying-compass:—

Terjilla, a village on a height at the end of Karatchuk,

or Little Makloobe, on a rising ground, which is a prolongation of the mountain, one hour from Kermelis, N. 72 E.

Sheikh Emir, a village just below Terjilla, N. 76 E.

Shah Kooli, under little Makloobe, N. 68 E.

Mar Daniel, a ruined church, on the centre and highest part of Little Makloobe, N. 36 E.

Mar Mattei, half way up the Greater Makloobe, N. 15 E.

Highest part of Greater Makloobe, set from Arbil, N. 9 E.

Bartella, N. 20 W.

Our road to Mousul, N. 75 W.

Village of Karakoosh, S. 42 W.

October 31.—Mounted at 6^h 15, A.M., rode over the plain till 8^h, when the country became again unequal. The plain still continuing at a distance on our right. At 8^h 30^m, still higher ground; we lost the plain in every direction, and descended to a ravine, called Shor Dereh. At 9^h 40^m came to the beginning of the ruins of Nineveh. Shortly after came to a well; halted for ten minutes; then rode on, passing through the area of Nineveh, under the village of Nebbi Yunus, on our left hand. At 10^h 25^m we arrived on the banks of the Tigris; ferried over to Naaman Pasha's garden, S. of the town of Mousul.

Stage called four hours; we did it in four hours and fifteen minutes.

Route from Sulimania to Altoon Kiupri calculated.

SULIMANIA TO KILLESPEE.

Time. h.	m.	Course.	Distance. Miles.	Place.	Diff. Lat.	Dep.
0	45	N. 86 W.	2	..	+0·1	2·0
0	15	N. 66 W.	1	Tangeroo	+0·4	0·9
0	45	N. 86 W.	2	..	+0·1	2·0
0	10	N. 66 W.	0·5	Barunmirdeh	+0·2	0·4
0	45	S. 76 W.	2·5	Killespeh	—0·6	2·4
2	40				+0·8	
					—6	
					Diff. lat. + 2	

N. 87 W. Diff. lat. 0·2. Dep. 1.

KILLESPEE TO DERGHEZEEN.

0	20	N. 26 W.	1	..	+0·9	0·4
0	30	N. 86 W.	1·5	..	+0·1	1·5
0	50	N. 86 W.	2	..	+0·1	1·5
0	10		0·5			
0	50	N. 26 W.	3	..	+1·3	2·7
0	40	N. 66 W.	2	..	+0·8	1·8
0	40	N. 46 W.	2	..	+1·4	1·4
0	25	S. 74 W.	2	..	—0·6	1·9
4	25				+3·6	11·2
					—0·6	
					+3·0	

N. 75 W. Diff. lat. +2·7 Dep. 9·7 9 miles.

DERGHEZEEN TO GULUMKOWA.

Time. h.	Time. m.	Course.	Distance. Miles.	Place.	Diff. Lat.	Dep.
0	10	N. 26 W.	0·5	Up the valley to Derbent	+0·4	0·2
0	10	N. 86 W.	0·5	..	+0·0	0·5
0	30	S. 64 W.	1·5	Derbent	−0·6	1·3
0	15	S. 64 W.	1	To the sunken country	−0·4	0·9
0	15	N. 31 W.	0·5	To the bottom	+0·4	0·2
0	30	N. 46 W.	1·5	Sheikh Weisi	+1·0	1·0
0	25	S. 39 W.	1·5	..	−1·2	0·4
1	15	N. 81 W.	3·5	..	+0·5	3·5
0	30	N. 51 W.	2	Gezalam	+1·3	1·6
0	30	..	1·5	..	+0·9	1·2
0	40	S. 39 W.	1·5	Level begins to rise	−1·2	0·9
0	30	S. 6 E.	2	..	−2·0	0·2
			1·5	..	−1·5	0·1
5	40				+4·5	11·7
					6·9	3
				Diff. lat.	2·4	11·4

Derghezeen to Derbent, N. 85 W. 0·2 2·0 2 miles.
Derbent to Gulumkowa, S. 84 E. 1·8 16·9 17 miles.

GULUMKOWA TO CAFFAR.

0	45	N. 76 W.	2	Giulkowa	+0·5	1·9
0	30	S. 64 W.	1·5	A road to Kerkook	−0·6	1·3
0	45	S. 64 W.	2	..	−0·9	1·8
1	10	N. 86 W.	3·5	..	+0·2	3·5
3	10		9		−1·5	8·5
				N. 85 W.	+0·8	
					−0·7	

Derbent, N. 88 E. S. 86 E. 8 miles.

CAFFAR TO ALTOON KIUPRI.

Time. h. m.	Course.	Distance. Miles.	Place.	Diff. Lat.	Dep.
0 30	N. 37 W.	1	To the valley	+0·4	0·3
0 50	N. 67 W.	2·5	In the valley to the village of Omar Bey	+1·0	3·2
0 40	—	2·5	The plain	+1·0	2·3
2 30	—	7	Gieuk Tepeh	+2·7	6·4
0 10	N. 42 W.	0·5	..	+0·3	0·3
0 35	N. 62 W.	1·5	A Tepeh	+0·7	1·3
0 15	N. 62 W.	3·0	..	+1·4	2·6
6 30		18		+7·5	15·5

N. 64 W. 17 miles.

Latitude of Caffar by observation 35° 39′ 00″

\+ 7′ 30″

.. Latitude of Altoon Kiupri 35° 46′ 30″

By observation . . 35° 46′ 1″

Error . 29″

From Mousul to Bagdad, by the Tigris.

Saturday, March 3.—Embarked on a kellek or raft, at the Pasha's garden, at 10 A.M.

Left Bank.	*Course.*		*Right Bank.*
	Left at 10.		
Yaremjee.	10h 40m		
		Minaret, N. 27 W.	
Yaremjee, N. 45 E., half a mile.	10 45		Mar Elia, N. 45 W.
	10 55	At the hills; an elbow of the river, which now runs S. 20 W.	Hills.
		Islands.	
	11 10	Minaret, N. 20 W. S. 35 E.	Abddurrahman Bey's kiosk on the cliffs.
Shemseddin Tepeh, like a smaller Yaremjee.	11 35	Minaret, N. 20 W.	
500 yards below it the village of Shemseddin, and close to it Kiz Fakhera.	12 0	Minaret, N. 20 W.	A village of the Albujuaree Arabs on the same cliffs.
The Shor Dereh of Lekler joins the river just N. of the Tepeh.		S. 70 E.	
Kiz Fakera, N.	12 15		Umukseer, another village of the Juarees. Soon after these cliffs seem to terminate, and another range begins; a valley between them; the village not near us.
	12 30	War. War of Kara Koyunli, large stones, now under water; it crosses the river diagonally, then returns to the hills in S. 40 W.	Albu Juaree, N. 70 W.
Kara Koyunli, a Turkoman village. The country hilly behind, or rather uneven.	12 45	S. 15 E.	Kibritli. Sulphur springs on the bank in the second range, after which that range slopes down and gradually terminates, and another begins.

Left Bank.	*Course.*		*Right Bank.*
Little hills.	1h 10m	S. 10 W.	
	1 25	S. 70 E.	Tel Aareig, on the right bank, but far off, a mount and village under the hills.
A village behind the little hills, called by the Arabs Hav Aslan, and by the Turkomans Yagtchee Kharaba, behind a kind of natural mount called Yagtchee Tepeh. Turkomans, close by a ravine of sulphureous water.	1 45	S. 45 E.	
		Islands and shallows.	
	2 10	S. 45 W.	Hills terminating or rather receding.
	2 25	S. 20 W.	
Nimrod's mount before us; a mount of a pyramidal appearance.	2 30	S. 20 E.	Tel Zebid, or Hamam Ali. Country rather open. Nimrod's Tepeh, having a pyramidal appearance, S. 20. E.
Hameira, a village. Hills.	2 35	Due S.	
	2 45	S. 45 E.	
		A new reach of the river.	
	3 10	New Reach.	
Hilly.	3 15	Tel Sebid, N. 55 W. This reach of the river, which is S. 60 E., has been recently produced, or rather augmented, by the river, directing its principal current this way. It has cut down the hills on its E. bank. We now heard the roaring of the Aawazeh.	Hills.
Selamia, or Selami, just on the declivity of the hills, which then quit the river and run S.-easterly towards Karakosh, keeping on the W. of it. There was a large city here once. After Selami the country rather more open and level.	3 35	S. 70 W.	Another line of hills, coming from the N. W. and joining the river just below the Zikr ul Aawazeh.

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
Jireff, a small village.	Brought to at 4h, 200 yards above the Zikr ul Aawazeh Reach, S. 70 W.	Jehaina, a large village.

Both sides of the river highly cultivated all the way from Mousul wherever it was possible, and villages constantly in sight. I only note the principal ones.

March 4.

Sent the kelleks round the next reach, and set off on foot the first thing this morning to inspect the ruins of Nimrod, which I take to be Larissa. We had a walk of 45′, in N. 45 E., to the pyramidal mound. Traces of ruins, like those of a city, to be seen to the N. a little way, and to a great distance E. I ascended the mount, from whence I had the following sights with the surveying compass:—

Mar Daniel, N. 27 E.

Tel Sebid, N. 32 W.

The high mount of Keshaf, S. 11 W., three horse man's hours.

N.B. A catch of the Zab visible under Keshaf.

Seekh, a mount, two or three miles off, S. 56 E.

Tel Tchimma, or Trifle mount, S. 25 E., five miles.

Tel Gundis, S. 30 E., three or four miles.

The bearing of the course of the Tigris, S.

Easternmost promontory of Karatchuk, S. 34 E.

Summit of Makloobe, N. 18 E.

Mar Mattei, N. 20 E.

The Dakhma, or Hallab, seen by us from the Pasha's garden at Mousul, N. 37 W.

Kurdek, S. 77 E., 3½ horseman's hours.

Karakoosh, N. 44 E., 3 hours, just *over* and hidden by the Selami hills, which run off S. E.

Kidder Elias, or Mar Jirjees, a famous monastery of the Jacobites, due E., 2½ hours.

Tel Agoob, the smoke visible, N. 65 E., 2½ hours.

Omerakan, N. 30 E., 2½ hours.

Selami, N. 11 W., 1 hour.

We returned to where the kelleks awaited us, in S. 55 W., thirty-five more minutes moderate walking. We found them in a long reach, N. and S., about half in it.

At 12h 15m got under way.

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
Open.	12h 15m S.	Hills. Another range seems shortly to succeed these.
	1 25 River leaves the hills, and runs S. 80 W.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	1h 30m Sikr, or Zikr Ismael. Another dyke or artificial impediment. We crossed it near its W. end, without difficulty, but with some dancing of the kellek. The water boiled considerably. It is either not so high, or has been more ruined than the Awazeh.	
Open.		Hills.
	2h Tied up at the village of Shemoota, on the left bank, on account of the strong southerly squalls. Keshaf in sight, looking as considerable as the mount of Arbela. A little in from Shemoota, a mount called Tel Sitteihh.	
	4h 12m Left Shemoota.	Hills.
		Jibel Jaif.
Open.	4 20 W. to Jibel Jaif.	
	4 30	Tel Sitteihh, N. 15 E., several other mounts in sight.
	4 40 S. 45 W., broad and with islands.	
	4 45	At Jibel Jaif, at a place called Top Kalaa.
	Then S. Steep cliffs of Jibel Jaif close on the river, which is here narrower. Nimrod, N.	
	5 0 Island in the Tigris.	Sulphur springs in the cliffs, which are of layers of sandstone, and ruinous.
	5 9 S. 30 E.	
First mouth of the Zab. There are two, separated by a pebbly island. The clear blue waters of the Zab boil up and repulse the muddy stream of the Tigris. Keshaf, 1½ mile up the S. bank of the Zab.	5 13 Both branches join.	
	5 25 Tied up just below the second mouth of the Zab, on the pebbly bank. Keshaf, 1½ mile N. 45 E. of us.	

March 5.

At $10^h\ 30^m$ A.M. I got an observation for the time, and at noon was fortunate enough to get a great many circum-meridian altitudes. Just at that time some smoke ascended from Kyara, which enabled me to set it in S. 15 W., said to be five hours by the river. Eski Keshaf, S. 30 W.

At $12^h\ 15^m$ P.M. we got under way.

Left Bank.		*Course.*	*Right Bank*
High; a bed of concretion, near 15 feet thick, resting on a basis of sandstone, in some places just visible above the water. The ground above unequal.	$12^h\ 15^m$	S. 30 W.	Hills terminate gradually at their point Murshek, the burial place of the ancestor of the Albu Selman Arabs, marked by a rude monument.
		Island. Our passage by the left bank.	
Eski Keshaf, a ruined village.	12 35		Open.
	12 30	E.	
	12 55	S. 45 W.	
A mount.	1 0		Tullool Nasir, low mounds, as of ruins. Jeheish Arabs.
		Karatchuk in all its length, from S. 85 E. to S. 45 E.	
	1 5	S. 20 W.	
	1 10	S. 10 W., end of the island.	
Tel Sheir, close on the left bank.	1 15	S. 45 E.	Line of hills, cut down by the water, afterwards more open.
	1 30		
		Sultan Abdullah, S. 25 E.	
	1 45	S. 45 W.	
	2 0	E.	
	2 15	S. 10 W.	
Sultan Abdullah, on a mount.	2 20	S. 40 W.	
Remains of the village of Deraweish.			
		River broad.	
Unequal ground.	2 52	N. 80 W.	
	3 10	S.	
Mekook, a mount, with some mounds about it, like Nimrod, but of less dimensions.	3 23	S. 40 W.	
		River here seems once to have run more easterly. High and dry banks now taking that direction.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
Open, verdant, and level.	The Minshar rapid, or breakers.	Open, verdant, and level.
	$3_h\ 30_m$ S.	
	3 45 Stop for the night on the right bank, near Kyara.	

Bearings from the Station.

Sultan Abdullah, N. 57 E.

Mekook, N. 80 E.

Kybeer hills, S. 68 E.

Karatchuk, S. 84 E. to N. 65 E.

Kyara; naphtha springs in the desert, S. 43 W., distant 3 miles.

The reach of the river, N. 35 E., S. 35 W.

Umursek, opposite the mouth of the Zab, N. 56 W.

On the right bank, a fine open verdant country. In the horizon hills, probably the Hamreen, some broken lines of hills nearer. One very straight line, beginning N. 22 W. of us, distant about 3 miles, and running up in N. 35 E., farther than I could see. A little building on hills, coming from the N. W. to S. E., bearing S. 62 W., five or six miles distant.

Left bank, something like the country above Mousul, not quite so much furrowed, except towards the water. The high country, or now dry bank, sweeping more E. than the present channel of the river from the top of the reach, and returning to it at the end about half a mile lower down than our station. Surface of the country pretty level and open.

March 6.

Got under way at $5^h\ 25^m$, A.M. I did not begin to observe until $8^h\ 22^m$.

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
Tel Jeloos, a mount just behind us.	$8^h\ 22^m$ S.	
	Broad; many channels. Open country all around; the left bank the flattest. Some brushwood; all around beautifully verdant.	
Tai Arabs.	8 30 S. 45 E.	
Large encampment of Arabs.	8 45 S.	
	8 55 S. 30 W.	
	9 15 Kyara, N. 10 E.	
	S. 40 W.	
	9 25 S. 20 W.	
	Line of the Hamreen hills in front of us.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	9h 40m S. 60 W.	Some broken hills.
	9 45 S.	
	9 55 E., Great confusion of islands and passages.	
	10 10 S. 20 W.	
	10 16 Stop on the left bank.	
	11 10 Got under way. S. 20 W.	
	11 25 S.	
	11 36 S. 40 E.	
	11 45 S.	
Tulool Agger. Three mounts.	11 55 S. 20 E.	
Arab encampments.		
	12 5 S. 20 W.	
A little jungle.	A boiling current and whirlpools, called Kharbata, formed by large stones beneath.	
	12 15 S. 20 E.	
	Very rapid; ruins begin with the mount, called Toprak Kalaa.	Toprak Kalaa, a mount of earth, surrounded at the foot by a ruined wall. Here the territory of Mousul ends on the W. side.
Tai Arabs.	12 35 End of ruins.	
	Many channels in the river.	
Level and open, and as green as an emerald.	S. 20 E.	
	12 45 S. 55 W. down to the Hamreen hills.	
	1 4 Turn sharp, S. 45 E. along the Hamreen.	Hamreen hills; an eddy formed here, called Khanuza, much dreaded when the river is high, and the current rapid.
	2 0 Leave the Hamreen; course E.	
A line of low hills, running a little S. of E.	2 30 Rounded into S. 40 E.	
	2 33 Nemla.	
	2 37 Ferraj, a rapid.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*		*Right Bank.*
	2h 45m	The Hamreen hills again, but not very close to their feet.	
		Course S.	
A long and low mount, on it the tomb of an Albodish Sheikh.	3 0	S. 30 E.	
	3 9	S. 40 W.	
	3 20		Muk'hol Kalaa. Hamreen visible through an opening in the hills, on which it stands, which are called the Muk'hol, or Khanuza hills; they run in front of the Hamreen, and are like them in every respect, except that they serpentine more, the Hamreen being pretty straight in their course.
Flat, green, open country.		Rounded up into E.	
	3 35	Treisha, a rapid. S. 70 E.	
	3 54		A curious bank, cut down by the river.
Small hills.	4 26	S.	Open country to the Khanuza hills.
	4 43	Tied up for the night on the right bank, just opposite the mouth of the little Zab.	

Sights with the Surveying Compass.

Mouth of the Zab, S. 42 E., the breadth of the Tigris between us; the W. bank of the Zab formed by hills. These are the hills which have formed the left bank of the Tigris for the last twenty minutes. On the E. bank of the Zab the country is quite flat and open.

Muk'hol, N. 62 W.

El Fath'ha, S. 22 E.

S. 75 W. of us, the Khanuza hills seem to terminate.

March 7.

Left Bank.	*Course.*		*Right Bank.*
	5h 45m	A. M., got under way, turned into S. 45 W.	
Open.	6 0	Kelab, a rapid and whirlpool, dreaded by the Kelleks.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*		*Right Bank.*
	6h 15m		Termination of the Khanuza hills on the Tigris; interval between them and the Hamreen hills, filled with a confusion of mounts and debris, tossed up in the most fanciful and unsightly manner. These continue to the front of the Hamreen on the river.
	7 0	Musahhaj.	Hamreen; Musahhaj before it.
		S. 15 E.	Keep the Hamreen on the right.
Tel Hamlia, a small mount, just opposite Jebbar.	7 40		Jebbar Kalaasi, or Kalaat ul Jebbar, the Tyrant's castle. A ruin, a little way up the Hamreen.
	8 25	Under the Hamreen. Stop on the right bank near one hour, below Jabbar, at which it was impossible to bring the kellek to.	
	10 20	Got under way again.	
Left bank grows uneven.		S. 45 E.	
	10 30	S.	Very high earthy cliffs, evidently debris from the Hamreen, which are about one mile from the water.
	10 52	E.	
	11 0	N. 60 E.	
Strange unsightly sandstone hills and mounts. Tel Dhahab just below us.	11 15	Obliged to bring to, on account of the violence of the wind. I availed myself of the stoppage to get an observation.	
		Fat'hha, S. 15 S., about two miles in a straight line.	
The same curious heaps continue.	1 25	Off again.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
Tel Dhahab.	1h 36m S. 10 W.	
An Arab tomb on a hill.	2 2 Fat'hha, S. 25 E.; but the river makes one or two short turns before the passage.	
	2 15 Breij; a rock and bad rapid, at a turn in the river, close to the left bank.	
In the pass on the left, among debris of the Hamreen hills, naphtha and nitre springs.	2 31 El Fat'hha, the pass through the Hamreen; the river runs through in S. 30 E., and is about 150 yards wide.	
	3 0 A place where the river forms many islands.	
	S. 10 W.	
Some low hills. Hamreen running down on our left.	3 32 S. 50 W.; river broad. Many islands.	Country pretty open, but not very low or alluvial-like.
	4 11 S.	
Leg-leg. Concretion hills, and strong current.	4 30 S. 30 E.	Albu Mahommed Arabs.
	We have had good going from the pass; all day before extremely bad, on account of the high and contrary wind, which has now abated.	
	5 15 S.	
	5 55 Brought to for the night, at an island. Hamreen visible to a great extent.	Khan Khernina, S. 60 W.; two very considerable tepehs or mounts, and close under them large ruins: a very curious place.
	El Fat'hha bearing N. 5 E.	Just south begins a low range of hills, or rather elevated strip of country, with a flat surface, called Jebel Khernina. It runs to Tekreet.

Left Bank	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	March 8.	
	Got under way at	
	45m high S. E. wind.	
	7 30 when I began to observe, Fat'hha bore N. 10 W.	
	Course S.; very slow going.	
	7 45	At the Khernina hills.
	S. 40 E. Fat'hha N.	
Some water-wheels and cultivation on the islands and left bank, belonging to the Jowari Arabs.	Hamreen on both sides, extending from N. 25 W. to N. 60 E.	
	8 5 E.	
	8 20 S. 60 E.	
	8 40 S. 35 W.	
	El Fat'hha, N. 10 W.	
	8 55 S. 30 E. Our going extremely slow and difficult.	
	9 0 S. 65 E.	On the Khernina hills, the tomb of Kereim Abu Khalkhal, a son of Imam Mousa.
	9 5 E.	The Khernina hills from this make a turn more southerly, and then sweep round again.
	9 55 Stopped, or rather driven by the wind against the left bank, where we stopped till 4h 15m.	
	Tekrit, S. 5 W.	
	Abu Khalkhalan, S. 85 W., 1 mile. The reach, S. 45 E., ½ mile.	
Water-wheels belonging to the Albu Mahommed Arabs.	4 15 Got under way. S. 45 E.	
	4 20 S. 70 W.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	4h 50m Khalkhalan, N.	Khernina cliffs again, if pebbly soil; about one hundred feet high.
Open country.	Hamreen in sight	
	4 55 S.	
	5 0 S. 45 E.; river at least 1 mile broad. Open country.	
	Islands.	
	5 7 S. 20 E.	
	El Fat'hha, N. 10 W.	
	Tekreet about S. 10 E.	
	5 15 S.	
	5 30 At Selwa, the cave of the Syren, in the Khernina hills.	

El Fat'hha, N. 10 W.

A cape in the Khernina hills, which, from the Selwa, make another bend in, and return again near Tekreet; that is, in fact, only the country cut down by the water, the river having evidently at one time passed by them. From Selwa our course S.

5h 40m S. 10 W.

5h 50m A violent squall from the W., which drove us on the E. bank. The squall lasted so long that it was not worth while to get under way again after it was over. The ruins of Tekreet begin a little below us, on a high perpendicular cliff.

March 9.	
5h 30m Got under way.	
6 0	Tied up, on the bed of pebbles before Tekreet.

Alhadr is two long days off, in N. 30 W.; said to be W. from Kyara.

Saw the pyramid, or rather, cone of Door, S. 8 E. 4 hours.

The Hamreen visible from N. 20 W. to N. 70 E.

El Fat'hha, N. 10 W.

A caravan just leaving Tekreet for Kerkook. It sleeps at the Hamreen, and the next day arrives at Kerkook.

Left Bank	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	$12^h\ 15^m$ Left Tekreet.	
	The Tekreet reach of the river, S. 60 E.	
	12 20 S. 30 W.	
	12 50 S., at the cliffs again.	
Open and level.	1 11 S. 30 E.	Cliffs.
	1 21 S. 70 E.	Auja, a little stream coming down through the cliffs. The cliffs continue their own line, and leave a flat country between them and the river.
	1 50 S.	
	Hamreen perfectly clear and distinguishable.	
Islands cultivated; behind them undulating country.	1 55 S. 15 W.	
	2 15 S.	
	2 31 S. 60 E.	Islands; behind them the cliffs.
	Tekreet, N. 10 W.	
	Hamreen visible beyond Tekreet.	
Undulating pebbly country.	2 40 S. Island.	The Khernina cliffs a good way in.
Imam Door.	2 55 River broad. Islands.	
	3 5 S. 30 W.	
	3 10 Hheimra, a Zikr, or obstruction, not extending far from the left bank.	
	3 15 S.	
	3 20 S. 30 E.	
	3 24 Ruweiahh, a Zikr just like Hheimra.	
Pebbly high banks.	3 30 S.	
	3 35 S. 30 W.	
	3 40	Tel el Mehaji; considerable tumuli, some way in.

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
A Nahar; said to be a canal dug by King Solomon, and to go as far as Howeiza.	3h 47m S.	
	3 50 S. 20 E.	Islands.
	4 5 S. 45 E.	
Eski Bagdad, on the high pebbly cliffs.	4 25	
The pebbly hills suddenly turn in, and make a sweep easterly.	4 25 S. 30 W.	Islands.
	4 35 S.	
Eski Bagdad still on the cliffs; heaps of rubbish.	4 40 S. 70 E.	Island.
High cliffs again.	4 55	
	5 5 S. 10 E.	
Still ruins.	5 10	
	5 27 Mosque of Samara bears S. 10 E. Course S.	
Still ruins.	5 35	Islands.
Square enclosure, called Thinars; seems to be the end of the ruins.	5 40 S. 55 E.	Islands.
	5 50 S. 20 E.	
Pebbly hills run inwards.	5 55 S. 45 W.	
Island.	6 0	Kabr u Seid; a lump of concretion, forming a rapid on the right bank.
	6 10	Some more lumps, said to be the remains of the bridge of Ashek.
Hawil-ubsat.	6 20 S.	Ashek.
	Samara, S. 35 E.	
	7 20 Samara.	
	March 10.	
	12 35 Got under way. S. 10 E.	
	12 50 S. 30 W.	
	1 0 S. 30 E.	
Ruins.	1 20 Samara, N.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
Nahar el Ersas, the head of the Nahrawan canal. On it a square brick building, seemingly of the age of the Caliphs.	1h 51m S. 30 E.	Mouth of the Dujjeil, a little below that of the Nahrawan.
	2 0 S.	
	2 12 S. 50 E.	Istablat; mounds of ruins.
A place called El Sanam the Idol, or Nabga.	2 38 Stop.	
Sassanian ruins, at Gadesia, or Kadesia. Samara bore N. 20 W.; the building at the mouth of the Nahrawan, N. 40 W. The Nahrawan runs at the back of Kadesia, at about one mile distance.		
	4 15 Got under way again. S. 30 E.	
	4 38 E.	
	4 50 Brought to on the left bank. Building at the mouth of the Nahrawan, N. 35 W.	
	March 11.	
	5 35 Off. Began to observe at	
	7 37 Course S. 30 E.	
	7 55 N. 70 E.	Beled, the principal village of Dujjeil. Minaret and date-trees a little way in from the bank Ghowadir.
	8 15 E.	
	8 25 S. 70 E.	
	8 40 S. 80 E.	
	8 45 S.	
	9 0 S. 30 E.	
	9 14 S. 20 W.	
Misrakjee Khan, which we have long past, bearing north.	9 20 S.	Khan i Seid. Tomb of Seid Mahommed a little below it.

Left Bank.	*Course.*			*Right Bank.*
	9h	40m	N. 70 E.	Steep banks of pure mould. We are now in the alluvial country; not a pebble to be seen.
			The river all the way this morning has wound greatly, and formed a great many islands and channels.	
	9	50	N. wind high.	
	10	10	Stop.	
			Khan i Seid, bearing N. 20 W.	
	11	30	Off again, N.	
Misraga, high alluvial banks.	11	45	N. 60 E.	
	12	20	S.	
	12	40	S. 30 E.	
	12	51	S. 50 E.	
The junction of the Adhaym and the Tigris. The Adhaym is the trunk stream that receives the Kerkook, Taook, and Toozkhoormattee waters. Now about one hundred yards wide.	1	0	E. Stop.	
	1	30	Got under way again.	
			E.	
	2	0	N. 70 E.	
	2	20	S. 10 E.	
			Very slow going. Scarcely any current.	
	3	25	S. 50 E.	
Zemboor.	3	40	S. 20 E.	
	3	54	S. 70 E.	
	4	15	S.	
			Date-trees on the Khalis in sight.	
	4	20	S. 20 W.	
	4	32	S.	
Before us Tel Khumeisia.	4	40	N. 70 E.	
	4	50	E.	

Left Bank.		*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	5^h 5^m	S.	
	5 20	S. 20 W.	
Tel Khumeisia a little behind us. River makes a great bend east.	5 25	S. 30 W.	
	5 30	S. 80 W.	
	6 0	Brought to for the night at Sindia, the first village of Khalis.	
		Here we found our yacht. We got on board at night.	
		March 12.	
	5 30	The yacht got under way.	
	7 30	When I came on deck, we were going S., and just below the village of Mansooria. Direction of Sindia pointed out to me in N. 10 E.	
	7 45	The following villages inland:—	
		Jedidat ul Aghawat, E.	
		Aliabut, N. 70 E.	
		Doltova and Aliabut in one, N. 55 E.	
		Jezzani, S. 70 E.	
	8 0	Course S. 45 E.	
	8 25	S. 45 W.	
	8 40	S. 60 W.	
	9 0	Aground.	
	9 20	Off again. S. 10 E. A long reach.	
	10 0	Yenghijeh.	
	10 20	S. 20 W.	
	10 55	S. 60 W.	
	11 10	N. 60 W.; long reach.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	11h 30m S. 40 W. Yenghijeh, N. 80 E.	
	11 35 Aground again.	
	11 50 Off again. S. 40 W.	
	12 10 S. 20 W.	
	12 35 Slow going.	
	1 5 S. 20 E.	
	1 15 S. 35 E.	
	1 40 S. 30 W.	
	1 50 W.; very slow going.	
	2 20 S. 70 W.	
	2 45 S.; good going again.	
First of the Bagdad gardens.	3 0 S. 20 E.	
	3 10 S. 35 W.	
Open country on both sides.	3 25 S. 10 W.	
	3 35 Kazemeen village S. 10 E. The old canal, extending farther than I could see, N.	
	3 40 S. 45 E.	
	4 0 Driven against the high bank.	
	4 15 Off again. S. 20 W.	
	5 0 At the Nuwaub's garden, then E.	
	5 45 S. 15 W.; the reach of Imam Aadhem or Aazem.	
	6 0 E.; the Pasha's garden-reach.	
	6 5 Opposite the Kasr.	
	6 20 S. 20 W.	
	6 30 S. 45 E.; the reach into Bagdad.	

From Bagdad to Bussora, by the Tigris.

Left Bagdad for Bussora, *May* 11, 1821, Wind S. E.

Left Bank.		*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	7h 30m	got under way.	
		S. 45 E.	
		River nearly at its highest.	
	7 45	round into S. 25 E. from the Bastion.	
	7 50	S. 20 W.	
Islands.	8 0	S. 45 W.	
	8 10	W.	
	8 30	S. 45 W.	Islands.
Islands still.	9 0	at the right bank, then S.	
	9 5		Shat el Aateek, an old branch of the river, now only full at high water, or when the river is full, and then even shallow.
Islands.		E.	
		Kazemeen, N. 25 W.	
		Zobeide, N. 10 W.	
	9 20	N. 70 E.	
	9 30	N. 45 E.	
	9 40	Dhunnana, from whence at	
	9 45	round into	Island.
		S. 70 E.	
	10 5	N. 45 E.	
Hindia.	10 25	round into S.	
	10 35		Outrey's garden.
Hajee Abdulla Aga's garden.	10 50	S. 10 E.	
	11 10	S. 30 E.	
	11 20	S. 45 E.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	11h 40m E. to the Diala.	
	1 0 At the Diala.	
	5 30 Anchored at our old station.	
Tauk Kesra.	Station near Hodheifa, at Tauk Kesra.	
	May 12.	
	5. 0 Got under way.	
	6 0 S. 45 W.	
	Tauk, N. 35 E.	
	6 15 At the mouth of the canal called Abul Hiti, I believe to be a cut from the Nahar Malca.	Abul Hiti.
	From Abul Hiti rounded gradually by S. into S. E., and then E.	
	6 45 N. 10 E.	
	6 55 N. 45 E.	Hharrea, scattered mounds of ruins to a great extent.
	7 20 N. 20 E.	
The Bostan, or end of the ruins of Tauk Kesra.	7 30 N. 10 W.	
	7 35 Rounded into E., and then S. 40 E.	
	8 to 8h 45m Could not disengage ourselves from the left bank.	
	8 50 S. 20 E.	
	Tauk Kesra, N. 50 W.	
	9 30 Turn gradually into S. 45 W.	
	10 0 S.	
	10 15 S. 45 E.	Al Hammam, ruins scattered about.
	Tauk Kesra, N. 25 W.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank*
	This reach called El Lei.	
	10h 30m S. 70 E.	
	11 15 E.	
	11 20 N. 60 E.	
	3 0 E.	Long lines of ruins, or the remains of a canal called Davar. Query: is this the Nahar Malca?
	3 30 N. 45 E.	
	4 0 Brought to for the night.	
	May 13.	
	4 30 Got under way.	
	6 15 We had turned from S. W. into N. 45 E.	
Low and marshy.	6 45 Ruebia.	Ruins.
	7 30 N. 70 E.	
	8 10 S. 45 E.	
Ruins; many mounds with a fragment of wall, called Taj.	8 45 S. 25 E.	
	9 0 S. 20 W.	
	9 20 S. 30 W.	Haddara; ruins.
	9 45 We had rounded into S. 45 E.	
	10 0 S. 80 E., a long reach.	
	10 50 N. 45 E.	
	11 30 Rounded into S. 20 W. from N. E.	
	Detention of 20 minutes, then S. 35 W.	
	12 45	Zor Abdalla great ruins.
Dakhala.	Thence round S. S. E. and E. into N. 45 E.	
	2 30 S. W.	
	3 0 W.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	4h 0m S.	Zoweiya, an immense collection of ruins, extending as far as the eye could reach in the desert, and down the bank of the river.
	4 25 S. 45 E.	
	4 30 N. 45 E.	
	4 35	Humeinya ruins, seemingly a continuation of the Zoweiya.

River now N., sweeps round, making a peninsula. Boats in sight N. W., where we have come from, and S. E. where we are going to. The reach we are in, N., and pretty long; detained 10m. In rounding into the next reach again, detained a few minutes. A fine breeze N. W. At 5h 20m we rounded; and at

	5 45 Came to.	
	8 30 Got under way.	

May 14.

Fine night; made good way; at daybreak the Hamreen visible.

	6 15 S. 15 W.	
	7 0 N. 65 E.	Ishan; mounds of ruins.
	8 0 Rounded into S.	
	8 30 S. E.	
	9 30 E.	Buzheila, a mud fort.
Dawar Arabs.	11 0	
	5 0 In the reach where Jumbul the bridge is, S. 45 E.	
	5 30 E.	
	5 45 S. 45 E.	
	6 0 S.	
	6 20 S. 45 E.	
	6 45 N. 45 E.	
	7 0 E. then round into the reach where Koot-al Amara is, S. 45 E.	
Koot al Amara.	8 0 Brought to at Koot, on the left bank.	

Left Bank.	*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	May 15.	
	3h 30m Got under way, rounded into N. 45 W.	
	4 0 Koot, S. 45 W.	
	4 20 Course N.	
	5 20 N. 45 E.	
	5 40 E.	
	5 45 S. 50 E.	
	6 10 The river rounds up into N. 45 W. again.	Ruins.

Here it blew so hard, obliged to bring to. There are twelve of these crooked reaches, turning into N. 45 W., after Koot.

	9 20 Off again.	
	11 0 Brought to.	
	4 0 Off again.	
	7 45 Brought to.	
	May 16.	
Beni Lam camp.	2 15	
	3 30	The Naharwan canal.

In the morning could perfectly distinguish three ranges of the Loristân mountains.

	8 45 E.	
	9 10 S. 45 E.	
	9 20	Um ut Beia, a canal now full.
	9 25 S.	
	9 30 E.	
	9 35 S.	
	Detained 15 minutes rounding a point.	
	10 5 Rounded it, then E.	
	10 20 S. 45 E.	
	10 35	Imaum Gherbi, a place of pilgrimage.
	10 45 S. 20 W.	
Ruins.	12 30	

Left Bank.		*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
Ruins of Fleifli.		Detained from 2h 30m to 3h 30m.	Ruins.
	4h 0m		Ruins of Seoroot.
	5 45	S. 45 E.	
	5 50	S.	
	6 10	E.	
Morass.	6 15	S. 45 E.	Morass.
	6 45	Brought to on the right bank.	
		Imam Ali Sherki, bearing S. 10 E. on the left bank.	
	10 0	Got under way; but at	
	10 30	driven aground, where we remained all night.	
		May 17.	
	4 30	Got under way.	
	6 0	Imam Sherki, N. 50 W.; course, S. 45 E.	
	6 10	S. 70 E.	
	6 20	N. 70 E.	
	6 40	S.	
	6 45	S. 45 E.	
	6 55	S.	
	7 10	S. 45 E.	
	7 20	S.	
	7 30	S. 45 E.	
		Tied up.	
	8 0	Off again.	
	11 0	During the interval, some detentions.	Jebeela.
	1 20	S. 20 W.	
	1 30	E.	
	1 40	S. 70 E.	Mahommed abul Hassan, a place of pilgrimage. A grove of trees.
Al Hhud.	2 10	S. 60 E.	

Left Bank.		*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
	2h 30m	The Hhud, a branch of the Tigris, going off E. to the Kerkha and Howeiza rivers. Hence S.	
	3 30		
	4 4	Detained by the sepoys' boat getting aground.	
		Afterwards for one hour good sailing, afterwards slow.	
	3 30	S. 45 E.	Um ul Jemmal, a canal which goes to the Euphrates.
	6 40	N. 45 E.	
	6 50	S. 20 E.	
		S. 20 E. is now the prevailing direction of the reaches.	
	6 55	Brought to.	
	9 30	Got under way again.	
		May 18.	
		Quite calm, gliding down the stream.	
Camp of Albu Mahommed Arabs.	5 0		
Abdalla ben Ali, a place of pilgrimage.	5 40		
	6 25	W.	
	7 15	S. 20 W.	
	7 50	E.	
	8 10	S. 20 W.	
	8 22	S. 70 E.	
	8 35	S. E.	
	8 50	N. 45 E.	
	9 0	E.	
	9 20	S. 45 E.	
	9 40	S. 20 W.	

Left Bank.		*Course.*	*Right Bank.*
		Ozeir, or Ezra's tomb, S. 30 W.	
	9h 50m	S. 20 E.	
	10 15	S. 70 E.	
	10 40	E.	
	10 50	S. 20 W.	
	11 30	N. W.	
	11 55	S. 45 W.	
Ozeir, or Ezra's tomb.	12 10	Stop at Ozeir.	
	1 10	Off again.	
		S. 45 W.	
	2 35	S.	Abu Khalkhal, a pla of pilgrimage.
	3 0	S. 45 E.	
	3 15	E.	
	3 30	S. 20 W.	
	4 0	N. 45 W.	
	4 10	S. 45 E.	
	4 15		Abu Mugroon, a pla of pilgrimage, surround the village of Zekia.
	4 35	S.	
	4 40	S. 45 W.	
	4 50	S. 70 W.	
	4 55	S. 20 E.	
	5 0	S. 20 W.	
	5 15	S. 20 E.	
	5 30	S. 70 E.	
	5 50	N. 70 E.	
	6 10	S. 70 E.	
	6 30	S. 70 W.	
	6 35	S. 45 W.	
The date-trees of Koorna just visible through the glass, in S. 10 W.			
	6 40	N. 45 W.	
	6 55	S. 20 W.	
	11 30	Entered the Shat ul Arab.	
		Went on all night, some deduction to be made for the tide.	
		May 19.	
	10 0	Arrived at Bussora.	

V.

Journal of Bearings and Distances, during a journey to the Frontiers of South Koordistan, which was made in the Months of March and April, 1820, *by Mr. Rich.*

March 18.—We left Bagdad at $7^h\ 40^m$ A.M. At $9^h\ 50^m$ the highest minaret of Bagdad bore S. 29 W., village of Kazemeen, on the Tigris, S. 54 W., village of Imam Azem, S. 48 W.; road, N. 27 E. At $10^h\ 5^m$ we passed Bir el Abd, or Moghussil, a well, with a little building over it; just past it a large canal.

At $10^h\ 40^m$ road to Tchubook and Sulimania on the left.

At $11^h\ 50^m$ we arrived at the Khan Beni Seid, called in Turkish Orta Khan, where we halted. It is an unfinished khan, with a miserable village of Beni Saeed Arabs. Road to Bagdad S. 32 W.; Bakooba, N. 35 E.

At $12^h\ 45^m$, P.M., we mounted again.

At $3^h\ 30^m$ we came to the Naharawan canal, which runs S. 10 E., and N. 10 W. It is *at least* as wide as the Diala. Khani Seid N. 27 E.

Road to Bagdad, S. 23 W.

Shufteh, E.

Bahris, S. 40 E.

Bakooba, N. 40 E., deduct ten minutes.

We arrived at Khan i Seid at $4^h\ 10^m$. It is situated on the Diala, which here forms a bow, Bakooba being on the right and Howeida on the left, facing each other, the Khan being the chord of the arc.

River up, N. 84 W.

River down, S. 3 W.

A ruin between Bakooba and Baris, S. 24 E.

The river serpentines backwards and forwards much.

⊙ N. limb at setting, N. 83° 30′ W.

March 19.— Left the Khan soon after sun-rise; crossed the Diala at the ferry of Howeida, after which directed our course to Bakooba; obliged to take refuge from a storm in a Khan at Bakooba for 30^{m}.

Left Bakooba at 8^{h} 50^{m} A.M., road E., afterwards obliged to make a great round, on account of canals and swamps.

At 10^{h}, road N. 7 E., saw some meadow land, and many canals from the grand trunk stream, besides a large canal at a distance, and the village of Kharnabat and some other villages on our left.

At 11^{h} 30^{m} road N. 50 E.

At 12^{h} road N. 25 E.

At 2^{h} we came to the bridge of one arch over the Mehrout canal, which runs N. to the Diala, and we halted till 3^{h} at Imam Seid Mokdad al Kundi.

Shehraban was due E.

We arrived at Shehraban at 3^{h} 15^{m}.

March 20.—I set out in the morning to visit the Zendan, a ruin, said to be 1^{h} 30^{m} S. of Shehraban. After passing various canals and pasture lands, our guide, the master mason of the place, asked us if we would not look at an old castle on our right. We agreed, and passing over a canal we came at once on the ruins of a Sassanian town, just 45^{m} from Shehraban, though its N. extremity goes much nearer that place.

From a high mount, called Bint el Khalifa, I got the following interesting bearings, with the small surveying compass.

Imam Mukdad .	N. 30° 30′ W.	
Shehraban . .	N.	
Awashek . .	N. 68° 0′ W.	On the Diala.
Zehirat . . .	N. 76° 30′ W.	
Abu Seita the greater	N. 84½° 0′ W.	
Abu Seita the lesser	N. 89½° 0′ W.	
Wugeihia . .	S. 48° 0′ W.	
Seneikia . . .	S. 43° 30′ W.	
Barkania . .	S. 20½° 0′ W.	
Amrania . .	S. 14½° 0′ W.	Just behind the west point of the Zendan.
Sultan Seid Ali .	S. 1° 0′ W.	
Beledrooz . .	S. 30½° E.	Just visible in the horizon.

S. point of the wall of the town S. 26 W. Near it is a gate. These ruins are called Eski Bagdad, but are evidently before the time of Islam.

Half way to the Zendan, opposite Seid Sultan Ali, are two parallel Sassanian walls, N. E. and S. W.

The Zendan is about 45^{m} from these ruins of Eski Bagdad.

March 21.—Left Shehraban about 6^{h} 50^{m} A.M., N.25E., for a few minutes, then N. 70 E. to the first rising in the ground we had seen since leaving Bagdad, which rising ground we reached at 7^{h} 25^{m}. Road N. 45 E., village of Haroomia, N. 80 E.

At 8^{h} Haroomia bore S. 30 E., one mile or one mile and a half off on the right hand.

We passed the Beladrooz canal, and at 8^{h} 30^{m} reached the Hamreen hills. We came to the end of the hills at 10^{h}.

Baradan . .	N. 5 W.	On the other side of the Diala.
Kizzelrebat .	N. 10 E.	
Zowra . . .	N.	On this side of the Diala.

We arrived at Kizzelrebat soon after leaving the hills.

The Diala visible from Kizzelrebat, distant about two miles.

March 22.—Left Kizzelrebat at 6h 40m A. M., road N. 65 E. At 7h came to the canal of Kizzelrebat.

Kizzelrebat bore N. 80 W. At 7h 45m we reached the hills.

At 9h we came to Yenitcheri Tepeh, which is reckoned half way between Kizzelrebat and Khanakeen. Road winding through hills, generally in the direction of N. 45 E.

At 10h Khanakeen bore N. 45 E. Aliavo, N. 30 E., distant 30m from the latter. Kolai, in the district of Kizzelrebat, N. 60 W. Hence the country slopes gently down towards Khanakeen.

We halted in the plain of Khanakeen 30m. About a mile from Khanakeen a road turns off to Mendeli, which is distant twelve hours from hence. Crossing a small eminence we descended upon Khanakeen, where we arrived at 12h 15m, and crossing the bridge over the Elwan, we took up our quarters at Hajee Kara.

March 23.—I have just got a route, which I shall in all probability follow.

From Hagee Kara to

	Hours.
Kasr i Shireen	5
Haoush Kerek	3
Bin Kudreh	3
Kiusk i Zenghi	4
Kifri	4
Karatepeh	7

March 24.—Mounted at 6h 20m A.M. Road N. 70 E., then E. for half an hour, then over the hills in N. 55 E. At 8h, from a hill, the Bagdad road bore due W.

At 9h we reached Kalai Selzi, a guard house. The direction of Kasr i Shireen from hence was N. 55 E.

At 11h 30m we arrived at the Khan of Kasr i Shireen. I immediately went to inspect the ruins, from which I came back in three hours.

From a mount among the ruins I got the following bearings:—

		Hours.
Zehav . . .	N. 75 E.	4
Tauk . . .	S. 60 E.	
Ghilan . . .	S. 25 E.	2
Mendeli . . .	S. 17 E.	9

The latitude of Kasr i Shireen, by rough computation, is N. 34° 30′ 39″.

We encamped on the declivity of a hill behind the Khan, on an eminence over the river Elwan, with the W. bank of which river we came up about two miles from the Khan.

March 25.—I rose by peep of day, and while the tents were striking, I went to look at a ruin we had forgotten yesterday. We mounted at 7h A.M. Our road at first lay along the foot of the hills, and then among hills.

At 9h 30m we arrived at the ruins of Haoush Kerek. The road wound much among the hills, but the general direction was N. 80 W. from Kasr i Shireen.

At 11h we mounted again, and continued our way over hills till about 1h, when we descended into the plain, through which we saw the Diala winding far on our right.

At 1h 50m we arrived at Bin Kudreh. From hence direct to the Diala is about half an hour; to the town of Zehav nine hours; to Khanakeen, direct over the hills, three hours. It is about S. 80 W. from Haoush Kerek, but our road wound much and our going was indifferent. I do not intend to pass the Diala here as I at first intended, but I propose going down to Dekkeh, opposite Zengabad.

March 26.—We mounted at 7h A.M., accompanied by Hassan Aga, who will not leave us till he sees us safe over the

Diala, which is not above half a mile in a straight line from Binkudreh. We were near an hour in doing it, the intermediate space being a morass formed by the overflowing of the river.

At 7^h 50^m we reached the banks of the Diala, after crossing over which we mounted again at 1^h 30^m, and proceeded first over hills and then through an undulating country to Zengabad in S. 30 W. About three miles from it we saw on the left bank of the river, just under the ridge of hills, Dekkeh, which is one hour from Zengabad.

We arrived at Zengabad at 4^h 10^m. A couple of miles from this place is Manateva, another similar village. Zengabad is about one mile in a direct line from the Diala, which we had winding on our left at a small distance, ever since we crossed it in the neighbourhood of Binkudreh. About Zengabad, it flows off easterly for some time.

Bearings from the roof of the mosque at Zengabad :—

Kiushk i Zenghi in the hills, in a line with the W. end of Kalan Tepeh, N. 19 W., 2 hours.

Dekkeh, on the other side of the Diala, under the hill *, N. 67 E., 1 hour.

Kolai, S. 62 E., 1½ hour.

Bin Kudreh, N. 45 E.

Khanakeen, N. 72 E.

The Zengabad hills, which are N. of Karatepeh, and S. of Zengabad, run down to above Kizzelrebat, and form the Kizzelrebat hills. The plain of the Diala, where it divided these hills, bore S. 10 E.

* This hill is part of a chain, which on the W. side of the Diala is called Kiushk Daghi, because Kiushk i Zenghi is built on it. These hills sink very gradually before they come to the Diala, and rise again gradually on the other side.

March 27.—We left Zengabad at 6h 45m A.M., and for half an hour went due N. over the road we had gone yesterday, in order to avoid canals. At 7h our road N. 60 W.

At 9h we arrived at Kiushk i Zenghi. Kalan Tepeh bore just S. 45 E.

Keeping the hills close on our left, we proceeded N. 30 W. to the Kifri water, or rather one of the many torrents that flow from these hills into the plain of Kifri. We arrived at the torrent at 11h.

The above-mentioned hills now crossed our road, from whence descended many torrents. We continued our way through the hills, first N., then N. 10 W. to Kifri, noticing on our right On Iki Imam, on the Kiushk hills, 1h 30m below, or S. E. of Kifri. We reached Kifri at 12h 30m.

Routes procured at Kifri:—

	Hours.
Kifri to Shilshal	6
Albu Teraz, on the other side of the Adhaym*	5
The place of the Al Uzzi Sheikh	4
Samara	5
Kifri to Toozkhoormattee	9
Zenguleh	7
A place in the desert	5
Imaum Dour	5
Samara	6

March 29.—I got the following bearings from the top of the ridge of hills above Kifri:—

On Iki Imam, 3 miles off, S. 34 E.
The Bagdad road, S. 22 W.
Eski Kifri, S. 41 W.
Toozkhoormattee, N. 60 W.

* The Taouk and Toozkhoormattee rivers pour themselves into the Adhaym.

The hills we crossed on our way here run out to the S. of Kifri, and there the Bagdad road crosses them. Soon after which they sink gradually into the desert. The Kifri ridge is from the spot where we quitted them beyond, on Iki Imam, abrupt and steep on the Bagdad side.

March 30.—Left Kifri at $6^h\ 45^m$ A.M., and crossed over two hills in S. 22 W. Soon after 8^h we passed Telishan, two little mounts; and at $8^h\ 30^m$ crossed the Kifri water.

At $9^h\ 40^m$ we came to Tchemen Kiuprissi, a new bridge over the Tchemen. Here we halted half an hour, then proceeded in S. 15 W., passing two ranges of hills to Karatepeh, where we arrived at $11^h\ 40^m$.

March 31.—Mounted at $6^h\ 45^m$ A.M. We journeyed due S. to the bridge of the Nareen, where we arrived at $8^h\ 5^m$. We then proceeded S. 15 W., towards the Hamreen hills, keeping between them on our right, and the Nareen on our left. We continued going S. W. to the foot of the hills, at which we arrived at $10^h\ 20^m$. The ascent was gentle. At the top I got the following sights:—

Karatepeh, N. 7 E.
Zowia, close on the banks of the Diala, S. 72 E.
Kizzelrebat, E.
Baradan, at some distance from the Diala, N. 85 E.
A flat hill, part of the Hamreen, S. 20 E.

We reached the summit of the Hamreen at $10^h\ 40^m$, and after halting for 10^m we began to descend. At 12^h we left these hills, our road through which had been about S.; and keeping the S. face on our left, we proceeded in S. 40 E. to Adana Keuy, where we arrived at $1^h\ 20^m$. Adana Keuy is near a cut from the Khalis canal, and close on the Diala.

April 1.—Left Adana Keuy at $6^h\ 30^m$ A.M. After travelling 1^h, we came to the banks of the Diala, and afterwards to the canals with which this district is intersected;

the largest of which is the Khalis. We kept W., with the Khalis on our left, and the Diala also just behind it.

At $8^h\ 10^m$ we reached Delli Abbas, on the Khalis; the villages of the district of the Khalis soon began to appear in the horizon; those of the district of Khorassan, on the other side of the Diala, were likewise in sight.

Our road was first S. 55 W., then S. 20 W. At $10^h\ 30^m$ we came to Tchubook, a village, with a bridge over a little stream, which is formed by the overplus of the Khalis, and comes from Serajik. It discharges itself into the Diala, opposite Buyuk Abu Seid, or Abu Seid the greater. This village is close by, the Diala being only some yards from Tchubook.

At sunset I got the following sights from the bridge with the surveying-compass:—

First, on the Khalis.

Hameira, N. 72½ W.
Ajemia, N. 31 W., about half an hour off.
Goobbia, N. 22½ W.
Serajik, N. 16½ W.
Nebbi Shaed, N. 30½ E. Jebbel Hamreen just in sight.

Second, on the other bank of the Diala.

Aawashek, N. 81 E.
Zeherat, S. 55 E.
Abu Seid the greater, S.
Abu Seid the lesser, S. 24½ W.
⊙ N. Limb. N. 76½ W.

April 2.—We started at $5^h\ 30^m$, and journeyed about S. W. to Musabbah Khan, keeping the Diala close on our left. At $7^h\ 45^m$ arrived at Mussabbah Khan.

I got the following sights from a hillock behind the Khan, which is close to the Diala, in the chord of an arc formed by a reach of the river, the S. elbow of which is S. 65 W.

Kharnabat .	S. 25 W.	On the E. bank of the Diala.
Howeidah .	S. 10 W.	
Bakooba . .	S. 5 W.	
Geria, or Saada, or Dura	S. 5 E.	On the Khorassan canal.
Zoheira . .	S. 10 E.	
Abdulla Ibn Ali .	S. 20 E.	
Jezzari . .	S. 85 E.	
Hameira .	N. 20 W.	On the Khalis canal.
Bash Tchaiera, or Kior Yenijeh	N. 80 W.	
Buyuk Doltova .	S. 75 W.	
Hopehop .	S. 65 W.	

Direction of Howeish pointed out to me, S. 45 W.

At 8h 35m left Musabbah, road S. 7 W. At 10h 10m the Naharawan running straight N. 10 W., S. 10 E., road, S. 7 W. Kharnabat due E., distant 1 mile. In another hour we came to other canals parallel with the Naharawan, then to Seid Mukhsen, a place of pilgrimage, on a small stream from the Khalis; then S. 60 W.; and at noon we arrived at Toprak Kalaa, called also Kalan Tepeh, and Mujelibeh.

From hence Howeish bore S. 80 W., where we arrived at 1h 40m.

April 3.—We left Howeish at 6h 30m A.M., and arrived at Bagdad at 12h.

VI.

Expedition from Bagdad to Bussora down the Tigris, in the year 1811.

(Referred to at p. 158, Vol. ii.)

March 19.—Left Bagdad for Bussora about 1^{h} P.M., in the Residency yacht, accompanied by six other boats, containing the rest of our party. We dined that evening at Abdulla Aga's garden, and after dinner got under way. We had passed Tauk Kesra before day-break the next morning; as the sun rose we saw it astern. In the evening we dined in a reach of the river called Taj, which is about eight hours from Tauk Kesra, on the same side of the river with it; but there is no village. The place is famous for lions. After dinner we again got under way, but were soon forced to bring to under the right bank of the river, on account of the wind continuing strong from the southward. The next morning the wind continuing to blow hard, and the motion of the boat being very disagreeable, we pitched a tent on shore under the lee of a large bush, for I cannot call it a tree. A little to the southward of our position we observed several large mounds, like the ruins of Babylon, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, which the next day in the evening I went to examine. I found them to extend considerably in breadth into the desert, and to be about twenty or twenty-five feet perpendicular height above the level of the plain. The top of the mounds was covered with pieces of brick, pebbles, and tiles, some of which were varnished; and in places where the rain had made little channels, I found several small brass coins, so entirely corroded by the weather, that it was absolutely impossible to to make out any figure or legend. In several parts of these mounds there were appearances of regular rows of brick,

like the tops of walls that had been buried. The manner in which these mounds were formed is evident. The sand accumulating on the ruins and filling up all the vacant spaces, aided by the gradual decomposition of the surface of the bricks, was consolidated into one mass by the action of the rain. We had a specimen to-day how such an operation might have taken place. The dust and sand was drifted in clouds by the wind; and had any solid substance, our jolly-boat for instance, been placed on the ground in an exposed situation, it would, in a very short time, have been buried under a hillock of sand, which a day's rain would have converted into a solid mass. The bricks were well baked, and resembled those found at Babylon. I intend, on my return, to make more accurate observations, and to perforate the mound in various directions, in hopes of discovering some remains that may lead to a probable conjecture on the nature and antiquity of these ruins.

I had an opportunity to-day of observing the picturesque and sublime effects of obscurity on some scenes. The sky was dark and louring, and a mist was diffused over the whole horizon, which softened and threw back the distance, and gave a dignity to objects mean and unpicturesque in themselves. The brushwood on the opposite bank of the river was converted into a distant forest scene. The flatness and continuity of the boundary line was softened and broken, and the reach of the river in which we were, assumed the appearance of an immense lake, bounded by varied and woody shores. Under a clear unclouded sky, it would have borne its real character, that of a common river, confined between two regular flat, brown stripes.

In some parts of the river, where the banks rise abruptly to the height of about ten or twelve feet, they are not devoid of beauty, though merely composed of indurated earth.

These banks, by the action of the water, are perpetually shivered into large flakes, which, breaking off, fall to the bottom, and leave most picturesque breaks and variations. I should imagine these appearances must be more beautiful when the river is rising, as when on its fall the hard earth must have been converted into mud, by the fulness of the river, and consequently present only a lumpish, disagreeable object. Had these banks the accompaniments of wood instead of mere brambles, the river would be really beautiful.

We saw immense flights of herons here, called by the inhabitants koorkies.

On the 23d, the wind having considerably abated, we weighed, and passed on the right bank some Zobeide Arabs. This tribe once beat Ali, the Pasha of Bagdad. He was at Hillah, and intended falling by surprise on this tribe, who had incurred his displeasure, with a chosen band of Georgians; but the Sheikh was aware of his intentions, and resolving to be beforehand with him, actually surprised the Pasha, and forced him to retreat; and on the flight, the Pasha got a severe fall from his horse. The affair was afterwards made up by the intercession of Suliman Kiahya, and the Sheikh was pardoned. I saw the Sheikh some time afterwards. He paid me a visit at the residency, and consulted Mr. Hine on his case, a nervous and hypochondriacal affection.

On the 24th, about three o'clock P.M., we arrived abreast of a large woody island called Moolbinni, which appears to be about ten miles in length. We passed through the passage between it and the left bank of the river, at a place called Jumla, a low islet, in which are some vestiges of ruins. It was under water when we passed it; but a friend of mine, Captain Frederick, who came up when the river was

low, saw the ruins, and our pilot pointed out to us the whirlpool caused by them.

At sunset we arrived at Coot al Amara, where we found that the passage of the Hye * was impracticable, on account of the shallowness of the water, and heaviness of the boats that composed our fleet. We therefore determined on sailing down the Tigris, a circumstance I by no means regretted, as I had passed through the Hye thrice, but had never yet seen the Tigris below Coot. We got under way after dinner, and the next morning saw the Persian mountains, some of which were covered with snow, and appeared to be about eight leagues off. The intermediate country is inhabited by the Beni Lam Arabs, some of whom are subject to Persia. They are a bad race, and continually fighting among themselves.

Their present Sheikh gained the government by assassination. He once visited me when I was encamped at Gherara, on the banks of the Tigris. He had been in Bagdad on business, and was returning to his tribe. After leaving me, when he was about a hundred yards from our camp, he sent one of his men back to tell me that he had great occasion for a hundred piastres, as in his way to Bagdad he had fallen in love with a young girl, whom he intended marrying, and he believed he should be able to bring about the affair by the help of the sum in question, of which he was not at that moment in possession; but that if I would lend it him, he would faithfully repay it the first opportunity. I gave him the money of course, letting him know that I did not expect payment.

* A small river of communication between the Tigris and Euphrates, on which was situated the town of Wassit, built by Hegiage, the governor of Irak, in the reign of Abdul Malek, the fifth of the Ommiade Caliphs, in the 83rd year of the Hegira.

In the evening we arrived at a reach in the river, one bank of which was adorned by trees that had attained a very considerable size. This object was in itself beautiful, and was rendered doubly so in our eyes by the powers of novelty and contrast. It is impossible accurately to describe the effects produced by the sight of hills, verdure, and wood on us, whose eyes have been for three years tortured by dwelling on a flat, brown desert, and the intolerable sameness of the date tree. The Hye river, whose banks also are wooded, is agreeable by contrast rather than really beautiful, for the practice of cutting down its wood indiscriminately for sale at Bagdad, where fuel is exceedingly dear, always keeps it in the diminutive and shorn state of a coppice, and prevents it from ever assuming a picturesque appearance.

On the 25th, at noon, we passed by a village of reed huts, on the Mesopotamia side of the river, where some of our party landing, saw people conveying on a bier the mangled remains of a child about twelve years old, who had been killed by a lion.

The same evening, Dr. Colquhoun, accompanied by the boats containing the hussars and imrahor, or chief groom, went forward to prepare the way for us at Bussora.

The 27th, in the evening, we came to a place of pilgrimage of the Jews. It is a building like a mosque, on a promontory formed by a circular sweep of the river, which winds much in this part. A few Arabs have collected about it, and formed a small village of reed huts. It is on the right bank of the river. We landed to take a nearer view of it. It is surrounded by a wall, with battlements, the dome or cupola is covered with green, glazed tiles, and surmounted by an ornament of brass, representing an open hand encircled with rays of glory. On entering the gate,

we passed through a small court-yard, and then entered a large, gloomy hall, arched and supported by square masses of brick-work, totally destitute of any ornament. From this we entered by a low door into the chamber which contains the object of the Jews' religious veneration. The room is vaulted, with small grated windows placed at a great height, and paved with tiles of white and green alternately disposed. In a small niche there was a lamp burning. In the centre of the room stood the tomb, which was oblong, with a slanting roof, made of wood, and covered with green velvet. The dimensions were about eight feet by four, and six high to the ridge of the roof, with a passage of about three feet between it and the walls of the room. Its corners and tops were ornamented with large balls of copper gilt. The person, an Arab, who showed us the tomb, told us it was that of Ezra, whom the Mahometans call Ozeir*, and make him

* According to Mahometan tradition, Ezra was of the race of Jacob, of the tribe of Levi, and the fourteenth in descent from Aaron; and the Holy Scriptures, and all the scribes and doctors who could read and interpret them, were involved in the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, excepting a few who were taken captives to Babylon. Ezra, who was then very young, was among this number, and continued to read and teach the law of God to his countrymen during their captivity. At the end of the captivity Ezra returned to Jerusalem, and some say there, some, near Babylon, while he was occupied in weeping over the ruined city and temple of God, he said often to himself, "How can fallen Jerusalem ever rise again!" No sooner had he conceived this thought when God struck him dead, and he remained so for one hundred years, when he was raised again, and employed the rest of his days on earth in explaining the word of God to the Jews.

The Christians of the East say that Ezra drank three times of a well in which the holy fire had been hid, and that thus he received the gift of the Holy Ghost, which rendered him capable of re-establishing the Holy Scriptures among his countrymen.

out the nephew of Moses. He further informed us that a Jew, by name Khoph Yakoob, erected the present building over it about thirty years ago.

The 25th, about three o'clock in the morning, arrived at Koorna. I went ashore there after breakfast to inspect some ruins, supposing they might be the remains of Apamea, according to Ptolemy, or Digba, according to Pliny, which was situated hereabouts; but I found them to be only the remains of a Turkish fortification.

The Turkish guard-vessel here saluted me. I returned the salute with an equal number of guns; and, to my no small surprise, the Turk, unwilling to be outdone in politeness, returned it with three guns.

We left Koorna about ten o'clock, and arrived at Maghil House about midnight. We found the Dragoman and Tchaoush of the Bussora factory, and the Tchaoush Kiahyassi, a principal officer of the Turkish government, waiting for us. The latter brought me a letter from the Musselleem, who wished me to have a public entry into Bussora. This, however, as his conduct towards my assistant here had not pleased me, I thought it my duty to refuse. The Tchaoush Kiahyassi put on board some boxes of sweetmeats as a present from his master.

About one o'clock we got under way, and anchored at the mouth of the Bussora creek to wait the tide. Sunrise, the 29th, we entered the creek, the Honourable Company's Pattimar, the Barbara, and the Turkish men-of-war saluting as we passed. Two boats, manned with crews from His Majesty's ship Lion, towed the yacht up the creek, and the Musselleem's two state-barges, covered with scarlet cloth, followed. At the factory I was received by my own guard and a party of Turkish troops.

BUSSORA.

The day before I left Bussora, on my return to Bagdad, the Musselleem gave me an entertainment, consisting of a public exhibition of dancing, feats of dexterity, &c.

It commenced with four men dressed up to represent two camels, one man composing the croupe, and one the fore part of each. These mock camels fought, lay down, ate grass, &c., as real ones.

Next two parties of Negroes were introduced to entertain us with their national music and dancing. One party was composed of Bombazans. Their principal musical instruments were a long wooden drum, one end of which was shaped like a three-legged stool, and rested on the ground, and a horn, which was blown at the side, like a German flute.

The dancers separated into two parties; on one side the women, on the other the men, who advanced and retreated, then joined and separated, and went through several evolutions, singing and keeping very good time. The Nubian party attracted my attention. One of them played on an instrument exactly resembling the ancient lyre. Their dance was military, and represented attacking and skirmishing. One man particularly distinguished himself. He wore a kind of helmet of skulls and beads stuck with feathers, and brandished a javelin with considerable dexterity.

After their exhibition was finished, the Musselleem ordered his Turks to entertain us. Immediately about one hundred and fifty Turkish soldiers stood up, and, joining hands, began a slow kind of dance, which at first consisted merely in keeping time with the feet, and making gentle inclinations of the body, moving round the circle. They were accompanied by the Musselleem's double-drums and oboes,

and headed by a party of dancing boys, in their dresses. In the centre of the ring, two men entirely naked, but covered with flakes of cotton, and having immense white cotton beards, exhibited some ridiculous tricks, riding upon long canes, and charging each other with red spears. The music gradually quickened, and changed its measure, and the dancers got yet more animated, till at last they went round the circle with great rapidity, making the ground ring under their feet. Ibrahim Aga, the Musselleem, told me an anecdote of this dance, which in Turkish is called Tchopee. Hassan Pasha, a former Pasha of Bagdad, having been offended by the rebellious conduct of the Khezail Arabs, vowed to dance a Tchopee in the centre of their capital. He accordingly entered their country with fire and sword; and having taken their principal town, and put to death almost every inhabitant he could find, himself, at the head of his troops, performed his vow, and danced the Tchopee.

After the Turkish dance, two sword-players advanced to treat us with an exhibition of sword and shield. They began by some slow movements, accompanied by the band, and saluted first us, and then the company, and each other, with their shields. Swords were afterwards given them, and they cut and parried with their shields with some dexterity, but no science or regular system. Single-stick was afterwards introduced, which was played exactly in the same manner with the shield.

At last the Musselleem, by way of closing the whole, said he would bring us two men who should astonish us. He accordingly called up two Turks, and giving them two shields, ordered them to behave bravely. They accordingly set to with a good will, and hammered each other for some time most desperately, till they were parted by order of the Musselleem. This finished the entertainment.

NOTES ON RETURN TO BAGDAD.

Left Bussora 5th May. About Ozeir, and a little way above, the banks of the river, especially the right, are inhabited by the Albu Mahommed Arabs, who are famous thieves. Higher up, on the right bank, are the Saad Arabs, dependant on the Montefiks.

The jungle on the banks of the Tigris is composed of arbor vitæ and liquorice plant, which latter is very luxuriant, being in some places about the height of a man. The Turks are ignorant of its qualities.

The ground in many places was impregnated with nitre.

The encampments of the petty Arabs on the banks of the Tigris present a very curious and not unpicturesque appearance. They are formed of coarse mats, spread like an awning, often in a semicircular form, supported by a few sticks, under which you discover the women engaged in their domestic employments, and a multitude of children entirely naked, who flock down to the water's edge on the appearance of a boat, to beg dates, which the passengers occasionally throw them. The men are seen, in various situations, idling about the camp, or driving cattle, with here and there a savage, half-clothed figure leaning on his spear, and staring at the passengers. Generally also a spear or two is stuck in the ground, and a half-starved-looking mare seen grazing on the briars; and a small boat is frequently tied up in the fore-ground. These camps are guarded by large and fierce dogs.

The Beni Lam encampments are of black horse-cloth We saw their grand camp on the left bank of the river. Saw great quantities of the caper-bush, which was in flower. Remarked a curious circumstance on the river: when there is a jungle on one side there is none on the other. As soon

as the jungle on one side ceases, that on the other commences. This rule holds good only below Coot.

We arrived at Coot al Amara the morning of the 12th. Every reach of the river has a particular name. We passed the night before a dangerous shallow, or mud bank, called in Arabic *shella*, two reaches below Coot.

The Arabs sound with a reed called katra, by the knots on which they ascertain the depth of the water.

Entered Bagdad the 18th May, 1811.

VII.

Voyage down the Tigris from Bagdad to Bussora, in the year 1812.

(Referred to at p. 158, Vol. ii.)

January 22.—Left Bagdad for Bussora in the yacht. The wind was southerly, but we arrived at Tauk Kesra about nine at night.

23rd. — Landed to look at Tauk Kesra. Between it and the river are vestiges of large walls of unburnt bricks, with layers of reeds. The wall at the back of the Tauk looks as if it had not formed part of the original plan, though there is a range of niches at the top. The Turks say the wall was part of the house of an old woman, who refused to sell it to Anushirvan, who being too just to deprive her of it by force, suffered it to stand, though it interfered with his hall of audience, through which the old woman used to drive her jackass during the time of divan, or when he was holding his court. The story is ridiculous, but it seems to prove that the extraordinary appearance of the wall has not escaped even the observation of the Turks.

Just under the key-stone of the arch is a large patch of mud plaster, and inserted in a beam of wood, in the very centre of it, is an iron ring. The large beams of wood, everywhere visible in the façade of the building, are very curious. The roof is perforated, and tubes of earthenware are introduced into the holes, which are very numerous; but for what purpose they were intended it is impossible to say. The bricks are neither so large, well shaped, nor well burnt as those from Babylon. The lower part of the building is much more decayed than the upper, to about seven feet high all round, which, I am informed, is the case with all ruins. In the hall a part of the facing, which is of fine brick, is separating in mass from the building. The wall of the front is thicker at the bottom than the top, decreasing from about twenty to eight bricks in thickness. The arch from the back of the building, on the river side, assumes more the appearance of a curve; in the front it is more semicircular. All around the top of the arch are semicircular niches, or scallop work, very well built.

On the 26th, at about 4^h, we came to Jumbul, a dangerous sand island. The river being much lower than when we last passed it, we saw part of the ruin. Across the river, in a diagonal direction, were whirlpools, under which, our pilot assured us, were buildings. At the end of this chain of eddies was a piece of brickwork raised about two feet and a half above the surface of the water. The current here set very violently off it, running about seven knots, and making a most dangerous passage. We were near being driven upon it, and were obliged to let go our anchor, and get a track-rope on shore to steady us past it. In the meantime I went out in the jolly-boat to sound. I found the building to consist of fine burnt brick closely cemented. It looked much like the pier of a bridge, and close to it the lead

scraped against more brick-work. At the bottom, between this and the left bank of the river, the passage is five and six fathoms. The right bank is called Moolbinni.

We arrived at Coot al Amara at 9h P.M.; our passage from Bagdad had been delayed so long, from our having several times got on shore. We left Coot at 8h A.M. on the 27th. Below Coot are twelve intricate and difficult reaches.

On the morning of the 28th, about 2h, a schooner from Bussora met us; and she proved to be one of the Mussellem's barges, with an English gentleman of the name of Bailey on board, who was on his way to join us at Bagdad, but who consented to return with us to Bussora.

The day of the 28th was louring, and about 2h we were obliged to come to an anchor. It soon after came on to blow very hard from the S. E., and we let go our large anchor, and hove up the small one. In the night it blew a perfect hurricane, and continued blowing, with very little intermission, the whole of the next day, with some rain. In the night we had some squalls from the E., and more rain.

On the morning of the 30th the wind came round to the W., and we got under way about 10h 30m. On the forenoon of the 31st we arrived at a clump of trees, three reaches to the S. of which is a place called El Hhad, on the southern boundary of the Beni Lam country, where that of the Albu Mohammed Arabs begins. The wind was N. W., but we had some rain, which I attribute to the wind not being sufficiently strong to carry back the clouds driven up by the late furious gale. On the left bank of the river, above El Hhad, was a long encampment of Beni Lam Arabs.

At 1h the wind was again S. E. At 2h 30m P.M., the Beni Lams attacked a defenceless boat which was a little ahead of us. When we came up with them we gave them several

rounds of musketry, which put them to flight. The wind afterwards changed to N.N.E. About sunset we came to El Hhad, or rather the beginning of it. Passed along a grove of trees, and the tomb of Mahommed Abul Hassan. About one hour after midnight we came to an anchor, there being a contrary reach of the river, and a canal running from it, nearly as wide as the river itself, in which many boats have been lost. About day-break, in the morning of the 1st February, we again got under way. The river here was narrow, and the banks low. Part of the surrounding country is lower than the surface of the river, and has a green, morassy appearance. Here and there are vestiges of former encampments. I believe, as the country is rarely overflowed, the water is kept at its level by innumerable canals, with which the country is intersected.

An English sailor, of the name of Moore, in my service, told me that, with a southerly wind, the effects of the spring tides are sometimes felt as high as this; that is to say, the current does not flow so rapidly.

At two o'clock, the wind being S. E., the trackers of the kitchen-boat, which was some way astern, was stopped by a party of Arabs. Accompanied by one of the gentlemen of our party, Woronow, my hussar-orderly, and three sepoys, I immediately jumped into the jolly-boat, and pushed ashore; but the Arabs had fled, and there were only a few peasants standing about, who were, however, rather insolent. The hussar not understanding what was going on, but thinking something an Arab was saying must of course be insolent, before I could interfere, gave him a smart blow with the butt-end of his carbine. We came on board again, however, without having done any mischief.

We arrived at Bussora on the second of February, having left Koorna in the morning at about eleven o'clock.

On the 6th, the friends, on whose account we had undertaken the journey from Bagdad to Bussora, went on board the Honourable Company's cruizer, the Ternate, which sailed immediately for Bombay; and as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made, we proposed returning to Bagdad, without visiting Bussora at all. However, on the 7th, my assistant at that place, Dr. Colquhoun, and our new friend Mr. Bailey, dining on board, the weather after dinner grew very cloudy, and had a threatening appearance. At the time the gentlemen were going away, it came on squally; the jolly-boat and the kitchen-boat both broke adrift; the latter was very near being lost; and the yacht began to roll very much. The captain and boatswain were ashore on duty. I went up on deck to see what was doing, where I had not been many seconds before I saw Mrs. Rich coming up the hatchway in the greatest alarm. As I knew very well what her inclinations were, the night looking very threatening, and the factory-boat being ready alongside, I determined on going ashore; and accordingly we arrived safe at the factory about half-past ten o'clock, and were, as usual, most hospitably entertained by our worthy friend Dr. Colquhoun.

On the 8th, the weather continued unsettled; and as it was necessary to make some repairs to the kitchen-boat, we were detained until the 11th; when at 3^h P.M. we embarked again, and with the turning of the tide at 10^h, we attempted to get under way, but found our anchor had taken such good hold, that it broke nine capstan bars, and several tackles and ring-bolts, and so much time was lost, that it was needless to think of moving that night.

On the 12th, at 11^h A.M we got under way with a light southerly breeze. At 4^h P.M. passed a ruined mosque, with rather a high minaret. It was on the Arabian side, and is

called Makan Mehhdi Zaman, that is, a place where Mehhdi rested or dwelt. The Arabs say it was not built by human hands. I made a sketch of it.

All the evening we observed great clouds gathering in the horizon, which, as it became darker, proved to be smoke from the fires kindled in the Albu Mahommed and Montefik countries, to burn the reeds in the marshes, which are by these means converted into excellent pastures. The appearance of these fires, which must have been above 30 miles distant, and yet illuminated the whole of the horizon with a red glare, was peculiarly grand and terrific: I can compare it to nothing but an irruption of lava from Etna. We were obliged to anchor to allow the other boats to join us for dinner; and afterwards the breeze was so light, that we did not arrive at Koorna till about midnight.

The 13th blew so hard from the S. E., that we could not stir from the place we were anchored in, at the mouth of the Tigris, off Koorna. The weather, however, was fine and clear. About 6^h P.M. the wind moderating, we got under way, and tracked all night, assisted by a light S. breeze.

On the 14th, at 10 o'clock A.M., we passed the supposed tomb of Ezra. The river is here narrow, and winds very much. The country was perfectly flat, as far as the eye could reach. At $4^h\ 30^m$ P.M. we saw on the Persian side the tomb of Abdulla Ibn Ali, and some reed huts of the Albu Mahommed Arabs; the country was still flat, morassy, and covered with reeds. Towards the morning of the 15th, the S. E. breeze freshened greatly; and at 9^h A.M. we arrived at El Hhad, or the river which runs from Shuster and Howeiza, and discharges itself into the Tigris. At 10^h A.M. we passed Mahommed Abul Hassan, where, besides the tomb of the saint, there is a burying-ground. Close to the

river is the range of trees mentioned on our voyage down; among which was a small Arab encampment. The banks of the river were now rather higher, and were covered with brushwood. At 5h P.M. we were obliged to anchor for dinner, the kitchen-boat being far astern. At 7h 30m we set off again. The wind continued from the same quarter, but was much more moderate, and at midnight it changed and came round to the N. W. We passed Ali Sherki and Ali Gharbi.

The morning of the 16th it blew strong from the N. W., and we were delayed two or three hours in consequence. At 5h 15m P.M. we brought to, on account of the high wind; but were off again in half an hour.

On the morning of the 17th we had a light south wind. The wind settled at N. W. At midnight we heard on the E. bank a great roaring of the waters, exactly like the surf on the sea-shore after a gale of wind. I believe it to be the place where the Neft Soo, or river, which runs from the Persian mountains by Mendali and Jessan, discharges itself into the Tigris. A little after we came to a place where the reaches of the river form exactly a right angle.

The 18th, there was a gentle breeze from the N. W., but the wind rising, we brought to at half-past one P.M., and did not get off again till ten P.M. The track rope broke several times in the night. We came to anchor on the 19th at nine A.M., the wind being very strong from the N. W. At six in the evening we got under way again. At midnight we came to a place which was very difficult to pass, on account of the violence of the eddy and the shallows in the river. At eleven o'clock A.M., on the 20th, we cast anchor at Koot al Amara. The Hye was full, and the current was running from the Tigris to the Euphrates. At midnight it came on to blow hard from the S. E., and on

the 21st there was quite a hard gale from the same quarter, with occasional variations to the E. We were obliged to strike our yards and topmasts. The gale lasted, with undiminished violence, till about 5h in the morning of the 22nd, when it became squally and rainy.

At 11h, A.M., the wind shifted to the N.W., whence it blew hard till about 6h P.M., when it moderated, and we got under way. At 8h 30m there was a violent squall from the N.W., which, however, soon passed away, but at 10h, the weather bearing a very variable appearance, we brought to for the night, and got under way again at 6h A.M. of the 23d.

At 1h P.M. we passed Jumbul, which is now so completely covered with water, as well as the island near it, that a vessel of twice our size, according to the pilot, could sail over it.

I heard here that Jassem Bey and the Arifa Arabs have taken possession of the banks of the river, and are prepared to resist any troops the Pasha may send against them. We passed a few tents of the Greish Arabs on the western, and Shumars on the eastern banks of the river. About 3h in the afternoon it began to blow very hard again from the N.W., and we were compelled to cross over the river to get the weather shore on board. On the 25th the wind abated. About 4h P.M. we saw at some distance in the rear, on the W. bank, something like a minaret, which is said to be ancient. I found we had passed it in the night. Soon after we came to an island, now almost covered with water, on which not long ago a large lion was seen. At 8h we entered a reach of the river called Dokhala, and about 4h in the morning we were detained a little by a sand island, which obliged us to bring to till we had sounded the passage.

We arrived at Taj at 9h. From thence to Tauk Kesra they reckon six reaches. At 4h P.M. saw over the land we had left the tomb which gives name to Taj, but I could not learn who is buried there. Before sun-set Tauk Kesra was visible from the mast-head. About 2h in the morning we got aground, and did not get off again before 6h. At 3h 30m we were favoured with a light south-easterly breeze, and we arrived at the south extremity of the wall of Ctesiphon, called the Bostan, and anchored at 9h 30m abreast or rather a little in the rear of the Tauk, to the N. of the mosque called Hodheifa.

On the 28th I landed to sketch Tauk Kesra, and again made some measurements. The thickness of the face at the bottom is twenty bricks, just above the first swell eleven, at the top seven. On the other wing, just above the swell, there is fifteen bricks. I found in the town walls a layer of reeds between each layer of bricks.

We crossed over and wandered about the ruins of Seleucia, almost the only vestige of which that remains is a part of the N. face of the city wall. The wall must have been of great height and thickness, and built of unburnt bricks, with a layer of reeds between every layer of brick, as at Ctesiphon and Babylon.

At 7h 30m we again got under way. At 2h of the morning of the 29th, we passed the mouth of the Diala, and about 5h anchored at Gherara, whence rode up to Bagdad.

VIII.

Excursion from Bagdad to the Ruins of Tauk Kesra, or Ctesiphon and Seleucia, December, 1812.

(Referred to at p. 159, Vol. ii.)

Having made a party to spend a few days at Tauk Kesra, we went on board the yacht at 9h 30m A.M., the troop going by land; but the wind being southerly, with frequent calms, we did not reach the place of our destination till 8h 30m P.M. We remained on board the yacht. Mr. Hine and the rest of the party took up their quarters at Selman Pak, and the troop, with the horses, at a little building to the S. of the Tauk, where is the tomb of a female saint; near this our yacht was anchored, and on the banks we pitched two tents for the kitchen, &c.

December 6.—We took a ride to the east of the Tauk; almost the only remains of Ctesiphon are the walls, which are of unburnt brick.

December 7.—Went on shore to measure the Tauk, and I ascertained the following dimensions by correct measurement with a line and rule:—

	Feet.
Length of the front of the building	284
Width of the arch at the bottom or on the ground	82
Height of the arch	101
Thickness of the wall at the ground	19
Depth or length of the hall	153

In the evening rode along the W. part of the city wall, the remains of which are more extensive than I had any idea of, reaching, I conjecture, about a mile to the N., where they are suddenly broken. Between the N. part and the river is a plain, which appears to be a comparatively

recent accession of soil, by the river's having bent more towards Seleucia*; but no part of the wall appears to have been exactly on the bank. The reach of the river is nearly N. and S.

December 8.—Rode out again in the evening, the morning having been rather lowering. The eastern part of the wall of Ctesiphon has a curious appearance; as it seems to have formed an enclosure by itself, and separated as it were from the rest of the city. This is the opinion of the inhabitants, who call the enclosure the Bostan or garden. It is to the east of the Tauk, in the other reach of the river.

December 9.—Crossed to the western bank of the river to inspect the ruins of Seleucia, which are opposite, and not, as Gibbon says, three miles above those of Ctesiphon. There is an enclosure somewhat corresponding with that of the Bostan, at the latter place, one side being formed by the river, the other walled round. A great part of the western wall is destroyed, but the northern, which is about three miles above, and the southern, which is nearly opposite the Tauk, remain. In the area are some heaps of ruins, but the greatest quantity are outside the limits of the enclosure to the westward, where they extend to a very great distance. To the S. of the enclosure is a little ruin of the tomb of a Sheikh, which appears to have been erected above a hundred years ago; the threshold is formed by a fragment of the shaft of a column of fine variegated marble, evidently not the work of those who erected the tomb. Still farther to the S. is what I take to be the Naher Malca; it runs N. 50 W., and is joined by a number of smaller channels. Tauk Kesra bore from it N. 10 E. It bounds the horizon to the west, and appears as if it surrounded and bounded the ruins. On one of the heaps I saw a brick which had

* A Greek city on the opposite bank of the Tigris to Ctesiphon.

the oblong Babylonian stamp, and though no letters were visible, I have no doubt but that it was Babylonian. We saw several herds of antelopes, some wolves, and jackals.

December 10.—Having heard of a statue to be seen in the desert, we took an Arab peasant for our guide, and again crossed the river, directed our course about W. 10 S., and in that direction, upwards of four miles from the bank of the river, at the foot of one of the heaps of rubbish, found the curiosity we were in search of. It is a small statue of black stone about three feet high, representing a female in a sitting posture, but all above the waist is broken off and lost. The workmanship is evidently Babylonian, and bears a perfect resemblance to some of the sculptures on the cylinders in my possession. The strong similarity of taste and design between this and other Babylonian antiques, and the Egyptian statues, cannot fail of striking any one who has ever seen *an Isis*.

The ruins of Seleucia extend very far to the W., but there are none to the N. or beyond the northern part of the enclosure mentioned in my Journal of yesterday.

December 11.—In the afternoon went on shore on the eastern side, took two views of the Tauk; looked for the ring in the keystone of the arch, but could not find it; the plaster too about it was broken away. On inquiring found that the Arabs had taken it away, by slinging a basket with a man in it by ropes on each side under the arch. It is said the Arabs found it to be of gold.

December 12.—Left Tauk Kesra on horseback at 10^{h} A.M. and arrived at the passage of the Diala, where there is usually a bridge, which has been lately broken and carried away by the violence of the swell and current. At 1^{h} we halted here to refresh ourselves, and then getting into the barouche, we arrived at the Residency at a little after three.

IX.

Position of the Confluence of the Zab and Tigris.

(Referred to at p. 134, Vol. ii.)

The following remarks are the result of observations made by Mr. Rich during two previous voyages down the Tigris.

Abulfeda, and the Turkish geographer who follows him, place Haditha and the confluence of the Zab and Tigris at the distance of fourteen farsakhs, road distance, below Mousul. Major Rennel makes it forty-two geographical miles, direct distance, which is evidently too much. Olivier's map, which is, I believe, drawn up from Beauchamp's authority, makes it ten leagues, or thirty geographical miles, and Nimrod six leagues. I was exactly eight hours and twenty minutes dropping down the river on a raft (in the month of April) from Mousul to the mouth of the Zab, clear of all deductions and delays; the river was then pretty high, and the current strong.

For further particulars, I was four hours precisely from a place one hour below Mousul to Hamam Ali. Hamam Ali I know to be at the distance of five hours by land from Mousul. Kara Koyunlee I also know to be three hours from Mousul. I was two hours and twenty minutes by water from the above place; and just before I arrived at Kara Koyunlee, I set the high old minaret of Mousul, which bore N. 35 W., the supposed variation being eighty W.

From Hamam Ali, Nimrod bore S. 35 E. Nimrod, which Beauchamp or Olivier's map makes six leagues from Mousul, is, according to my information, just seven hours' journey by land. I therefore make it on the map

18·2 geographical miles. In one hour and forty minutes I passed the Zikr el Aawaze, or dam across the river, which is a little below Nimrod; and in two hours and forty minutes more arrived at the castle of Keshaff, on the south bank of the Zab, where it falls into the Tigris. The mouth of the Zab is nine hours from Mousul by land*; and several other villages which are on the northern, or left bank of the Zab, from its junction with the Tigris up to the passage at Kellek, are all said by the natives to be nine hours from Mousul.

The passage of the Zab at Kellek I conclude from my travelling in my journey up to Mousul, to be in latitude 36° 16′ 12″, and distance W. of the meridian of Bagdad 28° 3′. (From this the Zab runs towards the Tigris in S. 40 W.) The distance of the passage at Kellek from Mousul is, according to my travelling, twenty-four geographical miles. If my rate of floating down the river from Hamam Ali to the mouth of the Zab be the same as from Mousul to Hamam Ali, and with the same circumstances of river, &c., it would give 24·18 miles for the distance from Mousul, which is, I am persuaded, near the truth.

Niebuhr's tracing of the Tigris between Bagdad and Mousul cannot be depended on; indeed, he drew merely from information. Khanuza (which he incorrectly calls el

* N.B. I have taken at different times the most precise information respecting the distance of the mouth of the Zab from Mousul. Horsemen tolerably well mounted go in eight hours to Keshaff, which is on the south side of the Zab, at its confluence.

Additional information since acquired:—

Mousul to Hamam Ali . .	4 hours.
To a place on the west bank, exactly opposite Keshaff	4 „
Mousul to Keshaff, all the way by the east bank of the Tigris, including the passage of the Zab .	10 „

Keuka), he places opposite the mouth of the lesser Zab, and Toprak Kallaa below the lesser Zab. Beauchamp's map servilely copies Niebuhr. Neither of them mark the chain Hamreen, which Major Rennel makes come from Ana. Now I have myself followed it from Toprak Kalaa, and even at that place it appears to come from the north and west.

In my tracing of the river, I follow exclusively my own observations. I have twice floated down the river from Mousul to Bagdad in a kellek; but sorry am I to say, with no better instruments than a compass *. From Keshaff to Bagdad I follow the same calculation as from Mousul to Keshaff, and luckily I have some distances between places on the bank, which act as a check on my computation. Tekreet, for instance, is distinct from Imaum Mohammed Door two hours, peasants' travelling (at 2·6 miles per hour); the direct distance would be 5·2 miles.

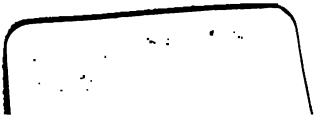
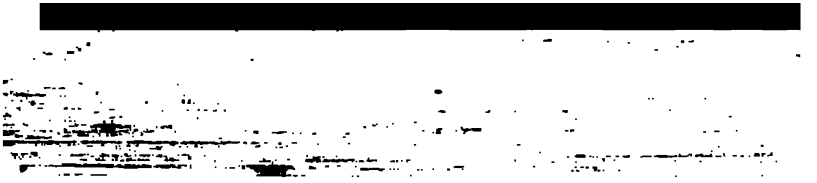
Now, in floating down the river, I calculated the distance as 5·4, which is certainly a remarkable coincidence for a merely approximate method, and never, then, could be the effect of chance †. I have also cross routes, which satisfy me; and on the whole, though my tracing of the river is of course not so good as it ought to be, and as it would have been had I observed astronomically, yet it may be reckoned much more correct than any that has yet been made.

* During Mr. Rich's third expedition down the Tigris, the account of which is contained in the former part of the present volumes, he was better provided with mathematical instruments, which enabled him decidedly to fix the situations of places. The results of the *three* voyages, it has been thought, might interest the scientific reader.

† It must be remarked, that I had calculated the river distance before I received the information of the land distance from Tekreet to Door.

I observe that the direct distance by water is nearly the same as that by land, at least, at the season when I came down from Mousul, which was in April, when the river was nearly at its height; that is to say, that the rapidity of the current in general compensates for the windings of the river, in reducing the distance *floated* or travelled to geographical construction. Adopting the same proportion as that used from Mousul to Keshaf, I have the following distances from the principal points:—

Keshaf to	Geographical miles.	Direct distance.
Sultan Abdallah . .	4·4	
Toprall Kalaa and Hamreen	36·7	
Mouth of the lesser Zab .	13·0	
El Fat'hha . . .	9·6	
Tekreet	18·2	
Imaum Mahommed Door .	5·4	
Samara	11·1	
Sindia	30·4	
Howeish	14·6	Called by land seven hours, going first to Hope and thence to Sindia.
	143·4	
Additional distance from Mousul to Keshaf . . .	24·1	23·4 (supposed)
Total	167·5	
Ascertained distance from Howeish to Bagdad by the river .	21·0	
Distance from Mousul to Bagdad by the river . . .	188·5	
Distance from Mousul to Bagdad, calculated correctly by the land journey . . .	189·3	

THE END.

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